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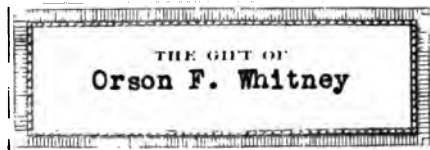
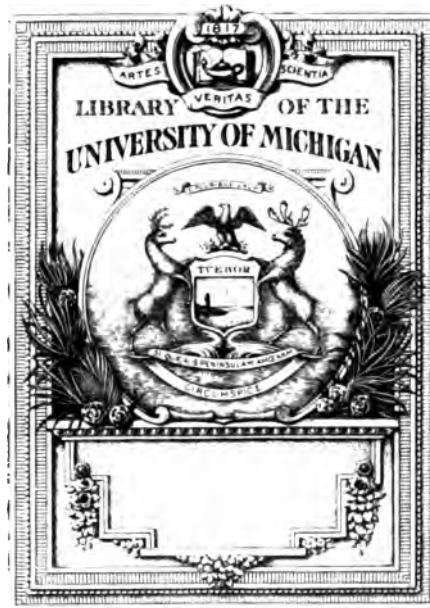
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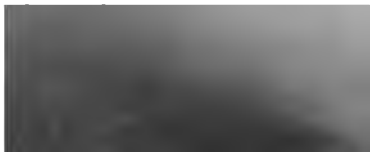
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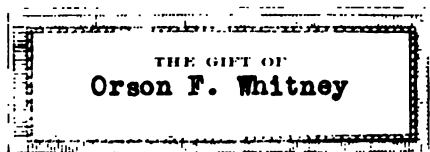
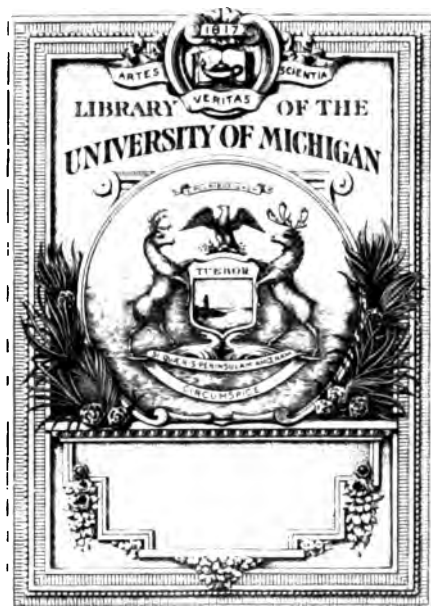






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Brigham Young

HISTORY OF UTAH

COMPRISING

4112

PRELIMINARY CHAPTERS ON THE PREVIOUS HISTORY OF HER FOUNDERS, ACCOUNTS
OF EARLY SPANISH AND AMERICAN EXPLORATIONS IN THE ROCKY MOUN-
TAIN REGION, THE ADVENT OF THE MORMON PIONEERS, THE ESTAB-
LISHMENT AND DISSOLUTION OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERN-
MENT OF THE STATE OF DESERET, AND THE SUBSEQUENT
CREATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE TERRITORY.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

BY ORSON F. WHITNEY.

. . . Illustrated. . . .

"THIS I HOLD TO BE THE CHIEF OFFICE OF HISTORY, TO RESCUE VIRTUOUS ACTIONS FROM THE OBLIVION TO WHICH A WANT OF RECORDS WOULD CONSIGN THEM; AND THAT MEN SHOULD FEEL A DREAD OF BEING CONSIDERED INFAMOUS IN THE OPINIONS OF POSTERITY, FROM THEIR DEPRAVED EXPRESSIONS AND BASE ACTIONS."—TACITUS.

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH:
GEORGE Q. CANNON & SONS CO., PUBLISHERS.
MARCH, 1892.

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PREFACE.

THE author here presents the first volume of his history of Utah, a work which has engaged his attention, though not uninterruptedly, since May, 1890. As will be seen, it is a continuous historical narrative of the early settlement and formation of the Territory and its growth and development up to the year 1861, a point of time just prior to the advent of the electric telegraph, and not long before the arrival of the great Pacific Railway. This period, which marks in local annals the close of one era and the beginning of another, seemed a fitting place for the author's pen to pause, while the press gave the first fruits of his present labor to the public.

Necessarily this volume has most to say of the Mormon people. Being the pioneers and earliest builders of our inter-mountain commonwealth, it was as proper as it was unavoidable to give them first and foremost mention in a work of this character. It was also deemed essential, for reasons stated elsewhere, that the opening chapters should deal more or less comprehensively with the history of Utah's pioneers and founders prior to their advent into the Great Basin. Something of their religious and political views, their early experiences in the east and the motives which impelled them westward, are therefore herein contained. Of the non-Mormon portion of the community, and the important part played by them in the stirring drama of our social, political and material development, as much will be said hereafter.

As the author has endeavored, in volume one, to present a fair and truthful statement of facts antedating and leading up to the new era that was ushered in by the telegraph and the locomotive,—which

came as it were on the wings of the lightning, or on the back of the enchanted iron horse,—he will as diligently strive, in the succeeding volumes, to deal faithfully and impartially with events that have since taken place. It is the design, after completing the general narrative here begun, to give the histories of the various counties of the Territory, and the professions and pursuits of the people. Special chapters on agriculture, manufacture, mining, commerce, etc., may be looked for; as well as others on churches, newspapers, theaters, railways and other agencies of civilization. Literature, music and the drama, poets, painters and sculptors will each be placed in an appropriate niche, while bench and bar, civil and military affairs in general and in detail will all be duly represented. Biographies of prominent citizens, men and women, will also form a feature of the work.

In conclusion, the author expresses his grateful appreciation to all who have in any way assisted or encouraged him in his literary labors: to Dr. John O. Williams, to whom belongs the credit of originating the history project—of which he was once the main proprietor—and of pushing forward the business pertaining to it with characteristic energy and ability; to Mr. J. H. E. Webster, his partner, who, in conjunction with Dr. Williams, has ably conducted and continues to conduct the canvass for the work. With these gentlemen and their associates my relations have been of the most pleasant character. To President Wilford Woodruff and council, and other leading citizens, for their warm approval and endorsement of the project; to Governor Arthur L. Thomas, for various courtesies extended; to the Church historian, Apostle Franklin D. Richards, his assistant, John Jaques, General Robert T. Burton and A. M. Musser, Esq., for advice and assistance such as an author can best appreciate, I feel deeply indebted. Nor should the name of Hon. F. S. Richards be omitted, he being one of the first to recognize the importance of the history enterprise, as a public benefit, and to give it his hearty encouragement and support. To the press of Salt Lake City and the Territory in general, to the Union Pacific, Rio Grande Western and

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Utah Central railways, and the Salt Lake City Railroad Company, I return hearty thanks for favors bestowed. The share of credit due the publishers and now main proprietors of the history—Messrs. George Q. Cannon and Sons—is manifest from the appearance of the work itself.

I shall begin immediately upon the second volume, and while taking time and pains to do the work in a manner worthy the subject, it is my intention to push it to completion with all possible dispatch.

ORSON F. WHITNEY.

SALT LAKE CITY,
February, 1892.

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HISTORY OF UTAH.

CHAPTER I.

1805-1827.

ANTECEDENTS OF UTAH'S EARLY SETTLERS—JOSEPH SMITH AND MORMONISM—THE PROPHET'S BIRTH AND BOYHOOD—SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS PHASES OF SEVENTY YEARS AGO—SEEKING FOR THE TRUE CHURCH—JOSEPH'S FIRST VISION—THE FATHER AND THE SON—FORBIDDEN TO JOIN ANY OF THE CHURCHES—THE YOUTH TELLS HIS STORY—PREJUDICE AND PERSECUTION—THE ANGEL MORONI—DISCOVERY OF THE GOLDEN PLATES—THE PROPHET ON PROBATION—THE RECORD OF MORMON, THE NEPHITE, IN THE HANDS OF JOSEPH, THE TRANSLATOR.

AS IT would be natural, in describing a lake or large body of water, to give some account of the origin, course and character of the streams flowing into and forming it, so is it expected of the historian, who describes a city or country and its inhabitants, to dwell to some extent upon their antecedents, to speak of the sources whence they sprang. The history of Utah, therefore, must include the history of her founders, and with their general narrative, as a religious community, it now suits our purpose to begin.

In the early part of the present century, in the little town of Sharon, Windsor County, Vermont, there lived an humble family of the name of Smith. Joseph and Lucy were the parents' names, and their children, seven sons and three daughters—some born prior, some subsequent to the time of which we write—were Alvin, Hyrum, Sophronia, Joseph, Samuel H., Ephraim, William, Catharine, Don Carlos and Lucy. The father was a farmer, though not a flourishing one, having lately lost his property through the dishonesty of a trusted friend, and was now renting a farm in Sharon, and toiling

early and late for a bare livelihood. They were a God-fearing folk, honest, straightforward in their dealings, and of good repute among their neighbors.

It was on the 23rd of December, 1805, that the son was born to whom was given the paternal name. This son, Joseph Smith, junior, was the famous Mormon Prophet, the founder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

The boy was about ten years old when his parents migrated from Vermont and made their home at Palmyra, Ontario—now Wayne—County, New York; whence they removed, four years later, to Manchester in the same county.

A brief glance at some of the social conditions of those early times and primitive places may here be necessary. Western New York, the arena of our story's immediate action, was then an almost new country. Farm and forest, society and solitude, civilization and semi-savagery divided it. The red man, though no longer roaming wildly, had not disappeared from its borders, and the whites, who of course predominated and held sway, if, like all Yankees, shrewd and intelligent, were mostly illiterate and untaught. The masses were poor, but there were farmers and artisans who were prosperous, and the people, as a rule, were industrious and provident. Their style of living was exceedingly plain. Houses were usually small, unplastered, unpainted and rudely furnished. A huge fire on the hearth, fed with pine knots from the neighboring forest, gave light and warmth to those within the house, or the flickering flame of the tallow-dip shed its uncertain lustre over the scene. The floors were often without carpets, the tables without cloths, and the frugal meal, cooked amid the glowing embers on the hearth, or in the iron pot suspended by a chain from the chimney hook, was eaten from pewter or wooden plates, with horn-handled knives and iron spoons. Clocks were a rarity, the "time o' day" being commonly "guessed" by the sun; pictures and musical instruments were few and of inferior kind, and the family library consisted, in most instances, of the Bible, an almanac and what books were in vogue at the village school. In

short, it was just such a social condition as life in our own Utah once presented, and in rare cases yet presents, in sparsely settled localities, where primitive taste or poverty still reigns.

The people of those times, or at any rate of that region, were generally religious, and were great Bible readers; though many spiritually inclined and well versed in scripture, were neither communicants nor church-goers. The leading sects of today were nearly all represented in the ecclesiastical category of the period, each having its doughty champions, its Davids in the field, armed *cap-a-pie* and confronting with valorous zeal the gigantic Philistines of sin and unbelief. The infidel, however, did not abound, as at a later day. Nearly every one professed some sort of religion. Religion, indeed, and not agnosticism, was the fashion and flavor of the times. Yet the tide of spiritual thought and emotion, like any other tide, was subject to the extremes of ebb and flow.

Soon after the removal of the Smith family to Manchester, a wave of religious excitement, of a character common to the period, began rolling over the land, and camp-meetings and revivals, like bubbles on the crest of the mighty billow, were held far and near under the auspices of the various Christian sects. The whole region rang and resounded with the echoing notes of the evangelic trumpet. The village of Manchester shared in the general excitement and enthusiasm,—Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, etc., all vying with each other in the work of "soul-saving," and crowds of converts flocking to the standards of the ministers of the rival faiths. Among the proselytes made by the Presbyterians were Lucy Smith, Joseph's mother, his brothers Hyrum and Samuel, and his sister Sophronia.

Fruitful as were the labors of the revivalists, however, one thing militated against their further success. It was lack of unity. They were not united: either in doctrine, sentiment or common Christian feeling. Divisions in doctrine among the Christian churches were neither shocking nor surprising; from the days of Wycliffe, Luther and Wesley the world had grown used to such things: and so long as modern Christians merely differed in opinion regarding the "one Lord,

one faith, one baptism" of the ancients, and were careful to "love one another" and "avoid disputations," their course would occasion little comment and less complaint.

But strife and hatred among professed ministers of Christ, while provoking mirth and mockery from the infidel, are to all good Christians horrifying. And such things, sad to tell, were manifested by the ministers of whom we are speaking, and by many of their converts as well, and deprecated and deplored by divers thoughtful and pious minds, who consequently stood aloof and forbore to taste of the fountains that sent forth such bitter waters.

In matters of doctrine, as said, the sects were much divided,—though on certain points agreed. For instance, some held, as now, that the ordinance of baptism was non-essential to salvation. Others contended that it was essential. Some claimed sprinkling to be the proper mode of baptism; others, that pouring water upon the head was the true method, and others still that immersion of the whole body in the liquid element was necessary. And similar differences in other doctrines. The main points upon which most of the sects agreed were: that God was a being without body, parts or passions; that He no longer communicated His will to man; that the heavens were closed and the canon of scripture full; that the days of miracles and revelations were over; that faith without works was sufficient to save, and that all who died without hearing of or believing in Jesus Christ as the world's Redeemer, were doomed to never-ending torment. Even infants were not exempt, according to the Calvinistic creed, but were fated to eternally "roast in sulphur," if the Almighty had seen fit to cut short their lives ere they came to the knowledge of His only begotten Son. A chaos, a Babel of religious opinions and their professors, differing, yet all claiming to be right, and to have the Bible as their basis of belief and source of inspiration; a ceaseless clash and war of words in support of those opinions. Such in brief was the spiritual condition of the Christian world at the period of which we are writing.

Among those who stood aloof, surveying the scene of strife,

wondering which of all these wrangling sects was the true Church of Christ, was Joseph Smith, the farmer's boy, then a little over fourteen years of age. Anxious for his soul's salvation,—for he was a thoughtful and conscientious lad,—he much desired to know the true way, in order that he might walk therein. Unable to solve the problem, though feeling assured that the contending churches were not all divine, he forbore to join with any, but attended their meetings as often as convenient, particularly those of the Methodists, to whom he was somewhat partial.

One day, he relates, while reading the scriptures, his eye chanced to rest upon the fifth verse of the first chapter of the Epistle of James, running as follows: "If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not, and it shall be given him." The sacred words sank deeply into the boy's simple soul. He did "lack wisdom," wisdom to know the truth; and he would "ask of God," who had thus promised, by His ancient apostle, to hear and answer prayer. Such was his simple faith. Such was his earnest resolve.

Joseph's record then relates how on a bright spring morning in the year 1820, he retired to the woods,—a sylvan solitude not far from his father's home,—and finding himself alone, bowed down in prayer. It was his first attempt to orally address Deity. He had scarcely begun, he declares, when suddenly he was seized by some mysterious power which paralyzed his tongue so that he could no longer speak. Simultaneously a cloud of darkness encompassed him, filling his soul with horror and presaging instant destruction. So literal were his sensations that he felt himself in the fell grasp of some actual, though unseen, personage or influence of another world. Exerting all his powers, he called upon God for deliverance—his thoughts now praying in the absence of speech—and just as reason seemed tottering, and hope was hovering on the brink of despair, he saw a light descending from heaven, directly over his head, of such surpassing brilliance as to exceed that of the noon-day sun. The pillar of splendor gradually fell until it rested upon the prostrate youth, who, the

moment it appeared, found himself delivered from the deadly influence that had held him bound. In the midst of the pillar were two personages of ineffable glory, in the form of men, one of whom, addressing Joseph by name, and pointing to the other, said, "This is my beloved Son, hear him!"

The amazed and enraptured youth, so soon as he could collect his thoughts and command utterance, recalling the object of his quest, asked of the glorious oracles which of all the religious sects was right, and which one should he join? To his astonishment he was told that none of them were right, and that he must not unite with any; that their creeds were an abomination and their professors corrupt; that they taught for doctrine the commandments of men, drawing near to the Lord with their lips while their hearts were far from Him, and having a form of godliness but denying the power thereof. Again forbidding him to join any of the churches, the two personages withdrew, the pillar of light ascended and vanished, and the rapt youth, recovering from his vision's ecstasy, found himself lying upon his back gazing up into heaven.

Naturally enough, the boy's story, being told, and its truth persisted in—and that, too, with every evidence of solemn sincerity—created no small sensation. Some were amazed, some simply amused at its audacity; others horror-stricken at its blasphemy,—for such it seemed to them. In the midst of a generation which doubted and even denied the Creator's personality, applying to Him, in thought if not in word, Pope's eloquent definition of the all-pervading Spirit, which

Warms in the sun, refreshes in the breeze,
Glow in the stars and blossoms in the trees,
Lives through all life, extends through all extent,
Spreads undivided, operates unspent.

he, an untutored lad, had had the temerity to assert, in full face of the teachings and traditions of the sects and schools, that God the universal Father was a man, a living, breathing, glorified man, and that God the Son was a man also, made, like other men, in the image

of that Father's person.* Moreover, that he had both seen and heard them. The idea was preposterous—blasphemous! It was a matter-of-fact, even skeptical age,—skeptical as to modern miracles and spiritual manifestations,—that Joseph Smith confronted, and such a tale, however sincerely told, was altogether too marvelous for belief. Such an event was very much too literal to suit the temper of the times. To speak of Christ's coming to earth at some future period was one thing; to claim that He had already come, and had appeared to so insignificant a person as young "Joe Smith" was quite another thing. The fellow must be mad, or else a wicked and designing imposter. So thought that generation—so thinks this—with comparatively few exceptions.

Joseph had a friend, a Methodist minister, prominent in the religious movement then agitating the neighborhood. To him, among the first, he confided his story, thinking that his clerical friend would rejoice at the recital. In this, however, he was disappointed. The minister treated the matter with utter contempt, flatly telling him that it was "all of the devil;" that there were no such things now as visions and revelations, that they had all ceased with the Apostles, and that the world would never have any more of them.

But the matter did not end there. With the usual zeal of the heretic-hunter, the minister, forgetting his former friendship for the boy, went about prejudicing the minds of his fellow preachers and the people against him. The result was that the lad, who had formerly been a favorite with the preachers, suddenly found himself an object of their distrust and derision,—the target of their bitterest scorn. Continuing to affirm the truth of his tale, prejudice increased, and the arrows of persecution began falling around him. The preachers and professors, so disunited before, all united now upon one point,—to deride and denounce "Joe Smith the imposter." Nay, more; his very life was attempted by the bullet of the ambushed assassin. Still, said he, "I had seen a vision. I knew it, and I knew

* "God Himself was once as we are now, and is an exalted man, and sits enthroned in yonder heavens."—JOSEPH SMITH.

that God knew it, and I could not deny it; at least I knew that by so doing I would offend God, and come under condemnation."

Three years elapsed, and still this strange boy,—for strange he must have seemed,—scorned and buffeted and belied, steadfastly maintained his testimony. Driven from the ranks of the religious and respectable because of his convictions, he was often forced for companionship, which his genial and kindly nature craved, into society not the most select, and was led in the way of temptations which he did not always resist. During those days he did things, as he candidly confesses, that were "offensive in the sight of God." Self-condemned for his youthful follies, accusing conscience finally drove him to seek forgiveness of his Maker, and implore a fresh proof of his "state and standing before Him."

For what followed in his experience we again refer to his own record, which necessarily forms the principal basis of this portion of our narrative. It was the night of September 21st, 1823. Joseph, retiring to rest, began pleading with the heavens and pouring out his soul in penitent supplication. While so engaged he saw a light appearing in his room, increasing in brilliance until brighter than the blaze of noon-day. Immediately a glorious being, clad in a loose robe of radiant whiteness, his countenance lustrous as lightning, stood at his bedside, his feet seemingly resting on air. The head, neck, hands and feet were bare, and the body, wherever exposed, of all but transparent purity. He called the youth by name, and giving his own name as Moroni, proclaimed himself a messenger from the presence of God. He told Joseph that the Lord had a work for him to do, and that his name should be spoken both well and evil of among all nations; showed him in vision where there was a record deposited, written upon plates of gold, giving an account of the ancient inhabitants of America and their origin, and containing the fullness of the Everlasting Gospel as delivered by the Savior to those inhabitants; also that an instrument called the *Urim and Thummim*, consisting of two stones set in a silver bow and fastened to a breast-plate, was deposited with the plates, having been prepared by the

Almighty for the purpose of the book's translation. The angel then quoted from the scriptures various prophecies relating to the restoration of the Gospel and the Priesthood, the setting up of Messiah's latter-day kingdom and the ushering in of the Millennium. These prophecies,—including part of the third and all of the fourth chapters of Malachi, the eleventh chapter of Isaiah, the twenty-second and twenty-third verses of the third chapter of Acts, and the last five verses of the second chapter of Joel,—he said were about to be fulfilled. He also declared that “the fullness of the Gentiles” would soon come in. He warned the youth that when he obtained possession of the plates, he must not show them to any save those to whom he should be commanded to show them,—otherwise he should be destroyed. Having delivered his message the angel departed, ascending by what seemed “a conduit opening right up into heaven,” and the room made radiant by his presence again grew dark. But while musing and marveling over this visitation, with its new and strange revealings, Joseph saw the light returning. In an instant the same messenger stood at his bedside. Rehearsing without the least variation the things before related, the oracle added that great and grievous judgments, desolations by famine, sword and pestilence were coming upon the earth in this generation. Again he departed, but still again returned, and after repeating his former message, cautioned the youth against giving way to a mercenary spirit that would tempt him, owing to the poverty of his father's family, to obtain the plates for purposes of worldly gain. This he must not attempt to do, but seek only to glorify God and build up his kingdom. A third time the messenger vanished, when almost immediately the village cock crew, and the first faint streaks of dawn shot athwart the eastern horizon.

From loss of sleep and the severe strain upon his physical powers, incident to his extraordinary experience, Joseph, going into the field to labor that day, found himself exhausted and utterly unable to toil. Noticing his condition, his father, who was near, bade him return to the house and rest. He attempted to obey, but in crossing the fence from out the field his strength completely failed, and he

fell helpless and unconscious to the ground. A voice calling him by name aroused him. He looked, and lo! the angel messenger of the past night standing above him in a halo of glory. For the fourth time Moroni delivers his message, which now burns as in letters of fire upon the young man's mind, then bids him return to his father and tell him all. Joseph obeys, his sire declares it to be divine, and directs him to go and do all that the angel has commanded.

Accordingly, as the record continues, he set out for the spot where he had been shown the plates were deposited. It was a hill, two or three miles from the village of Manchester. "On the west side of this hill," says he, "not far from the top, under a stone of considerable size, lay the plates deposited in a stone box; this stone was thick and rounding in the middle on the upper side, and thinner towards the edges, so that the middle part of it was visible above the ground, but the edges all round were covered with earth. Having removed the earth and obtained a lever, which I got fixed under the edge of the stone, with a little exertion I raised it up; I looked in and there indeed did I behold the plates, the *Urim and Thummim* and the breast-plate, as stated by the messenger. The box in which they lay was formed by placing stones together in some kind of cement. In the bottom of the box were laid two stones cross-ways of the box, and on these stones lay the plates and the other things with them."

Attempting to possess himself of the box's contents, Joseph finds himself restrained, and at that moment the angel who has directed him thither appears and forbids him to touch them. Four years, he is informed, must elapse before the season will be ripe and the records delivered into his hands. Meantime he must lead a godly life, and visit the hill once a year, until the four years' term has expired; then and there to be further taught in relation to his prophetic mission. Much more does the angel unfold,—among other thing that he, Moroni, while living in the flesh, was the last of a line of prophets who ministered to an ancient people called Nephites, who inhabited this land; that he was the son of Mormon, a Nephite prophet, general and historian, whose record it is that there lies deposited, where

Moroni, divinely directed, hid it fourteen centuries before; that this hill was called by the Nephites Cumorah, but to the Jaredites, their historic predecessors, it had been known as the hill Ramah. Having finished his course of counsel and admonition, the messenger departs, and the youth, after carefully covering the box containing the records and replacing the surrounding soil, seeks his home to tell to the astonished household the marvelous things revealed by the heavenly messenger. Unlike the minister in whom he formerly confided, they believe his words and rejoice in his strange and wondrous story.

Agreeable to his instructions, Joseph, at the end of each year, or on the 22nd of each of the four succeeding Septembers, repairs to the hill Cumorah, meets and receives further teachings from Moroni. Finally, at the end of the fourth year—September 22nd, 1827—the angel custodian of the golden plates and the *Urim and Thummim* delivers the ancient relics into his keeping.

CHAPTER II.

1827-1830.

TRANSLATION OF THE BOOK OF MORMON—POVERTY AND PERSECUTION—THE “MONEY-DIGGING” AND “WIFE-STEALING” STORIES—MARTIN HARRIS—THE PROPHET REMOVES TO PENNSYLVANIA—DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES AND THE URIM AND THUMMIM—MARTIN HARRIS AND PROFESSOR ANTHON—THE REPUTED METHOD OF TRANSLATION—THE STOLEN MANUSCRIPT—OLIVER COWDERY—JOHN THE BAPTIST AND THE AARONIC PRIESTHOOD—BAPTISM OF JOSEPH AND OLIVER—JOSEPH KNIGHT’S BENEFICENCE—DAVID WHITMER—JOSEPH AND OLIVER REMOVE FROM HARMONY TO FAYETTE—THE MELCHISEDEK PRIESTHOOD—THE THREE WITNESSES—THE EIGHT—THE TRANSLATION COMPLETE AND THE BOOK OF MORMON GIVEN TO THE WORLD.

NOT for some months, according to Joseph, after receiving the golden plates, was he enabled to begin the task of their translation. In the first place he was very poor, and having married, was obliged to labor more diligently than ever for his daily bread. In the next place he was constantly harassed by enemies.

He tells that while on his way home with the plates, he was repeatedly set upon by unknown men, who strove to wrest them from him. Once they dealt him a severe blow with a bludgeon. Thanks to his superior strength, for he was now a stalwart youth of nearly twenty-two, and aided as he believed by the Almighty, he successfully withstood his assailants, and finally reached home in safety. But his enemies did not rest. Falsehood like a flood pursued him, and the waves of prejudice rose higher and higher. The house in which he lived was beset by mobs; armed assassins lay in wait for him and shot at him as he passed; robbers broke into his rooms to carry off the records, and every means imaginable, both of force and strategy, was vainly employed to get them from him.

In the interim of his fourth and fifth visits to Cumorah, Joseph had married Miss Emma Hale, daughter of Isaac Hale, of Harmony,

Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania. He had formed her acquaintance in the fall of 1825, while working for a Mr. Josiah Stoal, a resident of Chenango County, New York, who had hired him to go with him to Pennsylvania and dig for a silver mine. While thus employed, Joseph boarded in the family of Mr. Hale, and became enamored of his daughter, who returned his affection. The silver mine proving an *ignis fatuus*, after a month's fruitless labor Joseph persuaded his employer to abandon the useless enterprise. Subsequently he made overtures for the hand of Miss Hale, but her parents withheld their consent to the union. Emma, however, was of age, and a girl of high mettle, and her lover no less spirited and determined. They acted without consent, and went elsewhere to be married; the nuptial knot being tied by one Esquire Tarbill, at his home in South Bainbridge, Chenango County, New York, on the 18th of January, 1827.

From these two incidents in his career,—his being employed to dig for a silver mine, and his marriage with Miss Hale away from her father's home,—arose the prevalent stories of "money-digging" and "wife-stealing," used against him by his enemies.

The anger of Emma's parents over the independent action of the young couple, now happily wed, evidently soon abated; for at the expiration of a few months after their marriage, we find them contemplating a removal to the home of the Hales in Pennsylvania. And this, owing to the annoyance and persecution to which they were subjected at Manchester. Too poor to pay the expenses of the trip,—a distance of about a hundred miles,—Joseph at this juncture received timely aid from a Mr. Martin Harris, a well-to-do farmer residing in Palmyra Township, a few miles from Manchester. Mr. Harris, who had previously become interested in Joseph, gave him fifty dollars to assist him on his journey. This enabled the young couple to reach their destination. They arrived at Harmony in December, 1827. On their way thither, the wagon in which they traveled was twice stopped by officers, or men claiming to be such, armed with search warrants, who ransacked the vehicle in quest of the golden plates. They were secreted, it is said, in a barrel of beans, and thus escaped discovery.

These plates are thus described. They were of uniform size, about eight inches in width, each one a little thinner than ordinary tin. They were bound together by three rings running through one of the edges, forming a book about six inches in thickness, one-third of which was sealed. This part was not to be opened; the time not having come for its contents to be known. The unsealed two-thirds of the volume,—the plates of which could be turned like the leaves of a book, and were covered, both sides, with strange characters, “small and beautifully engraved,”—were left free to be translated by means of the *Urim and Thummim*.

This instrument consisted of two precious stones, set in the rims of a silver bow, and fastened to a breast-plate. The breast-plate, like the record plates, was of gold, the inside concave, the outside convex, and four golden bands attached served to fasten it to the person of the wearer.

In February, 1828, Martin Harris, the Palmyra farmer, visited his young friend at Harmony. Being shown certain mystical characters, which Joseph informed him he had copied from the golden plates and translated, Martin, by permission, took these characters to the city of New York, to exhibit them to the savants and linguists of the metropolis.

According to his account, he first submitted them to Professor Charles Anthon, of Columbia College, who stated that the translation was correct, and as to the characters, translated and untranslated, that they were Egyptian, Chaldaic, Syriac and Arabic—true and genuine. Being asked for a certificate to that effect, he willingly gave one, addressing it to the people of Palmyra.

“How did the young man learn that there were gold plates there?” asked the Professor, as Harris, having folded the certificate and put it in his pocket, turned to go.

“An angel of God revealed it to him,” answered the farmer.

A look of dismay, as if doubting the speaker’s sanity, stole over the face of the Professor, who, as soon as he could regain himself, exclaimed “Let me see that certificate.”

Martin returned the paper, whereupon Professor Anthon tore it in pieces, remarking that there were no such things now as ministering of angels, but that if the plates were brought to him he would translate them.

Martin informed him that a portion of the golden book was sealed, and that he would not be permitted to bring it.

"I cannot read a sealed book,"* replied the Professor, and the interview abruptly ended.

Harris next consulted Dr. Mitchell, another scholar, who seconded all that Professor Anthon had said concerning the characters and the translation.

Such was the report of his errand with which Martin Harris returned to Joseph Smith. So far was he now converted to the latter's views, that he then and there offered to act as his scribe in the work of translation. As Joseph was a poor penman, this offer was gratefully accepted.

The following is the reputed method of translation. The Prophet, scanning through the *Urim and Thummim* the golden pages, would see appear, in lieu of the strange characters engraved thereon, their equivalent in English words. These he would repeat, and the scribe, separated from him by a veil or curtain, would write them down. A peculiarity of the process was that until the writing was correct in every particular, the words last given would remain before the eyes of the translator, and not disappear. But on the necessary correction being made, they would immediately pass away and be succeeded by others. In this manner the Book of Mormon is said to have been translated. Hence the claim of the Latter-day Saints,—called "Mormons" for their belief in the book,—to its plenary inspiration.

From the 12th of April to the 14th of June, 1828, Joseph and Martin continued, with some intermissions, their joint labor of translating. In that interim the latter copied by dictation one hundred

* The Latter-day Saints regard this as a literal fulfillment of Isaiah xxix—11.

and sixteen pages of foolscap manuscript. These pages he much desired to show to his wife and other curious or skeptical persons, with a view to their conversion. After many entreaties and refusals, he obtained Joseph's permission to do so, on condition that they should be shown only to certain persons who were named. Martin, however, broke his pledge and permitted others to see them. The result was that the manuscript was stolen. Neither he nor Joseph ever again beheld it. A temporary estrangement ensued between them, and the Prophet, it is said, having angered the Almighty, lost his gift for a season. Martin, though eventually forgiven, never again acted as Joseph's scribe.

Oliver Cowdery next comes upon the scene. He is a school-teacher by profession; by trade a blacksmith; young in years, but a man of intelligence and education. Pursuing his vocation of pedagogue at Manchester, New York, during the winter of 1828-9, while boarding in the family of Joseph Smith, senior, he hears of young Joseph, his visions and the golden plates, and is impressed with a belief in their genuineness. He is also imbued with the idea that his future destiny and that of the Prophet are in some manner interwoven. At Sabbath sunset, April 5th, 1829, he presents himself at Joseph's door in Harmony, and volunteers his services as a scribe and secretary. The proffered aid is eagerly accepted. Two days later the youthful twain,—who are yet to be known as the first and second Elders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,—continue the work of translating the Nephite record. The rendering into English progresses rapidly under their united and almost incessant labors, and by the middle of May the greater part of the translation is complete.

Joseph and Oliver testify that on a certain day they suspended their task and went out into the woods to pray and inquire of the Lord concerning the doctrine—then well nigh obsolete in Christendom—of baptism for the remission of sins, which they had found mentioned in the translation of the plates. While calling upon the Lord, they declare, a heavenly messenger descended in a cloud of

light, and laying his hands upon their heads, spake these words: "Upon you, my fellow servants, in the name of Messiah, I confer the Priesthood of Aaron, which holds the keys of the ministering of angels, and of the gospel of repentance, and of baptism by immersion for the remission of sins; and this shall never again be taken from the earth, until the sons of Levi do offer again an offering unto the Lord in righteousness."

The angel who thus ordained them said that his name was John, the same who was anciently surnamed "the Baptist," and that he acted under the direction of Peter, James and John, who held the keys of the Melchisedek Priesthood; this, the higher authority, should in due time be conferred upon them, and Joseph should then be the first Elder and Oliver the second Elder in the Church of Christ. The Melchisedek Priesthood would authorize them to bestow the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands, a power not conferred by the Priesthood of Aaron. They were then directed to baptize each other by immersion; Joseph first to baptize Oliver, Oliver then to baptize Joseph; after which, in the same order, they were to re-ordain each other to the Aaronic Priesthood. These instructions were carefully obeyed. The date given for these events is May 15th, 1829. According to the record, it was soon after this that the Melchisedek Priesthood was conferred upon Joseph and Oliver by the Apostles Peter, James and John.

In the latter part of May the mobocratic spirit, which till then had lain dormant in that locality, manifested itself at this place of peaceful name, Harmony, where a violent assault upon the two young men was only prevented by the personal influence of Mr. Hale, Joseph's father-in-law. Joseph was now living in his own home, but the gaunt wolf of poverty still hovered round his door. Hearing of his straitened circumstances and having faith in his professions, an elderly man named Joseph Knight, residing at Colesville, Broome County, New York—thirty miles distant—came bringing supplies of food and other necessities, to enable him and his scribe to continue their work without interruption. This act of beneficence was several times repeated.

A family named Whitmer, friends of Oliver Cowdery, at Fayette, Seneca County, New York, had also been apprised of the situation. Early in June David Whitmer arrived at Harmony with a message from his father, Peter Whitmer, senior, inviting Joseph and Oliver to come to Fayette and make their home in his household. This offer was thankfully accepted.

At the home of Father Whitmer, to which they at once repaired, they zealously prosecuted their labors. At intervals Joseph and Oliver would converse with the Whitmers and other people of the neighborhood upon the subject of religion, baptizing such as believed and desired to embrace their principles. During the month of June, Hyrum Smith, David Whitmer and Peter Whitmer, junior, were baptized in Seneca Lake; the first two by Joseph Smith, the last-named by Oliver Cowdery. Samuel H. Smith had been baptized by Oliver at Harmony some time before.

Among the predictions of the Book of Mormon is one to the effect that three special witnesses should be chosen to behold the plates from which it was translated. These plates were to be shown them by an angel. Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer and Martin Harris were selected as these witnesses. The event is thus recorded in their own words, forming a portion of the preface to the Book of Mormon:

THE TESTIMONY OF THE THREE WITNESSES.

Be it known unto all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people unto whom this work shall come, that we, through the grace of God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, have seen the plates which contain this record, which is a record of the people of Nephi, and also of the Lamanites, their brethren, and also of the people of Jared, who came from the tower of which hath been spoken; and we also know that they have been translated by the gift and power of God, for his voice hath declared it unto us; wherefore we know of a surety that the work is true. And we also testify that we have seen the engravings which are upon the plates; and they have been shewn unto us by the power of God, and not of man. And we declare with words of soberness, that an angel of God came down from heaven, and he brought and laid before our eyes, that we beheld and saw the plates, and the engravings thereon; and we know that it is by the grace of God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, that we beheld and bear record that these things are true; and it is marvelous in our eyes, nevertheless the voice of the Lord commanded us that we should bear record of it; wherefore to be obedient unto the commandments of God, we bear testimony of these things. And we know that if we are faithful in Christ, we shall rid

our garments of the blood of all men, and be found spotless before the judgment-seat of Christ, and shall dwell with him eternally in the heavens. And the honor be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, which is one God. Amen.

OLIVER COWDERY,
DAVID WHITMER,
MARTIN HARRIS.

Eight others also testify, as follows :

THE TESTIMONY OF THE EIGHT WITNESSES.

Be it known unto all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people unto whom this work shall come, that Joseph Smith, Jun., the translator of this work, has shewn unto us the plates of which hath been spoken, which have the appearance of gold ; and as many of the leaves as the said Smith has translated, we did handle with our hands ; and we also saw the engravings thereon, all of which has the appearance of ancient work, and of curious workmanship. And this we bear record with words of soberness, that the said Smith has shewn unto us, for we have seen and hefted, and know of a surety that the said Smith has got the plates of which we have spoken. And we give our names unto the world, to witness unto the world that which we have seen ; and we lie not, God bearing witness of it.

CHRISTIAN WHITMER,	HIRAM PAGE,
JACOB WHITMER,	JOSEPH SMITH, SEN.,
PETER WHITMER, JUN.,	HYRUM SMITH,
JOHN WHITMER,	SAMUEL H. SMITH.

Among the revelations recorded as “given through Joseph the Seer” during the month of June, 1829, is one making known the calling of the Twelve Apostles of the coming Church. The mission to “search out the Twelve” was given to Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer. In other revelations, addressed to various individuals, it is reiterated that “a great and marvelous work is about to come forth among the children of men.”

As the translation drew to a close, the Prophet and his friends visited Palmyra, the home of Martin Harris, to arrange for the publication of the Book of Mormon. They secured the copy-right and contracted with Mr. Egbert B. Grandin to print five thousand copies for the sum of three thousand dollars. Martin Harris was to furnish the money. The copy-right was secured June 11th, 1829.

Respecting the final disposition of the plates and the *Urim and Thummim*, Joseph states that the same heavenly messenger who com-

mitted them to his care, reclaimed them when the work of translation was over.

The manuscript of the Book of Mormon was carefully copied, the original retained by the translator, and the copy,—said to be in the writing of Oliver Cowdery,*—placed in the hands of the printer. Joseph then paid a visit to his home in Pennsylvania, leaving his more scholarly friend Cowdery to superintend the proof-reading and other details of publication. Early in the year 1830 the first edition of the Book of Mormon was given to the world.

* This manuscript is now in the possession of the family of the late David Whitmer, at Richmond, Ray County, Mo.

CHAPTER III.

WHAT THE BOOK OF MORMON CLAIMS TO BE—THE NARRATIVE OF THE NEPHITE RECORD—HOW THE WORLD RECEIVED IT—THE SPAULDING STORY—"MORMONISM UNVEILED"—THE SIDNEY RIGDON ANACHRONISM—DISCOVERY OF THE ORIGINAL "MANUSCRIPT STORY"—ITS CONDENSED NARRATIVE—MORMON'S RECORD AND SPAULDING'S ROMANCE COMPARED—REYNOLDS' "MYTH OF THE MANUSCRIPT FOUND"—PRESIDENT FAIRCHILD'S OPINION—NUMEROUS EDITIONS OF THE TRANSLATED WORK.

THE Book of Mormon claims to be a record of two great races that flourished successively upon the American continent ages prior to its discovery by Columbus. Their combined histories, written by a succession of authors—prophets and kings—cover a period extending from the time of the Tower of Babel down to about the beginning of the fifth century of the Christian era. The records of these authors comprise fifteen books, named in their order as follows: I. Nephi, II. Nephi, Book of Jacob, Book of Enos, Book of Jarom, Book of Omni, The Words of Mormon, Book of Mosiah, including the Record of Zeniff, Book of Alma, Book of Helaman, III. Nephi, IV. Nephi, Book of Mormon, Book of Ether, and the Book of Moroni.

The first of the ancient races referred to, whose histories are briefly given in these records, were the Jaredites, who, in the dispersion following the confusion of tongues, came across the great deep and peopled what is now North America. Their leaders were Jared and his brother, Mahonri Moriancurnr, from the former of whom the nation derived its name. Their greatest national character, however, was this "brother of Jared,"—otherwise nameless in the record,*—under whose inspired leadership the colony left the land of Shinar, and crossing one of the great oceans in ships or "barges" of their own building, landed on these northern shores, made glorious during

* Joseph Smith supplied the proper name, Mahonri Moriancurnr.

the lapse of centuries by their power, wisdom, wealth and civilization.

The Jaredite leaders were democratic in their instincts, abhorring the idea of kings and monarchies, which they had been taught to believe could not long flourish upon this goodly land,—a land destined to be “free from bondage.” But their people, like the Israelites of a later period in the far-off land of Canaan, desired a king, and besought them ere they died to anoint one of their sons to rule over them. The thought was repugnant to the great and good founders of the nation, who foresaw the inevitable result,—the captivity, perchance the destruction of their people. However, they yielded reluctant assent, and one of the sons of Jared—Orihah—his three brothers and all the sons of the brother of Jared having declined the proffered purple, was anointed king.

A short period of prosperity followed, for the people served God and were righteous. Then came wealth, class divisions, pride, tyranny, with their usual concomitants,—luxury, licentiousness and crime. The worship of God was neglected, then abandoned. Self-interest dethroned patriotism, and passion usurped the place of principle. Civil wars broke out, dismembering and dividing the nation. From civilization and refinement the race sank into brutality and savagery, until finally, over the precipice of destruction, of utter annihilation, swept the awful torrent of a mighty people's ruin.

The last of many prophets who taught and warned the Jaredites, seeking in vain to avert their coming doom, was Ether their historian, who, having witnessed the destruction of his people, hid up their records for discovery in after ages, and disappeared from view.

A few passages from the Book of Ether*, as abridged by Moroni the Nephite, are here presented :

And now I, Moroni, proceed to finish my record concerning the destruction of the people of whom I have been writing.

For behold, they rejected the words of Ether ; for he truly told them of all things, from the beginning of man ; and that after the waters had receded from off the face of this

* Chapter xiii. 1-14.

land, it became a choice land above all other lands, a chosen land of the Lord ; wherefore the Lord would have that all men should serve him who dwell upon the face thereof ;

And that it was the place of the New Jerusalem, which should come down out of heaven, and the Holy Sanctuary of the Lord.

Behold, Ether saw the days of Christ, and he spake concerning a New Jerusalem upon this land ;

And he spake also concerning the house of Israel, and the Jerusalem from whence Lehi should come ; after it should be destroyed, it should be built up again a holy city unto the Lord, wherefore it could not be a New Jerusalem, for it had been in a time of old, but it should be built up again, and become a holy city of the Lord ; and it should be built unto the house of Israel ;

And that a New Jerusalem should be built up upon this land, unto the remnant of the seed of Joseph, for which things there has been a type ;

For as Joseph brought his father down into the land of Egypt, even so he died there ; wherefore the Lord brought a remnant of the seed of Joseph out of the land of Jerusalem, that he might be merciful unto the seed of Joseph, that they should perish not, even as he was merciful unto the father of Joseph, that he should perish not ;

Wherefore the remnant of the house of Joseph shall be built upon this land ; and it shall be a land of their inheritance ; and they shall build up a holy city unto the Lord, like unto the Jerusalem of old ; and they shall no more be confounded, until the end comes when the earth shall pass away.

And there shall be a new heaven and a new earth ; and they shall be like unto the old, save the old have passed away, and all things have become new.

And then cometh the New Jerusalem ; and blessed are they who dwell therein, for it is they whose garments are white through the blood of the Lamb ; and they are they who are numbered among the remnant of the seed of Joseph, who were of the house of Israel.

And then also cometh the Jerusalem of old ; and the inhabitants thereof, blessed are they, for they have been washed in the blood of the Lamb ; and they are they who were scattered and gathered in from the four quarters of the earth, and from the north countries, and are partakers of the fulfilling of the covenant which God made with their father Abraham.

And when these things come, bringeth to pass the scripture which saith, There are they who were first, who shall be last ; and there are they who were last, who shall be first.

And I was about to write more, but am forbidden ; but great and marvelous were the prophecies of Ether, but they esteemed him as nought, and cast him out, and he hid himself in the cavity of a rock by day, and by night he went forth viewing the things which should come upon the people.

And as he dwelt in the cavity of a rock, he made the remainder of this record, viewing the destructions which came upon the people by night.

The sole survivor of the final slaughter, which took place near the hill Ramah, between the two great contending factions of the

fratricidal Jaredites, was Coriantumr, their king. Having slain Shiz, the leader of the opposing host, in a duel upon the bloody field, where all save this twain had fallen, Coriantumr lived long enough to tell the sad story of his people's ruin to their successors upon this northern land. These, the people of Mulek, were a colony led out from Jerusalem under Mulek, son of Zedekiah, king of Judah, about the time of the beginning of the Babylonian captivity. They did not remain a distinct nation, but coalesced with the Nephites, the second of the two great races mentioned.

The Nephites, with whose history the Book of Mormon begins,—the discovery of Mulek's colony and the finding and translating of the Jaredite Book of Ether being incidents in their career,—were likewise from Judea. They were mostly the descendants of Lehi, who, divinely guided, departed with his family from Jerusalem about the year 600 B. C.,—eleven years before Mulek's colony emigrated,—while the Prophet Jeremiah was pouring his solemn warnings in the ears of king, princes, priests and people of the sin-laden and doomed city. Lehi was descended from Joseph, through Manasseh. His wife's name was Sariah. Their children, when leaving Jerusalem, were four sons,—Laman, Lemuel, Sam and Nephi,—and several daughters whose names are not given. Subsequently were born to them two more sons,—Jacob and Joseph. The other members of Lehi's colony were Ishmael and his family, who were of Ephraim,* and a servant named Zoram. The sons and daughters of Lehi and Ishmael intermarried.

The course of the colony from Jerusalem led to the Red Sea and along its shores; thence eastward across the peninsula of Arabia. On the shores of the Persian Gulf, under the inspired direction of Nephi, who became the virtual leader of the colony, they built a ship, and in it crossed "the great waters"—the Indian and Pacific oceans—to South America. They are supposed to have landed on the coast of the country now called Chili. Thence, as their nation or nations

* Joseph Smith said that the manuscript lost by Martin Harris so stated.

grew, and the people multiplied, the descendants of Lehi spread over the whole face of South and North America.

After Lehi's death the colony divided; Laman and Lemuel, who had always been jealous of their younger and gifted brother Nephi, rebelling against his rule, and leading away others to form a separate people. Thenceforth there were two nations; the followers of Laman, who were known as Lamanites, and the adherents of Nephi, who took upon them his name in like manner. The Lamanites, for their iniquity, were cursed by the Almighty with dark skins. They became a loathsome and benighted race, savage and blood-thirsty, roaming the wilderness and subsisting upon wild beasts, killed for game, or by their frequent marauding incursions into the territory of the Nephites. The latter were highly civilized, dwelling in cities and cultivating the arts and sciences. Unlike their dark-skinned neighbors, they were "a white and a delightful people," fair and beautiful to look upon. Gentle in peace, valorous in war, refined, intelligent, wealthy and powerful, they were at once the envy and the terror of their foes, the ferocious Lamanites, who hated them with an intensity indescribable. Many were the wars and conflicts between the two races; the Lamanites being generally the aggressors, while the Nephites fought in self-defense. Their warriors were highly disciplined, wore armor, and wielded the sword, spear and javelin, while the Lamanites, whose favorite weapons were the bow and sling, went half nude or clothed in skins, affording little protection against the sharp blades and keen points of their adversaries. Still they were fiercely brave, and frequently came off conquerors. When the Nephites served God they prospered, and in war were invincible and invulnerable. When they forgot Him, as they often did, their power waned and departed, and they fell an easy prey to their enemies. But as often as they repented, their strength and valor returned, and the God of battles fought with them and against their foes.

The religion of the Nephites, until the advent of the Savior,—who appeared to them shortly after His resurrection and established His church among them,—was the law of Moses; though they also

understood and practiced the first principles of Christ's gospel, revealed to them prior to His coming. One of their first projects, after separating from Laman and his followers, who turned entirely from the Lord, was to build a temple to the Most High, constructed after the pattern, though not on the same scale of magnificence, as the temple of Solomon. Nephi, his brothers Jacob and Joseph and their descendants were the officiating Priesthood.

The Nephite government was originally a limited monarchy, with Nephi,—against his own will, for he, like the first Jaredite leaders, was an anti-monarchist,—as king or protector. His successors, for several centuries, were mostly wise and able rulers, during whose reigns the Nephites enjoyed many periods of prosperity, and the nation, though at times brought to the brink of ruin by the wickedness of its people, spread abroad and became powerful. The Lamanites likewise had kings, who were autocrats, but, as stated, they were a nomadic and savage race, and only at rare intervals,—and then by fusion or contact with the Nephites,—reached a standard of civilization.

In the year B. C. 91, the Nephite republic was proclaimed, and for a period of one hundred and twenty years the nation was ruled by judges elected by the people. Wars with the Lamanites and with bands of truculent outlaws known as Gadianton robbers; victories, defeats, internal dissensions, revolutions, disasters, works of glory and deeds of darkness mark this checkered period,—an era of violent vicissitudes. In the year A. D. 30 the republic was disrupted, and the people divided into tribes and factions.

Then came the greatest, most glorious, and withal most terrible event in the annals of the Nephite nation,—the advent of the risen Redeemer; His appearance to the more righteous portion of the people, preceded by the appalling, overwhelming destruction and desolation of the wicked. First, according to those annals, an awful tempest, unparalleled in force and fury, swept over the land, leaving death and devastation in its wake. Three hours it endured,—but what hours! During the prevalence of the storm, while the lightning's

fiery falchion smote, and the batteries of heaven thundered and reverberated, the whole face of nature was changed, disfigured, like the rage-distorted visage of an angry man. Mountains disappeared, sunken or swept away. Valleys became towering peaks. Impelled by the whirlwind, great boulders hurtled through the air, as if thrown by Titan hands, or rolled grinding and crashing along the quivering earth. The mighty heart of nature throbbed tumultuously. Earthquakes with awful rumblings rent the ground. Great chasms opened, like monster jaws, engulfing cities with their living millions, while others were devoured by fire, or swallowed by the raging seas, heaving beyond their bounds. Three hours of fearful turmoil, with three days of thick darkness following, during which the affrighted inhabitants, survivors of the tempest and its terrors, lay shuddering half lifeless upon the quaking earth, listening to the horrible groanings and grindings of the storm; or when its fury lulled, loudly bewailing their own and their fellows' woes.

At length the tumult ceases; the earth no longer trembles, and the voice of Him who stilled with a word the stormy waves of Galilee is heard from heaven proclaiming in solemn tones the calamities that have befallen. A note of awful warning to the transgressor; a promise of peace and of pardon to the penitent. Subsequently the Savior appears. The more righteous of the Nephites behold Him. He shows to them His wounded side and the prints of the nails in His hands and feet; instructs them in the truths of His gospel; heals their sick, blesses their children, administers the sacrament and establishes His church in the midst of them. Therein are apostles, prophets, etc.,—the same orders of Priesthood, the same doctrines, ordinances, gifts and graces that characterize the church at Jerusalem. He informs the Nephites that they are the "other sheep," of whom He spake to His Jewish disciples—though they understood Him not—who were "not of that fold;" not of Judah but of Joseph; and that from them He goes to visit still "other sheep," not of this land, "neither of the land of Jerusalem." Having fully instructed them He departs; not, however, before giving to three of the Twelve

whom He has chosen, power over death, insomuch that the destroyer cannot assail them, and to all the Apostles power to preach the gospel, administer its ordinances, work miracles, build up the Church and bring souls to Him.

Then ensue nearly two centuries of unexampled peace and prosperity, during which period the Church of Christ, a pure theocracy, reigns supreme. A community of interests, spiritual and temporal—more than realizing the theories of a Bellamy—is established; Nephites and Lamanites throughout the entire land are converted unto Christ, and bask in the light of an almost Millennial era. This happy state continues until the year A. D. 200, when the first signs of disintegration appear. Other churches are then founded, other creeds promulgated, and the order of unity, equality, fraternity, is abandoned. Thirty years later a great separation takes place, and the people are again known as Nephites and Lamanites.

It is the beginning of the end. The period of the nation's decline and downfall has arrived, and the descent is thenceforth ruinous and rapid. Contentions, crimes and disasters follow in succession. Nearly a century rolls by. The great international conflict has resumed. Again have wars between Nephites and Lamanites drenched and deluged the land with blood and tears. The Nephites now occupy "the land northward," whither they have been driven by their victorious foes, who hold possession of the southern continent. The "narrow neck of land" divides them. The struggle goes on. Each army invades alternately the territory of the other; only to be repulsed and driven back. Again and again sounds the tocsin of war. Again and again the two nations rush to battle. Peace after peace is patched up, only to be rent asunder. At length the Lamanites gain an advantage. They once more invade the northern continent. The degenerate Nephites no longer prevail against them. Bravely, desperately they contend, but vainly. The God whom they have offended is no longer with them, and victory perches permanently upon the banners of their adversaries. Backward, still backward they are driven, disputing with stubborn valor every inch of ground. The

whole land reeks and smokes with blood and carnage. Rapine and slaughter hold sway. Each side, drunken with blood, besotted and brutalized, vies with the other in cruelties and atrocities. Finally the hill Ramah—Cumorah—is reached, and there, on the spot where ages before the Jaredite nation perished, the Nephites, similarly fated, make their final stand.

Their general, Mormon, foreseeing the destruction of his people, has committed to his son Moroni,—like himself one of a righteous few left of a degenerate nation,—the records of their race, including an abridgment of their history written with his own hand upon plates of gold. These are accompanied by certain instruments called “interpreters”—Urim and Thummim—used by the Nephite prophets in translating.

The carnage of Cumorah ensues; the Nephite nation is annihilated, and the Lamanites,—ancestors of the dusky aborigines whom Columbus, centuries later, found and named Indians,—are left in absolute, undisputed possession of the soil. Moroni, having survived the awful massacre, abridges the Jaredite record, adds it to the Nephite history written by his sire, and deposits the golden plates and interpreters in the hill Cumorah, A. D. 420.

Such, briefly, is the story of the Book of Mormon, which Joseph Smith and his confreres had now given to the world; the famous “Gold Bible,” so styled in derision by opponents of Mormonism, but revered by the Latter-day Saints as an inspired record, of equal authority with the Jewish scriptures, containing, as they claim, the revelations of Jehovah to His Israel of the western world, as the Bible His revelations to Israel in the Orient. The Saints hold that the Book of Mormon is the veritable “stick of Joseph,” that was to be one with the “stick of Judah”—the Bible—as foretold by Ezekiel.*

The book being published and circulated, speculation at once became rife as to its origin. Of course nobody believed, or compar-

* Chapter xxxvii. 16–19.

atively few, that it had come in the way its translator and the witnesses declared. The same skepticism that repudiated the idea of the Father and the Son appearing to Joseph Smith, now ridiculed the claim of the Book of Mormon to being a divine record. That it was purely of human origin, or worse, was very generally believed. Passing by the many minor theories put forth to account for it, we will merely take up one, the celebrated Spaulding story, which obtained greater credence and notoriety than any other, and still forms the back-bone argument of objectors to the divine authenticity of the Book of Mormon.

In the year 1816, at Amity, Washington County, Pennsylvania, died Solomon Spaulding, a native of Ashford, Connecticut, where he was born in 1761. A few years prior to his decease, he had resided at Conneaut, Ashtabula County, Ohio. At one time in his life he was a clergyman,—at least he wore to his name the prefix of “Reverend,”—and is said to have been a graduate of Dartmouth College. Though not a man of much ability, nor of much education, if we may judge from his work, he cultivated a taste for literature, and aspired to the distinction of authorship. His mind ran upon ancient and archaic themes, insomuch that about the year 1812, while living at Conneaut, he wrote a romance entitled “Manuscript Story,” giving a fabulous account of the pre-historic races of North America. The romance was suggested by the discovery, near the author’s home, of certain relics, such as bows and arrows, and the existence in that vicinity of the ruins of an ancient fort. Two years later, Spaulding removed from Ohio to Pennsylvania, stopping awhile in Pittsburg, and then settling at Amity, where, as stated, he died in 1816.

The romance, unpublished, remained in the possession of his widow until 1834,—four years after the Book of Mormon was published,—at which time she was living at Monson, Hampden County, Massachusetts, and having re-married was then Mrs. Matilda Davison.

During the year 1834, D. P. Hurlburt, an apostate Mormon, came to Mrs. Davison and procured the “Manuscript Story” written by her

former husband. His avowed purpose was to use this work, of which he had heard in Pennsylvania, in an expose of Mormonism, which certain opponents of the Saints,—whose headquarters were then at Kirtland, Ohio,—were helping him to publish in that state. Hurlburt's reason for desiring the romance was that he had recognized, from the account he had obtained of it, a supposed resemblance between it and the Book of Mormon, which he was then zealously decrying. He agreed with Mrs. Davison to publish the story and give her half the profits realized from its sale. She reluctantly consented to part with the relic, giving him an order for it addressed to Mr. Jerome Clark, of Hartwick, Otsego County, New York, with whom she had temporarily left an old trunk containing the manuscript. Hurlburt, having secured it, returned to Ohio. A perusal of its pages, however, failed to afford him and his colleagues the satisfaction they had anticipated. The supposed resemblance between it and the Book of Mormon, they found to be indeed suppositional, or at all events so vague as to poorly subserve their purpose. They therefore suppressed it. Hurlburt wrote to Mrs. Davison that the manuscript "did not read as he expected," and that he should not publish it. He did not return it, however, though repeatedly urged by the owner so to do, but gave out that it had been accidentally destroyed by fire, claiming to have been so informed by Mr. E. D. Howe, a publisher at Painesville, with whom he had left the romance to be read and then returned to Mrs. Davison. From that time, until fully fifty years later, nothing further was known of the fate of the Spaulding manuscript.

"Mormonism Unveiled"—Hurlburt's expose—appeared in due time; not, however, in the name of D. P. Hurlburt, but of E. D. Howe, who had purchased the work and published it. It was a satirical assault upon Mormonism in general, and upon Joseph Smith in particular. It announced to the world that the Book of Mormon, in all probability, was Solomon Spaulding's romance revised and amplified. The assertion was supported, not by extracts from the two records, compared, but by depositions from various persons who claimed to be

familiar with both, touching the points of alleged similarity between them. It denied, on the authority of these deponents, that the writing obtained of Mrs. Davison was the "Manuscript Story," and claimed that it bore no resemblance to it. Mrs. Davison, however, though no friend to Mormonism, stated that it was the "Manuscript Story," that Hurlburt obtained of her, and her statement is borne out by the fact that no other manuscript of like character, claiming Solomon Spaulding as its author, has ever yet appeared.

The theory put forth by the author of "Mormonism Unveiled" regarding the origin of the Book of Mormon was this: that Sidney Rigdon,—then Joseph Smith's "right-hand man,"—who had formerly resided at Pittsburg, where Mr. Spaulding once tarried for a time, had procured the dead clergyman's manuscript from the printing-office of Messrs. Patterson and Lambdin, in that city; that being a man of ability and education, Rigdon had altered and enlarged the original work, adding the religious portions, and then, through Joseph Smith, had palmed it upon the world as an ancient and inspired record. This hypothesis found many believers, and even to this day, among non-Mormons generally, is accepted as authentic and reliable.

On the other hand, Mormon pens and tongues have been busy for fifty years denying the truth and consistency of the Spaulding story. They have always affirmed that until after the Book of Mormon was published, Joseph Smith had not been seen, nor scarcely heard of, in those parts traversed by the Spaulding manuscript; that Sidney Rigdon did not visit Pittsburg until years after the removal of the Spauldings from that city; that he never was connected, as alleged, with a printing-office in that place; that up to the fall of 1830, several months after the Book of Mormon was published, he had not so much as seen the book, and that until December of the same year he and Joseph Smith had never met. In short, that Rigdon's alleged connection with the origin of the Book of Mormon was an anachronism pure and simple, and that any theory seeking to identify that record with the Spaulding romance was susceptible of the easiest disproof.

But all in vain. The world had made up its mind. The Mormon side of the story was too miraculous for belief; the Hurlburt-Howe theory too plausible for disbelief; and the Spaulding romance, with Sidney Rigdon or "some other designing knave" as its amplifier and embellisher, has continued to be regarded as the literary nucleus of the Book of Mormon.

In the year 1884, fifty years after its disappearance and alleged destruction, the missing Spaulding manuscript was brought to light. Its discoverer was Mr. L. L. Rice, of Honolulu, Sandwich Islands. Being visited that year by President James H. Fairchild, of Oberlin College, Ohio, Mr. Rice, at his suggestion, was looking through his papers in quest of certain anti-slavery documents, when he came upon a package marked in pencil on the outside "Manuscript Story—Conneaut Creek," which proved upon examination, to their great surprise, to be the long-lost romance of Dr. Spaulding. Its presence among the private papers of Mr. Rice was explained by the fact that about the year 1840 he and a partner had purchased from E. D. Howe, the publisher of "Mormonism Unveiled," the business and effects of the Painesville "Telegraph." At that time Mr. Rice,—who in Ohio was an anti-slavery editor,—had received from Howe a collection of miscellaneous papers, which, prior to Mr. Fairchild's visit, he had never taken time to thoroughly examine. The original of the "Manuscript Story" Mr. Rice presented to President Fairchild, but an exact copy, procured of the former by a representative of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, was published *verbatim et literatim* at Salt Lake City in 1886.*

As stated by Howe—or Hurlburt—it is "a romance purporting to have been translated from the Latin, found on twenty-four rolls of parchment in a cave;" its author thus anticipating a method in vogue among popular novelists of the present period,—notably of the H. Rider Haggard school. It contains perhaps a tenth as much reading matter as the Book of Mormon, and unlike that record is

* Josephites—dissenting Mormons—have also published the "Manuscript Story." Their edition was the first to appear.

written in modern style. None of the proper names, and few if any of the incidents, are similar to those of the Nephite narrative. Its rhetoric is exceedingly faulty,—more so than the usually criticised passages of the Book of Mormon,—and the pamphlet throughout is largely mis-spelled and poorly punctuated. Rehabilitated and condensed, the story would run about as follows :

In the reign of the Emperor Constantine, a young patrician named Fabius, secretary to his imperial majesty, sails from Rome for Britain, with an important commission to the commander of his country's legions stationed there. After safely traversing the Mediterranean, the ship encounters near the British coast a terrific storm, which drives her oceanward until she is utterly lost in the midst of the watery wilderness. Five days the tempest rages, and the vessel flies westward before a furious gale. On the sixth day the storm abates. The black mists which have hung over the deep, obscuring the lights of heaven, are dispelled, and the sun dawns in glory upon a cloudless sky. But no land is in sight; only "water, water everywhere." Consternation reigns, and the ship is still driven westward. Finally a mariner comforts his fellow castaways by announcing that the Almighty has revealed to him that land is not far off, and that gentle breezes will soon waft them into a safe harbor and to hospitable shores. Five days later the prediction is fulfilled. Land heaves in sight, and the storm-beaten ship enters the mouth of a spacious river. Sailing up many leagues, it arrives at a town on the river's bank, the home of the king and chiefs of a savage nation, upon whose domain the outcasts have entered. They are the "Deliwares," one of several tribes or nations inhabiting the land. The Romans are kindly received, and conclude to remain. The seven damsels of the party select husbands from their male companions, leaving the residue to lead lives of celibacy, or choose mates from the ranks of the copper-colored maidens of the land. Two years later the white colonists leave the country of the "Deliwares," and migrating to the north-west, take up their abode among the "Ohons," another native tribe vastly more numerous, powerful and civilized.

The remainder of the story, which is disjointed and incomplete, includes a series of philosophic, geographic, and astronomical observations by Fabius; descriptions of the religious teachings and traditions of the natives, their social and political customs and an elaborate narration of their glorious antecedents. Their great oracle and law-giver, a sort of Moses and Hiawatha combined,—though there is no allusion to Israel in all the text,—was one Lobaska, an illustrious character, a portion of whose biography is given. After dwelling upon the manner in which Lobaska united all the tribes or kingdoms of the land under one government, gave them their “sacred roll” of religious tenets, and framed their political constitution, it describes their subsequent wars and dissensions, and closes abruptly on the eve of a great battle between the hosts of the militant empires of “Sciota” and “Kentuck.”

The latter is by far the best written portion of the narrative, the quality of which differs so in places, and descends so often from the half sublime to the wholly ridiculous, as to tempt the reader to believe that more than one pen was employed in its composition.

To enable the reader to compare the respective styles in which the two books are written, brief selections from each are here presented :

BOOK OF MORMON. II. NEPHI, CHAP. I.

And now it came to pass after I, Nephi, had made an end of teaching my brethren, our father, Lehi, also spake many things unto them, how great things the Lord had done for them, in bringing them out of the land of Jerusalem.

And he spake unto them concerning their rebellions upon the waters, and the mercies of God in sparing their lives, that they were not swallowed up in the sea.

And he also spake unto them concerning the land of promise, which they had obtained: how merciful the Lord had been in warning us that we should flee out of the land of Jerusalem.

For, behold, said he, I have seen a vision,

MANUSCRIPT STORY, CHAP. II.

As no alternative now remained, but either to make the desperate attempt to return across the wide boistrous ocean or to take up our residence in a country inhabited by savages and wild ferocious beasts we did not long hesitate. We held a solemn treaty with the king & all the chiefs of his nation. They agreed to cede to us a tract of excellent Land on the north part of the town on which was six wigwams, & engaged perpetual amity & hospitality & the protection of our lives & property. * * * But now a most singular & delicate subject presented itself for consideration. Seven young women we had on board, as passengers, to visit certain friends they had in

BOOK OF MORMON.

in which I know that Jerusalem is destroyed; and had we remained in Jerusalem, we should also have perished.

But, said he, notwithstanding our afflictions, we have obtained a land of promise, a land which is choice above all other lands; a land which the Lord God hath covenanted with me should be a land for the inheritance of my seed. Yea, the Lord hath covenanted this land unto me, and to my children for ever; and also all those who should be led out of other countries by the hand of the Lord.

Wherefore, I, Lehi, prophesy according to the workings of the Spirit which is in me, that there shall none come into this land, save they shall be brought by the hand of the Lord.

Wherefore, this land is consecrated unto him whom he shall bring. And if it so be that they shall serve him according to the commandments which he hath given, it shall be a land of liberty unto them; wherefore, they shall never be brought down into captivity; if so, it shall be because of iniquity; for if iniquity shall abound, cursed shall be the land for their sakes; but unto the righteous it shall be blessed for ever.

MANUSCRIPT STORY.

Britain—Three of them were ladies of rank, and the rest were healthy bucksom Lassies.—Whilst deliberating upon this subject a mariner arose whom we called droll Tom—Hark ye shipmates says he, Whilst tossed on the foming billows what brave son of neptune had any more regard for a woman than a sturgeon, but now we are all safely anchored on Terra firma—our sails furled & ship keeled up, I have a huge longing for some of those rosy dames—But willing to take my chance with my shipmates—I propose that they should make their choice of husbands. The plan was instantly adopted. * * * The Capt. & myself, attended with our fair partners & two mariners repaired to a new habitation which consisted of two convenient apartments. After having partook of an elligant Dinner & drank a bottle of excellent wine our spirits were exhilerated & the deepgloom which beclouded our minds evaporated. The Capt. assuming his wonted cheerfulness made the following address. My sweet good soaled fellows we have now commenced a new voige—Not such as brot us over mountain billows to this butt end of the world. No, no, our voyge is on dry land & now we must take care that we have sufficient ballast for the riging—every hand on board this ship must clasp hands and condescend to each others humour, this will pro-good cheer and smooth the raging billows of life. Surrounded by innumerable hords of human beings, who resemble in manners the Ourang Outang—let us keep aloof from them & not embark in the same matrimonial ship (*with them*). At the same time we will treat them with good cheer & enlighten their dark souls with good instruction. By continuing a distinct people & preserving our customs, manners, religion & arts and sciences another Italy will grow up in this wilderness & we shall be celebrated as the fathers of a great & happy nation.

BOOK OF MORMON, ETHER, CHAP. XIV.

And it came to pass that Lib did pursue him until he came to the plains of Agosh. And Coriantumr had taken all the people with him, as he fled before Lib in that quarter of the land whither he fled.

And when he had come to the plains of Agosh, he gave battle unto Lib, and he smote upon him until he died; nevertheless, the brother of Lib did come against Coriantumr in the stead thereof, and the battle became exceeding sore, in the which Coriantumr fled again before the army of the brother of Lib.

Now the name of the brother of Lib was called Shiz. And it came to pass that Shiz pursued after Coriantumr, and he did overthrow many cities, and he did slay both women and children, and he did burn the cities thereof,

And there went a fear of Shiz throughout all the land; yea, a cry went forth throughout the land, who can stand before the army of Shiz? Behold he sweepeth the earth before him!

And it came to pass that the people began to flock together in armies, throughout all the face of the land.

And they were divided, and a part of them fled to the army of Shiz, and a part of them fled to the army of Coriantumr.

And so great and lasting had been the war, and so long had been the scene of bloodshed and carnage, that the whole face of the land was covered with the bodies of the dead;

And so swift and speedy was the war, that there was none left to bury the dead, but they did march forth from the shedding of blood to the shedding of blood, leaving the bodies of both men, women, and children, strewed upon the face of the land, to become a prey to the worms of the flesh;

And the scent thereof went forth upon the face of the land, even upon all the face of the land; wherefore the people became troubled by day and by night, because of the scent thereof;

MANUSCRIPT STORY, CHAPTER XIV.

Determined to conquer or die, it was impossible to conjecture which Emperor would have gained the victory had the divisions or bands in the rear of each army remained inactive. But anxious to engage with the boldest warriors, the Kentuck-Bands, led on by their heroic princes, rushed between the division of the grand army & made a most furious charge upon the Sciotans—They broke thro' their Ranks—peircing with deadly wounds their indignant foes—heroes fell before them—& many of the Sciotans being struck with surprise & terror began to retire back—But the bands in the rear of their army instantly rushed forward & met their furious combitants—The battle was now spread in every direction. Many valiant chiefs who commanded under their respective Kings were overthrown—& many thousand robust & brave warriors, whose names were not distinguished by office, were compeled to receive deadly wounds & to bite the dust.—It was Elseon fortune to attack the division led by the valiant Ramoff—He broke his ranks & killed many warriors—while driving them furiously before him—he met Hamkol at the head of many thousand Sciotans—Hamkol beheld the young Prince & knew him & being fired with the greatest rage & thirst for revenge, he urged on the combat with the most daring violence Now he thot, was a favorable chance to gain immortal renown—Elseon says he shall feel the effects of my conquering sword—The warriors on both side charged each other with incredible fury—& Elseon & Hamkol met in the center of their divisions—I have found you says Hamkol perfiduous monster—I will teach you to rob our empire of its most valuable treasure— He spoke & Elseon replied— Art thou Hamkol the Counsellor of Rambock. Your advice has produced this blood and slaughter—Hamkol raised his sword & had not Elseon defended himself from the blow, he never would have spoken again—But

BOOK OF MORMON.

Nevertheless, Shiz did not cease to pursue Coriantumr, for he had sworn to avenge himself upon Coriantumr of the blood of his brother, who had been slain, and the word of the Lord which came to Ether, that Coriantumr should not fall by the sword.

MANUSCRIPT STORY.

quick as the lightning Elseon darted his sword thro' his heart—[*Hamkol*] knashed his teeth together & [*with a groan*] tumbling headlong with a groan expired.—

A portion of Christ's prophecy to the Nephites, concerning the gathering of Israel and the destiny of the Lamanites in the last days, is also here given:

BOOK OF MORMON, III. NEPHI, CHAP. XXI.

And, verily, I say unto you, I give unto you a sign, that ye may know the time when these things shall be about to take place, that I shall gather in from their long dispersion, my people, O house of Israel, and shall establish again among them my Zion.

* * * * *

Therefore when these works, and the works which shall be wrought among you hereafter, shall come forth from the Gentiles, unto your seed, which shall dwindle in unbelief because of iniquity;

For thus it behoveth the Father that it should come forth from the Gentiles, that he may shew forth his power unto the Gentiles, for this cause, that the Gentiles, if they will not harden their hearts, that they may repent and come unto me, and be baptized in my name, and know of the true points of my doctrine, that they may be numbered among my people, O house of Israel;

And when these things come to pass, that thy seed shall begin to know these things, it shall be a sign unto them, that they may know that the work of the Father hath already commenced unto the fulfilling of the covenant which he hath made unto the people who are of the house of Israel.

And when that day shall come, it shall come to pass that kings shall shut their mouths; for that which had not been told them shall they see; and that which they had not heard shall they consider.

For in that day, for my sake shall the Father work a work, which shall be a great and marvellous work among them; and there shall be among them who will not believe it, although a man shall declare it unto them.

But behold, the life of my servant shall be in my hand; therefore they shall not hurt him, although he shall be marred because of them. Yet I will heal him, for I will shew unto them that my wisdom is greater than the cunning of the devil.

Therefore it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not believe in my words, who am Jesus Christ, whom the Father shall cause him to bring forth unto the Gentiles, and shall give unto him power that he shall bring them forth unto the Gentiles, (it shall be done even as Moses said,) they shall be cut off from among my people who are of the covenant.

And my people who are a remnant of Jacob, shall be among the Gentiles, yea, in the midst of them as a lion among the beasts of the forest, as a young lion among the flocks of sheep, who, if he go through both treadeth down and teareth in pieces, and none can deliver.

Their hand shall be lifted up upon their adversaries, and all their enemies shall be cut off.

Yea, wo be unto the Gentiles, except they repent, for it shall come to pass in that day, saith the Father, that I will cut off thy horses out of the midst of thee, and I will destroy thy chariots,

* * * * * * * *

And I will execute vengeance and fury upon them, even as upon the heathen, such as they have not heard.

But if they will repent, and hearken unto my words, and harden not their hearts, I will establish my church among them, and they shall come in unto the covenant, and be numbered among this the remnant of Jacob, unto whom I have given this land for their inheritance.

And they shall assist my people, the remnant of Jacob, and also, as many of the house of Israel as shall come, that they may build a city, which shall be called the New Jerusalem;

And then shall they assist my people that they may be gathered in, who are scattered upon all the face of the land, in unto the New Jerusalem.

And then shall the power of heaven come down among them; and I also will be in the midst;

And then shall the work of the Father commence at that day, even when this gospel shall be preached among the remnant of this people. Verily I say unto you, at that day shall the work of the Father commence among all the dispersed of my people; yea, even the tribes which have been lost, which the Father hath led away out of Jerusalem.

Yea, the work shall commence among all the dispersed of my people, with the Father, to prepare the way whereby they may come unto me, that they may call on the Father in my name.

In a little work called "The Myth of the Manuscript Found,"* by Elder George Reynolds of Salt Lake City, the arguments pro and con upon the question of the alleged identity of the Book of Mormon and the Spaulding romance, are clearly and intelligently set forth. Mr. Reynolds, being a believer in the Book of Mormon, devotes himself to the task of puncturing and shattering the Hurlburt-Howe hypothesis, but this does not prevent him from doing justice to the other side in the controversy, by stating fully and fairly the position that he assails.

* "Manuscript Found" is the more generally known title of the Spaulding tale.

President James H. Fairchild, in the New York *Observer* of February 5th, 1885, speaking of the discovery by Mr. Rice of the Spaulding romance, says: "The theory of the origin of the Book of Mormon in the traditional manuscript of Solomon Spaulding will probably have to be relinquished. * * * Mr. Rice, myself and others compared it (the Spaulding manuscript) with the Book of Mormon, and could detect no resemblance between the two, in general or detail. There seems to be no name nor incident common to the two. The solemn style of the Book of Mormon, in imitation of the English Scriptures, does not appear in the manuscript. * * * Some other explanation of the origin of the Book of Mormon must be found, if any explanation is required."

Here we take leave of the subject. Up to the present time—1892—the Book of Mormon has passed through no less than thirty American and English editions, aggregating many tens of thousands of volumes, scattered broadcast upon both hemispheres. It has been translated and published in eleven foreign vernaculars, namely: English, Welsh, French, Spanish, Italian, German, Dutch, Danish, Swedish, Hawaiian and Maori,—including, as seen, all the leading languages of modern times. It has also been translated, but not published, in Hindoostanee and the Jewish. A Russian translation, unauthorized, is likewise reported to have passed through the press.

CHAPTER IV.

1830.

ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS—THE DOCTRINE OF COMMON CONSENT—OLIVER COWDERY THE FIRST PUBLIC PREACHER OF MORMONISM—NEWEL KNIGHT—THE FIRST CONFERENCE OF THE CHURCH—THE ELDERS AT COLESVILLE—JOSEPH SMITH ARRESTED FOR “PREACHING THE BOOK OF MORMON”—HIS TRIAL AND ACQUITTAL AT SOUTH BAINBRIDGE—RE-ARRESTED AND TRIED AT COLESVILLE—ANOTHER FAILURE TO CONVICT—RETURN TO PENNSYLVANIA—A SCHISM THREATENING THE CHURCH—REVIVAL OF OPPOSITION AT HARMONY—THE PROPHET REMOVES WITH HIS FAMILY TO FAYETTE—THE SCHISM AVERTED—A MISSION TO THE LAMANITES ANNOUNCED.

RESUMING from the spring of 1830 the thread of our historical narrative. On the 6th of April of that year, at the town of Fayette, Seneca County, New York, was organized the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Mormonism at that time had two score or more disciples,—persons who had embraced its principles and been baptized. Only six of these, however,—no less than that number being required by law to form a religious society,—participated in the organization. They were Joseph Smith, junior, Oliver Cowdery, Hyrum Smith, Peter Whitmer, junior, Samuel H. Smith and David Whitmer. Other believers were present at this initial meeting, which was held at the house of Peter Whitmer.

From the first the doctrine of common consent was practically exemplified in all the meetings and deliberations of the Latter-day Saints; the right of the people to a voice in the selection of their leaders, and in the establishment of the laws which govern them, being a cardinal principle of their religious, no less than of their political faith. Accordingly, in this instance, Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery, who were to be the first and second Elders of the Church, prior to ordaining each other or proceeding at all with the

organization, called upon the disciples present to manifest whether or not they would accept them as their spiritual teachers, and were willing to be organized as a religious body. Unanimous consent being given, the purpose of the meeting was effected. Joseph first laid hands upon Oliver and ordained him an Elder in the Church of Christ. Oliver then ordained Joseph in like manner. The sacrament of the Lord's supper was administered to those who had been baptized, and they were then confirmed members of the Church by the laying on of the Elders' hands. Others of the brethren—for the Saints were thenceforth to each other "brethren and sisters"—were likewise ordained to various offices in the Priesthood. While together on this occasion, the Prophet voiced to his flock the following revelation : *

Behold there shall be a record kept among you, and in it thou shalt be called a seer, a translator, a prophet, an apostle of Jesus Christ, an elder of the church through the will of God the Father, and the grace of your Lord Jesus Christ,

Being inspired of the Holy Ghost to lay the foundation thereof, and to build it up unto the most holy faith,

Which church was organized and established in the year of your Lord eighteen hundred and thirty, in the fourth month, and on the sixth day of the month, which is called April.

Wherefore, meaning the church, thou shalt give heed unto all his words and commandments which he shall give unto you as he receiveth them, walking in all holiness before me;

For his word ye shall receive, as if from mine own mouth, in all patience and faith;

For by doing these things the gates of hell shall not prevail against you; yea, and the Lord God will disperse the powers of darkness from before you, and cause the heavens to shake for your good, and his name's glory.

For thus saith the Lord God, him have I inspired to move the cause of Zion in mighty power for good, and his diligence I know, and his prayers I have heard.

Yea his weeping for Zion I have seen, and I will cause that he shall mourn for her no longer, for his days of rejoicing are come unto the remission of his sins, and the manifestations of my blessings upon his works.

For, behold, I will bless all those who labor in my vineyard with a mighty blessing, and they shall believe on his words, which are given him through me by the Comforter, which manifesteth that Jesus was crucified by sinful men for the sins of the world, yea, for the remission of sins unto the contrite heart.

* Doctrine and Covenants, Section xxi.

Wherefore it behoveth me that he should be ordained by you, Oliver Cowdery, mine apostle;

This being an ordinance unto you, that you are an elder under his hand, he being the first unto you, that you might be an elder unto this church of Christ, bearing my name,

And the first preacher of this church unto the church, and before the world, yea, before the Gentiles; yea, and thus saith the Lord God, lo, lo! to the Jews also. Amen.

Thus was founded the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Thus arose, as a system, what the world terms Mormonism,—universally regarded as the most remarkable religious movement of modern times; detested and denounced throughout Christendom as a dangerous and soul-destroying imposture, but revered and defended by its disciples as the wonderful work of the Almighty, the veritable “marvelous work and wonder” foretold by Isaiah and other ancient seers, which was to prepare the world, by the preaching of a restored gospel and the founding of a latter-day Zion for Messiah’s second coming and the advent of the Millennium.

Five days after the organization—Sunday, April 11th—at the house of Peter Whitmer, in Fayette, Oliver Cowdery preached the first public sermon delivered by a Mormon Elder. Many persons were present besides the Saints. The seed sown took instant root, and that day several more were added to the Church.

The following paragraphs of a revelation recorded about this time will give some idea of the Church government and discipline :*

The duty of the elders, priests, teachers, deacons, and members of the church of Christ.—An apostle is an elder, and it is his calling to baptize,

And to ordain other elders, priests, teachers, and deacons,

And to administer bread and wine—the emblems of the flesh and blood of Christ—

And to confirm those who are baptized into the church, by the laying on of hands for the baptism of fire and the Holy Ghost, according to the scriptures;

And to teach, expound, exhort, baptize, and watch over the church;

And to confirm the church by the laying on of hands, and the giving of the Holy Ghost,

And to take the lead of all meetings.

* Doctrine and Covenants, Sec. xx., 38–59.

The elders are to conduct the meetings as they are led by the Holy Ghost, according to the commandments and revelations of God.

The priest's duty is to preach, teach, expound, exhort, and baptize, and administer the sacrament,

And visit the house of each member, and exhort them to pray vocally and in secret and attend to all family duties ;

And he may also ordain other priests, teachers, and deacons.

And he is to take the lead of meetings when there is no elder present ;

But when there is an elder present, he is only to preach, teach, expound, exhort, and baptize,

And visit the house of each member, exhorting them to pray vocally and in secret, and attend to all family duties.

In all these duties the priest is to assist the elder if occasion requires.

The teacher's duty is to watch over the church always, and be with and strengthen them,

And see that there is no iniquity in the church—neither hardness with each other—neither lying, backbiting, nor evil speaking ;

And see that the church meet together often, and also see that all the members do their duty.

And he is to take the lead of meetings in the absence of the elder or priest—

And is to be assisted always, in all his duties in the church, by the deacons, if occasion requires ;

But neither teachers nor deacons have authority to baptize, administer the sacrament, or lay on hands :

They are, however, to warn, expound, exhort, and teach and invite all to come unto Christ.

During the month of April the Prophet visited Colesville, the home of Joseph Knight, who had ministered to his necessities on a former occasion. Mr. Knight and several members of his family were Universalists. At his home the Prophet held several meetings, which subsequently bore fruit in the baptism of many. The first miracle recorded in the Church,—for it was a gospel of “signs” following the believer, as in days of old, that was being preached by the Elders,—is accredited to Joseph Smith during this visit. It was the casting out of Satan from the person of Newel, son of Joseph Knight. Newel was baptized at Fayette in the latter part of May. Martin Harris, Joseph Smith, senior, Lucy Smith, Orrin Porter Rockwell and other historic names, by this time had also been added to the Church roll of membership.

The first conference of the organized Church convened at

Fayette on the first day of June. Thirty members were present on the opening day, besides many others who were investigating the new faith. More baptisms followed, more Elders, Priests, Teachers and Deacons were ordained, and Mormonism began spreading rapidly. As a matter of course it encountered opposition, much excitement at times prevailing over the preaching of its strange doctrines and the exercise of its novel "gifts," and its disciples suffered more or less petty persecution. Still it spread. The smoking flax was everywhere bursting into flame, and all efforts to quench it proved powerless.

Again visiting his home in Pennsylvania, Joseph returned bringing his wife, and in company with her and three Elders repaired to Colesville. There they found many awaiting baptism. It was Saturday, and the Elders constructed a dam in a stream, which they designed using next day for baptizing. That night a party of men, instigated it was believed by ministers of other denominations, tore away the dam, thus preventing the Elders from executing their purpose on the Sabbath. Early Monday morning, however, before their opponents could assemble in sufficient force to prevent, they reconstructed their dam, and Oliver Cowdery, entering the water, immersed thirteen converts to the faith; Emma Smith, the Prophet's wife, being one of the number.

Fierce was the anger of their foes when they learned what had taken place. Fifty strong they surrounded the house of Joseph Knight, to which the Elders had retired, foaming with rage and threatening violence. But Joseph Smith was no coward; neither a physical weakling. Calmly confronting the mob he strove, though in vain, to pacify them. Finally they withdrew to mature their plans, and the Elders, deeming it prudent, departed also, going now to the house of Newel Knight.

That evening, just as they were about to confirm their converts, a constable appeared upon the scene and arrested the Prophet on the charge of being a disorderly person, for preaching the Book of Mormon and setting the country in an uproar. The

officer, however, became friendly and informed Joseph that some men were in ambush, not far away, whose purpose was to get him into their power and maltreat him. He added that he was determined to defend him at all hazards. The statement proved true. A crowd of men surrounded the wagon in which the constable drove away with the Prophet, and would undoubtedly have taken him from custody had not the officer plied his whip, given his horse full rein and left them far behind. The two drove on rapidly to South Bainbridge, in Chenango County, where they put up at a tavern. The constable permitted his prisoner to occupy the bed in their room, while he slept with his feet against the door and a loaded musket at his side, ready to defend him against assault.

At the trial, next day, various charges were preferred against the Prophet. Some of them were of a very frivolous character. For instance, he was accused of obtaining from Josiah Stoyal, his former employer, a horse, and from one Jonathan Thompson a yoke of oxen, by telling them that he had received revelations that he was to have them. Messrs. Stoyal and Thompson, taking the witness stand, testified in the prisoner's favor, and he was promptly acquitted. On leaving the court-room, however, he was re-arrested on a warrant from Broome County, and taken back to Colesville for trial. This time he was in the custody of an officer who treated him with great harshness; subjecting him to the insults of the rabble, refusing him for many hours any refreshment, and finally allowing him for his supper only a diet of bread-crusts and water.

At the Colesville trial Newel Knight was put upon the stand and made to testify concerning the miracle reported to have been performed upon him.

"Did the prisoner, Joseph Smith, junior, cast the devil out of you?" asked the prosecuting attorney of the witness.

"No, sir," replied Mr. Knight.

"Why, have not you had the devil cast out of you?"

"Yes, sir."



Hyrum Smith

"And had not Joe Smith some hand in its being done?"

"Yes, sir."

"And did not he cast him out of you?"

"No, sir. It was done by the power of God, and Joseph Smith was the instrument in the hands of God on the occasion. He commanded him out of me in the name of Jesus Christ."

"And are you sure that it was the devil?"

"Yes, sir."

"Did you see him after he was cast out of you?"

"Yes, sir; I saw him."

"Pray, what did he look like?"

Here the prisoner's counsel informed the witness that he need not answer the question. Mr. Knight, however, replied:

"I believe I need not answer your last question, but I will do it provided I be allowed to ask you one question first, and you answer me, namely: Do you, Mr. Seymour, understand the things of the spirit?"

"No," answered Mr. Seymour, "I do not pretend to such big things."

"Well then," rejoined Knight, "it would be of no use to tell you what the devil looked like, for it was a spiritual sight, and spiritually discerned; and of course you would not understand it were I to tell you of it."

A roar of laughter, at the lawyer's expense, shook the court-room. Mr. Seymour then arose and addressing the court paid his respects in no gentle terms to the prisoner. Among other things he repeated the story of his having been a "money-digger." The defendant, however, was not on trial for money digging, and his counsel having returned the forensic fire of the prosecution, he was again set at liberty.

In the breasts of many, hitherto hostile, a revulsion of feeling now took place. Even the officer who had treated the prisoner so harshly came forward and apologized for his conduct, and offered to help him evade a mob that had assembled outside the court-room, to

“tar and feather” the Prophet and ride him on a rail. Taking advantage of this opportunity to escape, Joseph, rejoining his anxious wife, returned with her to Pennsylvania.

A few days later Joseph and Oliver revisited Colesville for the purpose of confirming their converts; but the mob, again gathering, compelled them to forego their purpose and beat a hasty retreat, hotly pursued by the belligerent multitude. A subsequent visit was more successful. The inciters of this opposition were said to be prominent Presbyterians.

At his home in Harmony the Prophet now devoted some time to making a record of and arranging in their proper order the revelations he had from time to time delivered. At first Oliver Cowdery assisted him, but he soon departed for Fayette, and Emma Smith then acted as a scribe to her husband.

Hitherto the relations between Joseph and Oliver seem to have been of the most friendly character. Mutually helpful,—Oliver to Joseph by means of a better education, and Joseph to Oliver by reason of superior intelligence and strength of character,—they were congenial in spirit and united in purpose. The first intimation of a change of heart in Oliver was contained in a letter from him to the Prophet, calling in question certain words of one of the revelations, and demanding that they be changed. The First Elder replied to the Second that the revelation came from God, and must stand as it had been delivered until God should change it. A personal visit to Fayette followed, where Joseph found that some of the Whitmer family were in sympathy with Oliver. It required much pleading and persuasion on the part of the Prophet to finally convince them that they were in error. Even then the breach was closed only to be soon re-opened.

During August the persecutive spirit revived at Harmony, where the Methodists now conspired to create trouble for the hated founder of the rapidly growing rival Church. The influence brought to bear was such as to alienate from Joseph the friendship of his father-in-law, Isaac Hale, who joined the ranks of his opponents and

became his bitter and relentless foe. Life at Harmony for Joseph and Emma, was now rendered intolerable. He therefore accepted a second invitation from the Whitmers to remove to Fayette, this time with his family, and take up his abode in their domicile. He arrived there during the last week in August.


Again, to his surprise and sorrow, the Prophet found the spirit of dissension among his followers. The trouble this time was over a certain stone in the possession of Hiram Page, one of the eight witnesses. From this stone, it was claimed, sundry mysterious communications had been received, of a tenor and purport at variance with revelations already on record. These communications Joseph pronounced spurious, but Elder Cowdery and some of the Whitmers still placed reliance in them. The Prophet then spoke to them in the name of the Lord. Oliver was reminded that while he was as Aaron to Israel—a spokesman to the Prophet—Joseph was as Moses, the mouthpiece of the Almighty. He alone had the right to voice revelations to the Church for its guidance. Oliver was required to use his influence with Hiram Page to induce him to discard the 'stone—the apple of discord—and was informed of an important mission in store for him, a mission to the Lamanites, upon which he should set out as soon as the differences then agitating the Church had been settled. Allusion was made in this revelation to a certain "city" that was to be built "on the borders by the Lamanites."

Subsequently, at a conference held early in September, Hiram Page and his associates renounced the stone and "all things connected therewith," and in common with the whole Church renewed their covenant of fealty to Joseph, as its supreme prophet, seer and revelator. Thus was "the imminent deadly breach" closed, and what threatened to be for Mormonism, in its infancy, a serious if not a fatal wound, healed. Immediately afterward preparations went forward for the departure of the mission to the Lamanites.

CHAPTER V.

1830-1831.

MORMONISM'S MISSION TO THE LAMANITES—ITS SIGNIFICANCE—OLIVER COWDERY, PARLEY P. PRATT, PETER WHITMER, JUNIOR, AND ZIBA PETERSON THE CHOSEN EVANGELISTS TO THE RED MEN—THEIR DEPARTURE FOR THE WEST—THE CATTERAUGUS INDIANS—KIRTLAND AND THE CAMPBELLITES—SIDNEY RIGDON—HIS CONVERSION TO MORMONISM—EDWARD PARTRIDGE—NEWEL K. WHITNEY—SUCCESS OF THE ELDERS IN OHIO—THEIR PILGRIMAGE RESUMED—ELDER PRATT'S ARREST AND ESCAPE—SIMEON CARTER—AMONG THE WYANDOTS—STORMS AND PRIVATIONS—ARRIVAL AT INDEPENDENCE, MISSOURI—PREACHING TO THE DELAWARES GOVERNMENT AGENTS AND CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES—THE ELDERS ORDERED OUT OF THE INDIAN COUNTRY.

 HE significance of the missionary movement inaugurated by the Prophet, in sending forth Elders to evangelize the American Indians and distribute among the dusky tribes copies of the Book of Mormon, is only to be fully comprehended by those who have made careful study of the contents of that record, and of the various revelations voiced to the world by Joseph Smith. Indeed, the only key to the real history of Mormonism, from Cumorah to Carthage, and from Carthage to Deseret, is a knowledge of the aims and motives of its founders and disciples, as learned from their own lips or reflected from the pages of the records esteemed by them divine. Neither the enemies of a people, nor the disinterested, uninitiated observers of that people, however fair and honest, are trustworthy oracles and reliable exponents of their views and doctrines. Methodism, Catholicism, Mormonism, or any other ism, in order to be properly understood, must be permitted, like Paul before Agrippa, to speak for itself. In this light let us take a brief general glance at Mormonism.

First of all it must be borne in mind, as a basic fact, upon which to found all further argument or theory in relation to the

Saints and their religion, that they sincerely believe themselves to be literally of the blood of Israel; children of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob,—mostly of Joseph through the lineage of Ephraim. The loss of their tribal identity, and their scattered state among the nations,—whence the gospel, they say, has begun to gather them,—is explained to them by the scriptures, which declare that Ephraim hath “mixed himself with the people;” that is, with other nations, presumably from the days of the Assyrian captivity. They believe, moreover, that in this age, “the dispensation of the fullness of times,”—a figurative spiritual ocean, into which all past dispensations of divine power and authority like rills and rivers run,—it is the purpose of Jehovah, the God of Israel, to gather His scattered people from their long dispersion among the nations, and weld in one vast chain the broken links of the fated house of Abraham. They quote from Jeremiah: “Hear the word of the Lord, O ye nations, and declare it in the isles afar off, and say, He that scattered Israel will gather him, and keep him as a shepherd doth his flock.” This gathering of Israel, they claim, is a step preparatory to the “gathering together in one” of “all things in Christ,” both in heaven and on earth, as spoken of by Paul the Apostle. Mormonism, to its disciples, is no more nor less than primitive Christianity restored; and Christianity in its primitive state, unpaganized, unapostate, no more nor less than the restored religion of Adam, Enoch, Noah, Melchisedek, Abraham, Moses and other ancient worthies who received the same from God, successively, all down the dispensations.

Israel’s gathering in the “last days,”—the closing period of our planet’s mortal probation,—is a cardinal doctrine with the Latter-day Saints, accounting as it does for their world-wide proselytism, the wanderings abroad of their Apostles and Elders in quest of the seed of Ephraim, their fellows, and their migrations from the ends of the earth to the American continent, believed by them to be the land of Zion.* Upon this land, which they hold to be the inherit-

* This in a general sense; specifically their “land of Zion” is Jackson County, Missouri.

ance of Joseph,—given him by the Almighty in the blessings of Jacob and Moses,* and occupied for ages by his descendants, the Nephites and Lamanites,—is to arise the latter-day Zion, New Jerusalem, concerning which so many of the prophet-poets of antiquity have sung. It was for this purpose, say the Saints, that the land was held in reserve, hidden for ages behind Atlantic's waves—the wall of waters over which, in Lehi and his colony, climbed Joseph's "fruitful bough." Next came the Gentiles, with Columbus in their van, to unveil the hidden hemisphere; then a Washington, a Jefferson and other heaven-inspired patriots to win and maintain the liberty of the land,—a land destined to be "free from bondage." And all this that Zion might here be established, and the Lord's latter-day work founded and fostered on Columbia's chosen soil. Yes, these Latter-day Saints,—false and fanatical as the view may seem to most,—actually believe that the greatest and most liberal of earthly governments, that of the United States, was founded for the express purpose of favoring the growth of what the world terms Mormonism.

Ephraim and Manasseh, the half tribes of Joseph, are to combine for the up-building of Zion, which is to become, in due time, "the joy of the whole earth," the glorious head and front of the world's civilization. "And the Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising." Much of the seed of Ephraim is mixed with the Gentiles; therefore is he to be gathered from among them. Manasseh is largely to be found among the Lamanites, the American Indians, and the dark-hued dwellers of the neighboring ocean islands. Though cursed of God and smitten by the Gentiles, the red men are yet to be reclaimed and the curse lifted from off them. Then will they become "white and delightsome," as of yore. The Book of Mormon and its believers declare that these Lamanites—Manasseh—will yet build the Zion of God, the Jerusalem of America, in which work they will be joined—some say

* Genesis xlix: 22–26. Deuteronomy xxxiii: 13–17.

assisted, some directed—by the Latter-day Saints, the children of Ephraim.

But the gathering of Israel is to include the whole house of Jacob; not merely the half tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh. It involves the restoration of the Jews and the re-building of old Jerusalem, prior to the acceptance by Judah of the gospel and mission of the crucified Messiah; also the return of the lost Ten Tribes from “the north country” and their re-establishment in Palestine, their ancient Canaan.

The preliminary work of founding Zion, as well as a greater spiritual mission to follow, when the Ten Tribes from the north will receive in Zion their blessings under his hands, devolves upon Ephraim, the “first-born,” empowered by a restored gospel and priesthood unto this very end and purpose. Hence, say the Saints, the mission and calling of Joseph Smith, the Prophet of Ephraim, who claimed to be a lineal descendant of Joseph who was sold into Egypt.

Again, the message borne by Ephraim in the last days, reversing the order of ancient-day evangelism, is first to the Gentiles, and then, when “the fullness of the Gentiles” has “come in,” to the whole house of Israel. Perhaps it was a type, designed to foreshadow the anticipated fulfillment, this sending of the Elders, in the fall of 1830, after several months proselyting among the Gentiles of New York and Pennsylvania, to Lamanitish Israel, mostly inhabiting the wilderness beyond the nation’s western frontier. The mission of these Elders was to preach the Gospel to the red men, as contained in the Bible and the Book of Mormon,—the sticks of Judah and of Joseph now “in the hand of Ephraim,”—* deliver to them the record of their forefathers, and inasmuch as they received their teachings to establish the Church of Christ among them. In other words, to prepare Manasseh for his part of the work of building up Zion. Such, from a Mormon standpoint, was the significance of that Lamanite mission, and such in general is the Mormon view of Mormonism.

* Ezekiel xxxvii : 16–20.





Parley P. Pratt.

Parley P. Pratt.



the Prophet was then living in Pennsylvania. He met Hyrum Smith, however, who entertained him kindly, presented him with a copy of the Book of Mormon and subsequently accompanied him to Fayette. There, being fully converted to the new faith, he was baptized, as stated, confirmed and ordained an Elder. He then revisited his old home in Canaan, Columbia County, where he converted and baptized his brother Orson, then a youth of nineteen years; destined like himself to achieve fame as a Mormon Apostle, and as one of the pioneer founders of Utah. Returning westward, Parley met for the first time Joseph Smith, who had returned from Pennsylvania and was visiting his parents at Manchester. Soon afterward, being called to accompany Elders Cowdery, Whitmer and Peterson upon their mission, he set out for the land of the Lamanites.

It was late in October, 1830, that the four Elders departed for the west. As was customary then with itinerants, unable to afford a nag or vehicle, or to pay coach and steamboat fares, they started afoot, husbanding their scanty means and trusting in Providence to "open up the way." They first visited the Catteraugus Indians, near Buffalo, New York. By them they were kindly received, much interest being manifested by the red men in the strange things told them by the Elders. Presenting them with copies of the Book of Mormon, for the perusal of such of the Indians as could read, the missionaries bade them farewell and continued their journey westward.

The scene now changes to northern Ohio, a region at that time almost if not quite a wilderness, in the midst of which, among the hills and dales and glens and groves and streams that beautify the shores and give back the echoing music of Erie's rolling waves, not only these Mormon Elders,—who were merely the vanguard of a general migratory movement having westward as its watchword and religion as its guiding star,—but Mormonism itself, their parent church, was destined soon to plant its pilgrim feet.

Kirtland, a few miles inland from Lake Erie, was a picturesque and flourishing little town of one or two thousand inhabitants, doing

business across the lakes with the fur-trapping regions of Michigan and some of the principal cities of the east. The leading "store" of the town, and indeed in all that region, was owned and conducted by Messrs. Gilbert and Whitney, who had formerly been in business at Painesville.

In this vicinity the Campbellites, or Disciples, as they called themselves, had made many converts. Among those now associated with them were Edward Partridge, of Painesville, and Newel K. Whitney, of Kirtland, both merchants,—the former a native of Pittsfield, Berkshire County, Massachusetts, and the latter of Marlborough, Windham County, Vermont. Like Parley P. Pratt, these men, who became the first two Bishops of the Mormon Church, were converts in the Campbellite faith of Sidney Rigdon's.

The prominent part played by this notable man in the affairs of Mormonism entitles his past record to some mention. Sidney Rigdon was born in St. Clair Township, Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, on the 19th of February, 1793. Connecting himself in his twenty-fifth year with the regular Baptist Church, he became, in March, 1819, a licensed preacher of that persuasion. Two months afterward he removed to Trumbull County, Ohio, where he subsequently married. Called in 1821 to the pastorate of the First Baptist Church of Pittsburg, he there became a very popular minister. Less than three years later, becoming dissatisfied with the doctrines of the Baptists, he conscientiously resigned his pastorate and withdrew from the society. During the next two years he labored in a tannery for a livelihood. Again removing to Ohio,—this time to Bainbridge, in Geauga County,—he there re-entered the ministry. He now preached the Campbellite doctrines. It seems that the founder of that sect, Alexander Campbell, had been one of Rigdon's parishioners at Pittsburg. Following his pastor's example, he had left the Baptist Church, and with Mr. Walter Scott, and warmly supported by Mr. Rigdon, had founded the society of Reformed Baptists, or Campbellites. Rigdon's success, always pronounced, was now remarkable. The fame of his eloquence and reasoning powers spread far and wide.

After a year's effective service in and around Bainbridge, he accepted a call to Mentor, thirty miles distant. There, in the midst of much persecution, occasioned by his phenomenal success, he continued to flourish. He converted and baptized multitudes, and organized congregations in all the country round. One of these was near the mouth of Black River, where Parley P. Pratt was converted. Sidney Rigdon was at the summit of his fame and popularity as a Campbellite preacher when Oliver Cowdery and his confreres,—the first missionaries sent westward by the Latter-day Saints from the cradle of their Church,—set out for the land of the Lamanites.

It was to Kirtland, not far from Mentor, that those Elders now made their way; Parley P. Pratt being desirous of laying before his former friends and associates the principles he had recently espoused. As a reminder to the reader of what those principles comprised, the Articles of Faith of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, as formulated a few years later by the Prophet, are here presented:

1. We believe in God, the Eternal Father, and in His Son Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost.
2. We believe that men will be punished for their own sins, and not for Adam's transgression.
3. We believe that through the atonement of Christ all men may be saved, by obedience to the laws and ordinances of the gospel.
4. We believe that these ordinances are: First, faith in the Lord Jesus Christ; second, repentance; third, baptism by immersion for the remission of sins; fourth, laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost.
5. We believe that a man must be called of God by "prophecy, and by the laying on of hands," by those who are in authority, to preach the Gospel and administer in the ordinances thereof.
6. We believe in the same organization that existed in the primitive church, viz.: apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, evangelists, etc.
7. We believe in the gift of tongues, prophecy, revelation, visions, healing, interpretation of tongues, etc.
8. We believe the Bible to be the word of God, as far as it is translated correctly; we also believe the Book of Mormon to be the word of God.
9. We believe all that God has revealed, all that He does now reveal, and we believe that He will yet reveal many great and important things pertaining to the Kingdom of God.
10. We believe in the literal gathering of Israel and in the restoration of the Ten

Tribes. That Zion will be built upon this continent. That Christ will reign personally upon the earth, and that the earth will be renewed and receive its paradisiac glory.

11. We claim the privilege of worshipping Almighty God according to the dictates of our conscience, and allow all men the same privilege, let them worship how, where or what they may.

12. We believe in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers and magistrates, in obeying, honoring and sustaining the law.

13. We believe in being honest, true, chaste, benevolent, virtuous, and in doing good to *all men*: indeed we may say that we follow the admonition of Paul, "We believe all things, we hope all things," we have endured many things, and hope to be able to endure all things. If there is anything virtuous, lovely or of good report or praiseworthy, we seek after these things.

Such were the doctrines that Parley P. Pratt desired to present to his former friends in and around Kirtland. The commission of the Elders being to "preach the gospel to every creature," regardless of creed or color, they were nothing loth to tarry for a season within the confines of civilization and "thrust in their sickles and reap," wherever the field of souls appeared "white unto the harvest." Calling on Mr. Rigdon, they presented him with the Book of Mormon, at the same time relating to him its history. This was his first knowledge of the record which, a few years later, he was accused of assisting Joseph Smith to create out of the materials of the Spaulding story. He entertained the Elders hospitably, and promised to read the book carefully. The result was his conversion to Mormonism. After due deliberation he offered himself to the Elders as a candidate for baptism. Many of his flock were likewise converted. Within three weeks after their arrival at Kirtland, the Elders baptized one hundred and twenty-seven souls. Among these were Sidney Rigdon, Newel K. Whitney, Frederick G. Williams, Isaac Morley, Lyman Wight, John Murdock and others whose names became more or less notable in the annals of Mormonism. Edward Partridge was also converted, but was not immediately baptized.

But the Elders must not tarry too long at Kirtland. The season is far advanced, the storms of winter will soon burst forth, and a vast journey still lies before them. They now prepare for departure. Ordaining Sidney Rigdon and others to the priesthood, and setting

them apart to minister for the rest, the four Elders reported by letter to the Prophet, and bidding their new-found brethren and sisters adieu, resumed their westward pilgrimage. Frederick G. Williams accompanied them.

Near the mouth of Black River, in the neighborhood of Parley P. Pratt's former home, they stopped one night at the house of Simeon Carter. Here Parley was arrested on some trivial charge and held in durance till morning. Escaping by strategy he rejoined his companions, and they trudged on through mud and rain toward the interior. Everywhere they found that their fame had preceded them. Though ill-treated by some, they preached to crowded congregations, and sowed the seed broad-cast of a future bounteous harvest. Simeon Carter, at whose home Parley, on the night of his arrest, had left a copy of the Book of Mormon, perused it carefully, was converted, and walked fifty miles to Kirtland, where he was baptized and ordained an Elder. Returning, he began himself to preach and baptize, and built up a branch of the Church in his neighborhood numbering sixty members.

At Sandusky, Elder Cowdery and his companions came upon another Indian nation, the Wyandots, with whom they spent several days very agreeably. Like the Catteraugus Indians, they warmly welcomed the missionaries, listened with interest to their teachings, and at parting gave them God-speed. They also requested the Elders to write to them regarding their success among the tribes farther west. Proceeding to Cincinnati, the Elders tarried certain days, preaching, and in the latter part of December took passage on a steamboat bound for St. Louis. The mouth of the Ohio River being blocked with ice, their boat could proceed no farther. At that point, therefore, they landed and continued their journey afoot. Two hundred miles traveled in this manner brought them to the vicinity of St. Louis: Heavy storms of rain and snow now detained them for over a week, during which they were kindly cared for by hospitable people in that section.

With the opening year—1831—they resumed their journey,

passing through St. Louis and St. Charles. Then out over the bleak and storm-swept prairies, through wintry winds and stinging hail and driving sleet, at times half frozen, often fatigued, but never disheartened. Their frequent diet was frozen bread and raw pork, munched by the wayside, as they trudged along weary and foot-sore through deep and drifting snows, looking in vain for house or sign of shelter. Three hundred miles were thus traversed. Finally, after much privation and some suffering, they reached Independence, Jackson County, Missouri, then on the extreme western frontier of the United States. Their pilgrimage was now practically ended. Beyond lay the trackless wilderness,—trackless indeed save for the foot-prints of wild beast or savage, hovering in friendliness near the border, or roaming at will the vast plains stretching westward to the unexplored regions of the Rocky Mountains.

The country in which they found themselves was settled, or partly settled by whites, mostly ignorant and half civilized, with Indians and negroes interspersed,—a typical frontier population. Renegades and refugees from justice, who had fled from the older states to this out-of-the-way region, formed at that time no inconsiderable portion of the inhabitants of western Missouri. Civilization, however, was advancing; schools had been introduced and were beginning to thrive, and to offset the reckless criminal element many intelligent, upright and respectable people were numbered among the citizens. The curse of the country was the political demagogue, playing as ever for personal ends behind the mask of patriotism,—proverbially “the last refuge of a scoundrel.” Missouri, only nine years a state,—having been admitted to the Union under the celebrated pro-slavery compromise of 1821,—was just the field where such characters might flourish, and flourish they did, to the infinite sorrow of their betters.

Jackson County, named for General Andrew Jackson—then President of the United States—was settled principally by people from Tennessee and farther south. Clay County, immediately north, and separated from Jackson County by the Missouri River, had

been named for Henry Clay, Jackson's opponent in the presidential contest of 1828. Its settlers were mostly Kentuckians. Independence, the county seat of Jackson, was a new town prettily situated on a piece of rising ground, about three miles south of the river, and twelve miles east of the state boundary line. It contained a courthouse built of brick, two or three merchants' stores, and a score or more of private dwellings. The houses generally were log cabins, without glass windows or floors, and many of the settlers, women as well as men, dressed entirely in skins. Their food was also of the coarsest, consisting usually of wild meat, wild honey, pork and corn bread, prepared in the most primitive manner. These conditions prevailed among the poor. The rich and those well-to-do of course had things in much better style. The settlers of Jackson County, as said, were mostly from the south, and were either slaveholders or advocates of slavery. Christian churches had their representatives there, as elsewhere, and the general government its Indian agents and other functionaries. West of Jackson County was the Indian Territory, now the State of Kansas.

Leaving their companions at Independence, where two of them obtained temporary employment as tailors, Oliver Cowdery and Parley P. Pratt crossed over the line into Indian Territory, entering the country of the Shawnees and Delawares. The Delaware chief was the sachem of ten tribes. He was also a polygamist, having several wives. He welcomed his white visitors cordially, and though averse to missionaries in general, after some hesitation called a council of his leading men and permitted Elder Cowdery to address them. The Elder explained through an interpreter the import of his visit, and the mission of himself and his brethren to that land; gave an account of the coming forth of the Book of Mormon, with a brief statement of its contents, and closing presented the aged chief with one of the volumes. The gift was graciously accepted, the sachem testifying his appreciation of the efforts of the Elders in behalf of him and his people, and promising that in the spring they would build a large council house wherein they might be taught

more fully. Several days elapsed, during which the two Elders continued to instruct the aged sachem and his people. They lodged meanwhile at the house of Mr. Pool, a blacksmith employed for the Indians by the government. He became a believer in the Book of Mormon, and served the Elders as an interpreter. The Indians manifested great interest in what was told them, insomuch that considerable excitement began to prevail among them. This coming to the ears of Christian missionaries, excited their jealousy, and inspired by them the agents of the government ordered the Elders to quit the Indian country. Threatened with the military if they failed to comply, Elders Cowdery and Pratt reluctantly recrossed the border and rejoined their companions. During the remainder of their sojourn in that land, they confined their proselyting labors mainly to the white settlers of Jackson County, some of whom were converted and baptized. And so ended this mission to the Lamanites.

CHAPTER VI.

1830-1833.

THE CHURCH REMOVES TO OHIO—THE UNITED ORDER—ORGANIZATION OF THE BISHOPRIC—JOSEPH SMITH'S FIRST VISIT TO MISSOURI—JACKSON COUNTY THE CHOSEN SITE OF THE CITY OF ZION—THE LAND DEDICATED FOR THE GATHERING OF ISRAEL AND THE BUILDING OF THE NEW JERUSALEM—THE RETURN TO KIRTLAND—THE PROPHET AND ELDER RIGDON AT HIRAM—A VISION OF HUMAN DESTINY—THE MOBBING OF JOSEPH AND SIDNEY—A SECOND VISIT TO MISSOURI—THE WAR OF THE REBELLION PREDICTED—THE FIRST PRESIDENCY ORGANIZED—THE KIRTLAND TEMPLE PROJECTED.

MEANTIME, in Ohio and in the east the cause of Mormonism had been steadily, even rapidly progressing. The Prophet and his co-laborers, after the departure of the Lamanite mission, had been kept busy preaching, baptizing and building up the Church in the states of New York and Pennsylvania. Among those who had recently become associated with the Mormon leader were Thomas B. Marsh, the future President of the Twelve Apostles, and Orson Pratt, another member of that council.

In December, 1830, there came to Fayette on a visit to the Prophet, Sidney Rigdon and Edward Partridge, from Kirtland, Ohio. Sidney, as seen, had been baptized, and was now an Elder of the Church. His companion, though converted, had not yet entered the fold, but was baptized by Joseph in Seneca River, a few days after his arrival at Fayette. Both these men, Sidney Rigdon and Edward Partridge, whose acquaintance with the Mormon leader here began, afterwards attained high positions in the Church.

A work now engaging the attention of the Prophet was a revision of the Scriptures. In the absence of Oliver Cowdery in the west, and of John Whitmer, who had been sent to preside over the

Saints in Ohio, he had need of an expert scribe to assist him in his literary labors. Such an assistant he found in Sidney Rigdon, who now became his secretary and near associate. In a revelation recorded about this time, Sidney is likened unto John the Baptist,—referring to his former labors as a Campbellite preacher, whereby, he was informed, he had prepared the way unwittingly for a greater one to follow.

It now became evident to the Prophet, whose mind had already conceived the idea that the west, and not the east, was the field of Mormonism's greater destiny, that the season was ripe for a general movement of his people in the direction of their promised Zion. The site of the future city had not yet been definitely declared, though it was understood in general terms to be "on the borders by the Lamanites." Thither Oliver Cowdery and his companions were now wending their way. But the success of those Elders in northern Ohio had indicated an eligible spot for the founding of a "stake of Zion," a temporary gathering place, where, pending further movements toward the building up of their central city, the Saints might assemble.* Accordingly, ere the month of December had expired, the word went forth from the Prophet to his followers in the eastern states to dispose of their possessions, migrate westward and "assemble together at the Ohio."

Not that the east was to be relinquished as a field for proselytism. Not that the Prophet and his people, as might be imagined, had become dispirited and lost confidence in the cause with which they were identified. On the contrary, never had the sun of hope beamed for them more brightly; never had their thorny pathway seemed so thickly bestrewn with flowers. True, they were hated and opposed on every hand, their leader's life was threatened, and secret plots, he had been warned, were even then forming for his destruction. But such had been their experience heretofore, and

* The distinction between Zion and the Stakes of Zion should be borne in mind by the reader who desires to properly understand Mormon history.

these were not the impelling causes of the migratory movement now in contemplation. Joseph Smith's character has not been read aright, nor the record of his people from the beginning, if it be imagined that fear for his personal safety or the hope of immunity from further persecution were the motives that then actuated them. No; it was to them the beginning of Israel's latter-day gathering, an initiatory step toward the building up of Zion; and though the reason may have been, in part, that Mormonism,—hated, defamed, and struggling against apparently overwhelming odds,—might gain a firmer foot-hold for its fight of faith than seemed possible amid the warring spiritual elements of the more thickly populated portions of the land, it was far from being the chief purpose and principal end in view. These Latter-day Saints believed they were fulfilling a God-given destiny in thus flocking Zionward,—in fleeing, as Isaiah had said Israel should, “upon the shoulders of the Philistines toward the west.” They were destined to make literal these words of the ancient seer to an extent little dreamed of at that time in their philosophy.

A farewell conference was held at Fayette on the 2nd of January, 1831. The affairs of the Church in the eastern parts were settled, or left in the hands of trusty agents to wind up as speedily as possible, and the Prophet, accompanied by his wife, and by Sidney Rigdon, Edward Partridge, Ezra Thayre and Newel Knight, toward the latter part of the month set out for Kirtland.

They arrived there about the 1st of February. Driving his sleigh through the streets of the little town, the Prophet drew up at the mercantile door of Messrs. Gilbert and Whitney. Alighting from his vehicle he entered the store and introduced himself as “Joseph the Prophet,” to Newel K. Whitney, the junior partner of the firm. By him and his household, Joseph and his wife, pending other arrangements for their reception, were cordially received and entertained.

The first step taken by the Prophet, after setting in order the Church at Kirtland,—the affairs of which, after the departure of

Elder Cowdery and his confreres, had become somewhat demoralized spiritually,—was to lay the foundation of what is known to Latter-day Saints as the United Order. A brief exposition of this principle of their religion will here be necessary.

Some of the views of the Saints relative to the up-building of Zion have already been dwelt upon. Of the United Order, or the Order of Enoch, as it is otherwise named, it may be said it is a religio-social system involving the methods whereby that “up-building” is to be accomplished. Said Joseph Smith: “It is not given that one man should possess that which is above another.” This is the key-note of the United Order.

Co-operative or communistic schemes the world had known before. Saint Simon and Fourier in France, Owen in England and in America, each ere this had launched his bark of philanthropic thought and theory upon the waters of social reform. As early as 1825 Robert Owen and his associates had established industrial communities on both sides of the Atlantic. There was even at this time, in the vicinity of Kirtland—though not of Owen’s origin—a small community called “the family,” which, following the example of some of the early Christians, held their temporal possessions in common. But the United Order introduced by Joseph Smith probably went further toward realizing, or foreshadowing, the Millennarian dream of the prophet, poet and philanthropist, than anything the world had before witnessed.

Nor are these idle words, words of unmerited eulogy. A Millennium without a God is impossible. A communistic scheme, a plan for social reconstruction, without a religious basis, the love of God and man as its central idea, is born but to perish, howsoever for a season it may thrive. And even with religion,—the highest and strongest motive that can impel selfish humanity,—will it not be found a stupendous and all but impossible task? Instance the failures of those would-be social reformers, secularists, who have thought to leave God and religion out of their otherwise grand schemes for society’s reconstruction and regeneration. Deity must

be recognized, must be at the head and helm of all plans for man's perfecting. Otherwise they cannot endure. The "natural man" is too much an enemy to God, too much the enemy of his fellow man, to conquer covetousness and love his neighbor as himself, save God be with him. And without self-conquest, without love of humanity, no Millennium, no universal brotherhood, no reign of peace and righteousness is possible.

Herein lay the superiority of Joseph Smith's concept over those of the eminent social reformers, his predecessors and contemporaries. The United Order was not a mere financial scheme, not a co-operative, joint-stock mercantile concern; not a mere plan for social reconstruction, involving only a community of temporal interests. It was all these and more. It was religious, not secular in its character; spiritual, not temporal in its genius; and yet, being spiritual, it comprehended and circumscribed the temporal. How and where Joseph Smith obtained it is not the question to be here determined. He declared that it was revealed to him by the Almighty. Impartial history can neither affirm nor deny it. The province of the historian is the field of facts, and it is a fact that Joseph Smith so stated. At all events, God was recognized as its author, its laws as His laws, its aim and purpose His. Its avowed object was to glorify God by lifting up man, mentally, physically, morally, spiritually. It was to the Saints the Millennial lever that was to move the world, gradually but effectually, toward the glorious goal of universal brotherhood and good will. It was as the voice of Elias,—the voice of one crying in the wilderness: "Prepare ye the way of the Lord." "Make His paths straight." "Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low; and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain." In other words, it meant the leveling of class distinctions,—the bringing down of the mountains of pride, the exalting of the valleys of humility; the extirpation of fraud and crookedness, and the eventual triumph of true culture and civilization. By means of it Zion was to "arise and shine," the "joy of the whole earth," ere the coming of Him whose

peaceful and righteous reign has been the theme of prophet tongues and poet pens in all ages.

It was an order of industry, too, and not of idleness; a rule of law and not of anarchy, wherein each soul, having consecrated his all, and being assigned his stewardship, was to labor faithfully for the common weal in that field or pursuit for which he proved best fitted and designed. "Every man seeking the interest of his neighbor, and doing all things with an eye single to the glory of God." Such was the theory of the United Order.

More practically speaking, the system meant that each individual, on entering the Order, was to deed to the Church, or its authorized representative, his or her property *in toto*, utterly relinquishing its possession. It might be a farm, a workshop or a sum of money, much or little, that was thus "consecrated." But whatever it was, it thenceforth belonged to the Order, and not to the individual. All would then be owners alike, and equality in temporal things be inaugurated.

A deed would then be given by the Church, or its representative, to each member of the Order, conveying to him or her a certain portion of the general property, probably the same farm or workshop that the individual had before consecrated. This was a "stewardship," thenceforth possessed by the individual, but to be used for the general good; all gains reverting to a common fund or store, whence each steward should derive his or her support. All were required to labor diligently—there were to be no drones in the hive—and to deal fairly and justly with one another. Apostasy from the Church was equivalent to withdrawal from the Order. The individual might then retain his stewardship, but not reclaim the residue of property, over and above that portion, which he had consecrated to the common cause. Unity and equality were the watchwords of the Order; man's salvation and God's glory the ends to be kept constantly in view.

According to the faith of the Saints, it was just such a system as this that sanctified in antediluvian times the City of Enoch and

prepared it for translation, when, according to the record, "the Lord called his people Zion, because they were of one heart and one mind and dwelt in righteousness, and there was no poor among them;" a system established in after ages by the Apostles at Jerusalem, when "the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul,—neither said any of them that ought of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common;" a system which, according to the Book of Mormon, prevailed upon this land among the Nephites for nearly two centuries after the coming of Christ. An order of unity and equality, a system of consecrations and stewardships, the abolition of fraud and monopoly in all their phases, a sinking of individual interests into and for the purpose of the common good, the sacrifice of self at the shrine of principle—of pure religion—whose incense, call it charity, philanthropy, or what we will, is the pure love of God and humanity.

It was to the establishment of such an order,—one object of which, in the arcana of the faith, was to pave the way for the return of the Zion of Enoch, which the Saints believe will yet descend to earth, the planet whence it was taken,—that Joseph Smith, as early as February, 1831, more than fifty years before Edward Bellamy and his ingenious book "Looking Backward" were heard of, directed his thoughts and labors.

A movement to that end was the organization of the Bishopric, representing the temporal wing of the Mormon Church government. The Apostleship, which pertains to the Priesthood of Melchisedek, though possessing general powers has a special calling to minister in spiritual things; while the Bishopric, which is the presidency of the Priesthood of Aaron, administers, under the direction of the higher authority, in things temporal.

The first call to the Bishopric was that of Edward Partridge, who received his appointment on the fourth day of February. He was required "to leave his merchandise and spend all his time in the service of the Church," for which he was to receive his support, or a just remuneration. Two other Elders were called to officiate

as his counselors. The duties of this Bishopric were outlined as follows : *

And behold, thou wilt remember the poor, and consecrate of thy properties for their support, that which thou hast to impart unto them with a covenant and a deed which cannot be broken.

And inasmuch as ye impart of your substance unto the poor, ye will do it unto me, and they shall be laid before the bishop of my church and his counselors, two of the Elders, or High Priests, such as he shall or has appointed and set apart for that purpose.

And it shall come to pass, that after they are laid before the bishop of my church, and after that he has received these testimonies concerning the consecration of the properties of my church, that they cannot be taken from the church agreeable to my commandments; every man shall be made accountable unto me, a steward over his own property, or that which he has received by consecration, inasmuch as is sufficient for himself and family.

* * * * *

Wherefore let my servant Edward Partridge, and those whom he has chosen, in whom I am well pleased, appoint unto this people their portion, every man equal according to their families, according to their circumstances, and their wants and needs.

And let my servant Edward Partridge, when he shall appoint a man his portion, give unto him a writing that shall secure unto him his portion, that he shall hold it, even this right and this inheritance in the church, until he transgresses and is not accounted worthy by the voice of the church, according to the laws and covenants of the church, to belong to the church;

And if he shall transgress and is not accounted worthy to belong to the church, he shall not have power to claim that portion which he has consecrated unto the bishop for the poor and needy of my church; therefore, he shall not retain the gift, but shall only have claim on that portion that is deeded unto him.

And thus all things shall be made sure, according to the laws of the land.

* * * * *

And again, let the bishop appoint a storehouse unto this church, and let all things both in money and in meat, which is more than is needful for the want of this people, be kept in the hands of the bishop.

And let him also reserve unto himself for his own wants, and for the wants of his family, as he shall be employed in doing this business.

And thus I grant unto this people a privilege of organizing themselves according to my laws:

And I consecrate unto them this land for a little season, until I, the Lord, shall provide for them otherwise, and command them to go hence:

And the hour and the day is not given unto them, wherefore let them act upon this land as for years, and this shall turn unto them for their good.

* Doctrine and Covenants, Sec. 42, verses 30-32; Sec. 51, verses 3-6 and 13-17.

Such was the general outline of the United Order, which the Mormon Prophet sought to establish, and did introduce, among his people in Ohio and in Missouri. That it was not permanently established was due partly to persecution, and partly to the innate selfishness of human nature. It is still with the Saints one of the problems of the future, as they hold that Zion cannot be built up without it.

The fourth general conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints convened at Kirtland on the 6th of June, 1831. Nearly two thousand Saints assembled, including those who had followed the Prophet from New York and Pennsylvania. Among the Elders present was Parley P. Pratt, who had returned in February to report the labors of himself and his confreres in Missouri. There Elder Cowdery and the others yet remained. Several High Priests, the first known to the Church, were ordained at this conference. Most of the Elders were now commissioned to go forth two by two, after the manner of the Apostles anciently, proclaiming that the kingdom of heaven was at hand, preaching and baptizing. The appointed destination of the majority of them was the Missouri frontier, toward which they were directed to travel by different routes. It was decided that the next conference of the Church should be held upon that land. The burden of the message the Elders were to bear as they wended their way, was as follows:*

Wherefore I, the Lord, have said, gather ye out from the eastern lands, assemble ye yourselves together ye elders of my church; go ye forth into the western countries, call upon the inhabitants to repent, and inasmuch as they do repent, build up churches unto me;

And with one heart and with one mind, gather up your riches that ye may purchase an inheritance which shall hereafter be appointed unto you,

And it shall be called the New Jerusalem, a land of peace, a city of refuge, a place of safety for the saints of the most High God;

And the glory of the Lord shall be there, and the terror of the Lord also shall be there, insomuch that the wicked will not come unto it, and it shall be called Zion.

And it shall come to pass, among the wicked, that every man that will not take his sword against his neighbor, must needs flee unto Zion for safety.

* Doctrine and Covenants, Sec. 45, verses 64-71.

And there shall be gathered unto it out of every nation under heaven ; and it shall be the only people that shall not be at war one with another.

And it shall be said among the wicked, Let us not go up to battle against Zion, for the inhabitants of Zion are terrible ; wherefore we cannot stand.

And it shall come to pass that the righteous shall be gathered out from among all nations, and shall come to Zion, singing with songs of everlasting joy.

Among the Elders thus commissioned were Joseph Smith, junior, Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight, John Corrill, John Murdock, Hyrum Smith, Thomas B. Marsh, Ezra Thayre, Isaac Morley, Ezra Booth, Edward Partridge, Martin Harris, David Whitmer, Harvey Whitlock, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, Solomon Hancock, Simeon Carter, Edson Fuller, Jacob Scott, Levi Hancock, Zebedee Coltrin, Reynolds Cahoon, Samuel H. Smith, Wheeler Baldwin, William Carter, Newel Knight, Selah J. Griffin, Joseph Wakefield, Solomon Humphrey, A. S. Gilbert, William W. Phelps, and Joseph Coe. Newel Knight and the Colesville branch of the Church, formerly of Broome County, New York, but now at Thompson, Ohio, were instructed to migrate in a body to Missouri.

On the 19th of June the Prophet set out from Kirtland on his first visit to Missouri. He was accompanied by Sidney Rigdon, Martin Harris, Edward Partridge, William W. Phelps, Joseph Coe and A. S. Gilbert and wife. Journeying by wagon, stage and canal-boat to Cincinnati, they there took steamer for Louisville, Kentucky ; whence, after a brief delay, they proceeded by water to St. Louis. From that point Sidney Rigdon and the Gilberts continued by steamer up the Missouri river, while the Prophet and the rest of his party walked across the state of Missouri, reaching Independence, Jackson County, about the middle of July. The meeting with Elder Cowdery and his companions was one of great rejoicing.

Immediately after the Prophet's arrival the site of the City of Zion, the central gathering place, where the Saints, according to their faith, will yet assemble to await Messiah's coming, was for the first time definitely designated. Independence and its vicinity was the chosen spot. Here lands were to be purchased by the Saints, and the soil dedicated for the gathering of Israel and the building of the New

Jerusalem. Here Bishop Edward Partridge was to take his stand as "a judge in Israel," to receive the consecration of properties, assign stewardships and apportion to the Saints their inheritance. Martin Harris, who had before contributed so generously for the publication of the Book of Mormon, was selected as "an example to the Church," in laying his monies at the feet of the Bishop.

It may interest the reader to know what form of conveyance was used in connection with the consecration of properties. It was as follows:

BE IT KNOWN, THAT I, ———, Of Jackson county, and state of Missouri, having become a member of the Church of Christ, organized according to law, and established by the revelations of the Lord, on the 6th day of April, 1830, do, of my own free will and accord, having first paid my just debts, grant and hereby give unto Edward Partridge of Jackson county, and state of Missouri, bishop of said church, the following described property, viz:—Sundry articles of furniture valued fifty five dollars twenty seven cents,—also two beds, bedding and extra clothing valued seventy three dollars twenty five cents,—also farming utensils valued forty one dollars,—also one horse, two wagons two cows and two calves valued one hundred and forty seven dollars.

For the purpose of purchasing lands in Jackson County Mo, and building up the New Jerusalem, even Zion, and for relieving the wants of the poor and needy. For which I the said ——— do covenant and bind myself and my heirs forever, to release all my right and interest to the above described property, unto him the said Edward Partridge bishop of said church. And I the said Edward Partridge bishop of said church, having received the above described property, of the said ——— do bind myself, that I will cause the same to be expended for the above mentioned purposes of the said ——— to the satisfaction of said church; and in case I should be removed from the office of bishop of said church, by death or otherwise, I hereby bind myself and my heirs forever, to make over to my successor in office, for the benefit of said church, all the above described property, which may then be in my possession.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, WE have hereunto set our hands and seals this ——— day of ——— in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and thirty —

IN PRESENCE OF ———

The legal document securing to the individual his stewardship, was in this form:

BE IT KNOWN, THAT I, Edward Partridge of Jackson county, and state of Missouri, bishop of the church of Christ, organized according to law, and established by the revelations of the Lord, on the 6th day of April, 1830, have leased and by these presents, do lease unto ——— of Jackson county, and state of Missouri, a member of said church, the following described piece or parcel of land, being a part of section No. three

township No. forty nine range No. thirty two situated in Jackson county, and state of Missouri, and is bounded as follows, viz:—beginning eighty rods E, from the S. W. corner of Sd Sec, thence N. one hundred and sixty rods thence E. twenty seven rods 25 L, thence S. one hundred and sixty rods, thence W. twenty seven rods 25 L, to the place of beginning, containing twenty seven & $\frac{1}{2}$ acres be the same more or less subject to roads and highways. And also have loaned the following described property, viz:—Sundry articles of furniture valued fifty five dollars twenty five cents,—also two beds, bedding and clothing valued seventy three dollars twenty seven cents,—also sundry farming utensils valued forty one dollars,—also one horse, two cows, two calves and two waggons valued one hundred forty seven dollars TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the above described property, by him the said _____ to be used and occupied as to him shall seem meet and proper. And as a consideration for the use of the above described property, I the said _____ do bind myself to pay the taxes, and also to pay yearly unto the said Edward Partridge bishop of said church, or his successor in office, for the benefit of said church, all that I shall make or accumulate more than is needful for the support and comfort of myself and family. And it is agreed by the parties, that this lease and loan shall be binding during the life of the said _____ unless he transgress, and is not deemed worthy by the authority of the Church, according to its laws, to belong to the church. And in that case I the said _____ do acknowledge that I forfeit all claim to the above described leased and loaned property, and hereby bind myself to give back the lease, and also pay an equivalent for the loaned, for the benefit of said church, unto the said Edward Partridge bishop of said church, or his successor in office. And further, in case that said _____ or family's inability in consequence of infirmity or old age, to provide for themselves while members of this church, I the said Edward Partridge bishop of said church, do bind myself to administer to their necessities out of any fund in my hands appropriated for that purpose, not otherwise disposed of, to the satisfaction of the church. And further, in case of the death of said _____ his wife or widow, being at the time a member of said church, has claim upon the above described leased and loaned property, upon precisely the same conditions that her said husband had them, as above described; and the children of said _____ in case of the death of both their parents, also have claim upon the above described property, for their support, until they shall become of age, and no longer; subject to the same conditions yearly that their parents were: provided however, should the parents not be members of said church, and in possession of the above described property at the time of their deaths, the claim of the children as above described, is null and void.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, WE have hereunto set our hands and seals this _____ day of _____ in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and thirty _____

IN PRESENCE OF _____

The dual duty of dedicating the land of Zion and writing a description of it for the benefit of the Church, was devolved upon Sidney Rigdon. William W. Phelps, assisted by Oliver Cowdery, was to establish himself as the Church printer in that land, and A. S.

Gilbert, senior partner of the firm of Gilbert and Whitney, was given a mission to open a store at Independence, and act as an agent for the Church in purchasing lands in the surrounding region.

The first formal step toward the founding of the city of Zion was taken on the 2nd of August, 1831. In Kaw Township, twelve miles west of Independence, in which locality the newly arrived Colesville Saints were settling, the first log of the first house was that day borne to its place by twelve men, representing the twelve tribes of Israel. The Prophet was one of the number. The same day Elder Rigdon dedicated the land of Zion. On the day following, the site of the future temple, near Independence, was consecrated by the Prophet. Then came the appointed conference. It was held at the house of Joshua Lewis, in Kaw Township, all or most of the Saints in that region being present.

On the 9th of August the Prophet and ten other Elders set out to return to Kirtland. From Independence Landing a fleet of sixteen canoes carried them and their provisions down the Missouri. Three days they rowed and drifted. The Prophet, with Elders Cowdery and Rigdon, then left the canoes in charge of their companions, and continued the journey by land. They reached Kirtland on the 27th of August.

Having thus planted a colony of his people in their "land of promise," and set in motion a migratory stream of the Saints in that direction, the Prophet resumed his task of revising the scriptures,—a work suspended since the previous December. For this purpose he and Elder Rigdon retired to the little town of Hiram, in Portage County, thirty miles south-east of Kirtland, where, on September 12th, Joseph took up his abode at the home of John Johnson, a member of the Church there residing. Emma Smith accompanied her husband, taking with her two infants, twins, the children of John Murdock, which she had adopted in lieu of twins of her own that had died. John Johnson was the father of Luke S. and Lyman E. Johnson, two of the future Twelve Apostles, and father-in-law to Orson Hyde, who also became one of that council. Orson had

recently been a clerk in the store of Gilbert and Whitney, at Kirtland. At Hiram the Prophet continued his literary labors, and from time to time took active part in the ministry, attending frequent conferences and issuing verbal or written instructions to the Church at large. Many of these were in the form of revelations, now of record in the book of Doctrine and Covenants. It was about this time that William E. McLellin, a prominent Elder, lost some prestige with the Saints by attempting, in a spirit of rivalry, to write revelations similar to those uttered by the Prophet.

Kirtland as a Stake of Zion continued to grow and prosper, her numbers increasing as converts multiplied, despite the constant drain upon her population by the Missouri emigrations. The Ohio Saints, like those in Missouri, being required to enter "the Order," an accession to the Bishopric now became necessary. On December 4th, 1831, Newel K. Whitney was called to be the Bishop of Kirtland; two counselors being chosen to assist him. The powers and duties of the Bishopric of Kirtland were similar to those of the Bishopric in Missouri.

It was during his sojourn at Hiram that the Prophet enunciated the doctrine of universal salvation. He declared that all men would be saved except a certain few called "sons of perdition,"—shedders of innocent blood and sinners against the Holy Ghost,—but that souls would be saved upon principles of justice and mercy, according to their merits, in different degrees of glory. There was hope, he said, for the heathen, who had never heard the name of Christ; hope even for the wicked, who were "thrust down to hell," after they had paid the "uttermost farthing" and suffered sufficiently for their sins.* No soul, he maintained, could escape merited punishment, designed to purge away uncleanness, simply by confessing Christ. As for little children, there was no damnation for them. They were irresponsible innocents redeemed by the blood of Christ from the

* Joseph Smith taught that "eternal punishment" did not mean never-ending punishment, but punishment inflicted by Him who is Eternal.

foundation of the world. A few excerpts from the "Vision" of February 16th, 1832, wherein are set forth the Prophet's views relating to the various states of man hereafter, will here be appropriate :*

We, Joseph Smith, jun., and Sidney Rigdon, being in the Spirit on the sixteenth of February, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two,

By the power of the Spirit our eyes were opened and our understandings were enlightened, so as to see and understand the things of God—

Even those things which were from the beginning before the world was, which were ordained of the Father, through his Only Begotten Son, who was in the bosom of the Father, even from the beginning,

Of whom we bear record, and the record which we bear is the fullness of the gospel of Jesus Christ, who is the Son, whom we saw and with whom we conversed in the heavenly vision ;

* * * * *

And this we saw also, and bear record, that an angel of God who was in authority in the presence of God, who rebelled against the Only Begotten Son, whom the Father loved, and who was in the bosom of the Father—was thrust down from the presence of God and the Son,

And was called Perdition, for the heavens wept over him—he was Lucifer, a son of the morning.

* * * * *

And we saw a vision of the sufferings of those with whom he made war and overcame, for thus came the voice of the Lord unto us.

Thus saith the Lord, concerning all those who know my power, and have been made partakers thereof, and suffered themselves, through the power of the devil, to be overcome, and to deny the truth and defy my power—

They are they who are the sons of perdition, of whom I say that it had been better for them never to have been born,

For they are vessels of wrath, doomed to suffer the wrath of God, with the devil and his angels in eternity ;

* * * * *

And the only ones on whom the second death shall have any power ;

Yea, verily, the only ones who shall not be redeemed in the due time of the Lord, after the sufferings of his wrath ;

For all the rest shall be brought forth by the resurrection of the dead, through the triumph and the glory of the Lamb, who was slain, who was in the bosom of the Father before the worlds were made.

* * * * *

And again, we bear record, for we saw and heard, and this is the testimony of the gospel of Christ, concerning them who come forth in the resurrection of the just ;

* Doctrine and Covenants, Section 76.

They are they who received the testimony of Jesus, and believed on his name and were baptized after the manner of his burial, being buried in the water in his name, and this according to the commandment which he has given,

That by keeping the commandments they might be washed and cleansed from all their sins, and receive the Holy Spirit by the laying on of the hands of him who is ordained and sealed unto this power,

And who overcome by faith, and are sealed by the Holy Spirit of promise, which the Father sheds forth upon all those who are just and true.

They are they who are the church of the first born.

They are they into whose hands the Father has given all things—

They are they who are Priests and Kings, who have received of his fullness, and of his glory,

And are Priests of the Most High, after the order of Melchisedek, which was after the order of Enoch, which was after the order of the Only Begotten Son;

Wherefore, as it is written, they are Gods, even the sons of God—

Wherefore all things are theirs, whether life or death, or things present, or things to come, all are theirs and they are Christ's and Christ is God's.

* * * * *

These are they whose bodies are celestial, whose glory is that of the sun, even the glory of God, the highest of all, whose glory the sun of the firmament is written of as being typical.

And again, we saw the terrestrial world, and behold and lo, these are they who are of the terrestrial, whose glory differs from that of the church of the first born, who have received the fullness of the Father, even as that of the moon differs from the sun in the firmament.

Behold, these are they who died without law,

And also they who are the spirits of men kept in prison, whom the Son visited, and preached the gospel unto them, that they might be judged according to men in the flesh,

Who received not the testimony of Jesus in the flesh, but afterwards received it.

These are they who are honorable men of the earth, who were blinded by the craftiness of men.

These are they who receive of his glory, but not of his fullness.

These are they who receive of the presence of the Son, but not of the fullness of the Father;

Wherefore they are bodies terrestrial, and not bodies celestial, and differ in glory as the moon differs from the sun.

These are they who are not valiant in the testimony of Jesus; wherefore they obtain not the crown over the kingdom of our God.

* * * * *

And again, we saw the glory of the telestial, which glory is that of the lesser, even as the glory of the stars differs from that of the glory of the moon in the firmament.

These are they who received not the gospel of Christ, neither the testimony of Jesus.

These are they who deny not the Holy Spirit.

These are they who are thrust down to hell.

These are they who shall not be redeemed from the devil, until the last resurrection, until the Lord, even Christ the Lamb shall have finished his work.

These are they who receive not of his fullness in the eternal world, but of the Holy Spirit through the ministration of the terrestrial;

* * * * *

And the glory of the celestial is one, even as the glory of the sun is one.

And the glory of the terrestrial is one, even as the glory of the moon is one.

And the glory of the telestial is one, even as the glory of the stars is one, for as one star differs from another star in glory, even so differs one from another in glory in the telestial world;

* * * * *

For they shall be judged according to their works, and every man shall receive according to his own works, his own dominion, in the mansions which are prepared,

And they shall be servants of the Most High, but where God and Christ dwell they cannot come, worlds without end.

Joseph Smith here virtually declares that God is man made perfect, and that man in his highest estate, resurrected and glorified,—the child developed to the status of the parent,—is nothing less than Deity. The idea of “Lords many and Gods many,” a celestial brotherhood, a divine United Order, is also plainly set forth. Whatever may be thought of such views, one thing is certain, the charge that Mormonism teaches a narrow salvation here falls to the ground. Nor is the thought that man by development becomes God,—retaining his individuality, while doffing his mortal nature and blossoming into an eternal being,—a groveling concept of human destiny. The Nirvana of Buddhism pales before it, as do the mystical views of most Christian divines.

About the time of the Prophet's removal to Hiram, Ezra Booth, one of the Elders who had accompanied him to Missouri, apostatized, and in a series of letters published in the *Ohio Star* was now assailing the system and principles he had once accepted and advocated as divine. He succeeded in creating considerable prejudice against the Prophet, and through his influence several others turned from the Church. A feeling of intense hostility was awakened at Hiram, where, on the night of March 25th, a violent assault was committed upon the Prophet and Elder Rigdon. Joseph and his

wife had been watching at the bedside of the twins, who were dangerously ill, and weary and worn from loss of sleep he had thrown himself down and was slumbering heavily. Suddenly the door was burst open, and in rushed a mob of ten or a dozen men, who, surrounding the sleeper, seized him and attempted to drag him from the house. His wife's screams aroused him, and he struggled desperately with his assailants. His hands being held, he felled one man to the floor with a vigorous kick. Enraged at his resistance, they threatened to kill him if he did not desist, and suiting the action to the word seized him by the throat and choked him until he was insensible.

Father Johnson, whom the mob had locked in a room prior to attacking his guest, regaining his liberty, pursued them, club in hand. Encountering another party who had captured Elder Rigdon, he knocked one of them down, and was about to fell another when the crowd turned upon him and held him at bay.

Joseph, recovering consciousness, found himself lying upon the ground surrounded by his captors, about a mile from the house where his weeping and half frantic wife still watched beside the sick babes, one of whom was now death-stricken. Near him lay the motionless form of Elder Rigdon, whom the mob had dragged by his heels over the hard frozen earth until life was almost extinct. Joseph supposed him dead. He himself was now hurried into a meadow, a mile farther away, where the mob stripped off his clothes, cursing and beating him meanwhile, and coated his naked form with tar. They forced a tar paddle into his mouth, and a phial containing *aqua fortis* between his lips. The phial broke against his tightly clenched teeth, and the deadly acid was spilled. One of the mob then fell upon him like a wild-cat, tearing his flesh and shrieking in his ear: "That's the way the Holy Ghost falls on folks." Having sated their fury, they departed, leaving their bleeding victim to find his way, as best he might, through the cold and darkness back to Father Johnson's. At sight of his lacerated form, covered with tar, his wife screamed and fainted, supposing him to have been horribly

mangled. He spent the rest of the night cleansing the tar from his bruised and bleeding body.

Next day was the Sabbath, and the Saints in that vicinity assembled for their usual worship. Methodists, Baptists, Campbellites and Mormon apostates came also. Some of them had helped compose the mob party of the previous night. Scarred and wounded the Prophet appeared before them, bore a ringing testimony to the truth of his mission, and that day baptized three more into the Church.

But the mobocratic spirit was now rampant, not only at Hiram, where fresh plots were at once formed against the Mormon leader, but also at Kirtland, and throughout the surrounding region. Elder Rigdon, after recovering from the effects of the ill-treatment he had received, fled with his family from Hiram to escape further outrage.

Joseph and Emma remained another week, during which one of the sick twins died. He then sent his wife to Kirtland, and set out upon his second visit to Missouri. He was accompanied by Sidney Rigdon, Bishop Whitney and others, who joined him at different points along the way. A circuitous route was taken, to evade mobocratic ambush and pursuit. The party reached Independence late in April.

The affairs of the Church in Missouri were found to be prospering, though some prejudice had been created against the Saints by certain persons who had misinterpreted their motives in settling there. A series of petty persecutions had resulted. Stones and brick-bats were thrown through their windows, and they were otherwise insulted and annoyed. It was the beginning of sorrows, the precursor of the coming storm, the first, faint sparks of a furious conflagration, destined ere many months to burst forth as a besom of fire, sweeping before it into exile the whipped and plundered Saints of Jackson County.

Early in May the Prophet started back to Kirtland, Elder Rigdon and Bishop Whitney accompanying him. Near Greenville, Indiana, the Bishop had his leg broken, while jumping from a run-

away stage-coach. This delayed him and the Prophet for a month at a public house in Greenville, Elder Rigdon meanwhile proceeding on to Kirtland. During the stay at Greenville an attempt was made to murder the Prophet by mixing poison with his food at dinner. He narrowly escaped death. Next morning he and his friend departed from the dangerous neighborhood, and sometime in June arrived at Kirtland. The birth of the Prophet's son Joseph, the present leader of the sect known as Josephites, or, as they call themselves, the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, occurred on November 3rd of this year, just prior to the return of his father and Bishop Whitney from a hasty trip to the east.

On Christmas Day, 1832, was recorded the following "revelation and prophecy on war:"*

Verily, thus saith the Lord, concerning the wars that will shortly come to pass, beginning at the rebellion of South Carolina, which will eventually terminate in the death and misery of many souls.

The days will come that war will be poured out upon all nations, beginning at that place;

For behold, the Southern States shall be divided against the Northern States, and the Southern States will call on other nations, even the nation of Great Britain, as it is called, and they shall also call upon other nations, in order to defend themselves against other nations; and thus war shall be poured out upon all nations.

And it shall come to pass, after many days, slaves shall rise up against their masters, who shall be marshalled and disciplined for war:

And it shall come to pass also, that the remnants who are left of the land will marshal themselves, and shall become exceeding angry, and shall vex the Gentiles with a sore vexation;

And thus, with the sword, and by bloodshed, the inhabitants of the earth shall mourn; and with famine, and plague, and earthquakes, and the thunder of heaven, and the fierce and vivid lightning also, shall the inhabitants of the earth be made to feel the wrath, the indignation and chastening hand of an Almighty God, until the consumption decreed hath made a full end of all nations.

The Saints claim that this prediction began to be fulfilled on April 12th, 1861, when the Confederate batteries at Charleston, South Carolina, opened fire on Fort Sumter.

* Doctrine and Covenants, Section 87.

During the winter of 1832-3, the Mormon leader organized at Kirtland the School of the Prophets, designed for the instruction of the Elders in the "things of the Kingdom." He also completed his revision of the scriptures.


On the 18th of March, 1833, was organized the First Presidency, the highest depository of authority in the Church. This council consists of three High Priests after the order of Melchisedek, chosen and sustained by the whole body, over which they preside. The personnel of the Presidency at this first organization was as follows: Joseph Smith, junior, President; Sidney Rigdon, First Counselor; Frederick G. Williams, Second Counselor.

It was now decided to purchase lands in and around Kirtland, surnamed "the land of Shinehah," and build up and beautify the city while awaiting further developments in Missouri, "the land of Zion." Farms were accordingly purchased, work-shops and mills erected, and various industries established. During the early part of 1833 a temple at Kirtland was projected.

CHAPTER VII.

1833.

THE JACKSON COUNTY EXPULSION AND ITS CAUSES—MOBOCRATIC MASS MEETINGS AT INDEPENDENCE—DESTRUCTION OF THE OFFICE OF THE "EVENING AND MORNING STAR"—BISHOP PARTRIDGE TARRED AND FEATHERED—THE MORMONS REQUIRED TO LEAVE THE COUNTY FORTHWITH—A TRUCE AGREED UPON—THE MOB BREAK THEIR PLEDGE—RENEWAL OF DEPREDACTIONS—THE MORMONS APPEAL TO GOVERNOR DUNKLIN—HE ADVISES THEM TO SEEK REDRESS IN THE COURTS—LEGAL PROCEEDINGS INSTITUTED—THE MOB ENRAGED—THE OCTOBER AND NOVEMBER RIOTS—A BATTLE ON THE BIG BLUE—LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR BOGGS CALLS OUT THE MILITIA—THE MORMONS DISARMED AND DRIVEN—CLAY COUNTY RECEIVES THE REFUGEES—JACKSON COUNTY, MISSOURI, STILL "THE LAND OF ZION."

ELVE to fifteen hundred Latter-day Saints now inhabited Jackson County, Missouri. They had purchased lands and improved them, built houses—mostly log cabins—and were occupying them, sowed their farms and fields and reaped repeated harvests. A store had been established by them at Independence, a printing press and type had been procured from the east, and a periodical called the *Evening and Morning Star*, edited by William W. Phelps, was being issued. A school of Elders, numbering sixty members, with Parley P. Pratt as its president and preceptor, had been instituted, and preaching to the Missouriians was continued with success.

Plans for the city and temple of Zion had been forwarded by the Prophet from Kirtland, but so far little had been done toward the building of the New Jerusalem. The Book of Commandments, or revelations, had also been sent from Ohio to be published in Missouri. The United Order, though still in its incipency, was being established as fast as circumstances would allow.

The Saints, as a rule, were poor, but were sober, moral, honest

and industrious; attending strictly to their own affairs, and not meddling with the concerns of their neighbors. Indeed, so thoroughly did they "mind their own business" as to lay themselves open to the charge of exclusiveness.

They were far from being a perfect people—an ideal Zion. On the contrary, they manifested many of the faults that are the common heritage of weak humanity. But those faults were chiefly manifested among themselves, and were violative of the precepts of their religion rather than of the laws of the land. Seldom were they subversive of the rights of the Missourians. But in an Order such as theirs, demanding strict unselfishness of its members, it could not be but some would slip and frequently break the rigid rules that bound them. They were repeatedly warned by the Prophet of dire consequences that would follow these infractions, and were especially admonished against covetousness and disunion.

But with the esoteric views of the Saints, as to divine punishments visited upon them for transgressing the rules of their Order, the historian has naught to do. He has only to consider here their every-day dealings with their fellow-men. So considering, it must be admitted by those cognizant of the truth, that not to their misdeeds against the Missourians—though some misdeeds there may have been—but to their social and religious peculiarities, are we to look for the main causes of the calamities that now befell them. These peculiarities, which have ever rendered the Mormons unpopular with other sects and parties, were made doubly obnoxious by the misrepresentations of those politically, religiously or pecuniarily interested in decrying them.

Allusion has been made to the fact that the motives of the Mormons in migrating to Missouri had been misinterpreted by the older settlers. Some of these actually supposed, and others affected to believe, that it was the purpose of the Prophet's followers, when they became strong enough, to take forcible possession of the country, unite with the Indians across the border and drive the Gentiles from the land. That this fear, wherever sincerely felt, was due in

part to ill-advised and vain-glorious utterances of persons connected with the Church,—whose views were as much at variance with truth and the teachings of authority as the deductions of the ignorant and inflammable masses around them,—is more than probable. That it was also due to misrepresentation by Mormon apostates, political and religious opponents of the Saints, bent upon furthering their own ends and playing for that purpose upon the credulity of the common people, is not only probable, but an established fact.

The teachings of the Book of Mormon and the Church authorities upon these points were as follows: That God had given into the hands of the Gentiles this land; had inspired them to discover it and maintain it as a land of liberty; that the Gentiles, such as embraced the faith, were to assist Ephraim and Manasseh in building up Zion and would share in her glory; and that the duty of the Saints in relation to the Gentiles was to preach to them the gospel of peace, and honestly purchase every inch of ground to be used or occupied in the rearing of the New Jerusalem.

True, the Book of Mormon contains certain prophecies of retribution upon the Gentiles, such as rejected the Gospel and oppressed the Lamanites. But the Lamanites themselves were to avenge their own wrongs, and that without aid or instigation from Ephraim. The queerest phase of the subject, and it would be extremely funny but for the terrible tragedy to which it led, was that the Missourians, who like most people scoffed at the Book of Mormon and scouted the idea of "Joe Smith" being a prophet, should have allowed these predictions to so alarm them. Perhaps it was their effect upon the Saints that was feared. In that event the hapless Mormons were punished, not for crimes committed, but for crimes they were expected to commit.

Besides the charge of "tampering with the Indians," the Mormons were accused by the Missourians of being abolitionists—anti-slavery advocates—which charge, supported only by the fact that they were mostly eastern and northern people, was sufficient at that time, and in that region, to blacken their characters irredeemably.

Their United Order theories were dubbed "Communism," and were said to involve a community, not only of goods and chattels, but of wives. Also,—though the reader may smile incredulously at the statement,—the fact that they were poor was urged as an accusation of evil against them. This charge, unlike the rest, had the merit of being strictly true.

A man named Pixley, local agent for a Christian missionary society, took an active and initiative part in circulating these reports, which were caught up by others and sown broad-cast until well-nigh all Jackson County with the anti-Mormon spirit was aflame. As early as April, 1833, meetings were held to consider the most effective means of ridding the county of the unpopular Mormons. Lawful methods were not considered, for obvious reasons. The Mormons were law-abiding and peaceable. Poverty, superstition, unity, unpopular doctrines,—these were their crimes. What law, in a land of civil and religious liberty, could reach them? No; law could not, but mob violence, trampling on law, strangling liberty in her very sanctuary, could and would, and did.

Three hundred men assembled one day in April, at Independence, and endeavored to unite upon a plan for the proposed Mormon extirpation. Too much liquor having been imbibed beforehand, the meeting, after much cursing and quarreling, broke up in confusion.

Other attempts, in July, were more successful. On the 20th of that month a mass meeting of five hundred convened, presided over by Colonel Richard Simpson. James H. Flournay and Colonel Samuel D. Lucas acted as secretaries. A declaration against the Saints, embodying charges similar to the foregoing, was unanimously adopted, and it was resolved that they be required to leave the county forthwith, and that no Mormon be permitted in future to settle there. It was demanded that the publication of the *Evening and Morning Star* be at once suspended. A committee of thirteen was sent to confer with the local Mormon leaders, acquaint them with the decision made concerning them and their people, and report to the mass meeting within two hours. The committee having executed

its errand returned, reporting that the Mormons requested sufficient time to fully consider the matter and consult their leaders in Ohio.

A furious yell was the only answer vouchsafed, and forth rushed the mob to begin its work of outrage and destruction. A red flag led them on. Surrounding the house of William W. Phelps, editor of the *Star*, they razed it to the ground, confiscating the printing press, type and other materials found upon the premises. The editor's family, including his wife with a sick child in her arms, were brutally thrust into the street, and the household furniture, books, etc., destroyed or carried away by the rabble. The editor himself was captured, but escaped through the crowd.

The Church store was next assailed, but the mob soon desisted from their work of plunder and gathered upon the public square. Thither, Bishop Edward Partridge had been dragged from his fireside. Refusing to at once leave the county, he was stripped of most of his apparel, covered with tar, and feathers were thrown over him. Elder Charles Allen suffered similar treatment. Mixed with the tar was a powerful acid which severely burned their flesh. Other Mormons were threatened and abused. Night coming on, the mob dispersed.

These lawless acts were committed, not alone by the rabble, ignorant, easily inflamed, and perhaps not wholly accountable for their frenzy, but by men of prominence and position. Clergymen, magistrates, state and county officials, who had sworn to honor and sustain the law, looked on approvingly while the law was being violated, and even participated in its infraction. It is said that the leaders of the mob, prior to engaging in these acts of vandalism, in imitation of the patriot founders of the nation pledged to each other "their bodily powers, their lives, fortunes and sacred honor." Shortly after the affair, Lilburn W. Boggs, Lieutenant-Governor of Missouri, said to some of the Mormons: "You now know what our Jackson boys can do, and you must leave the county."

Three days after the assault upon Bishop Partridge and his brethren, the mobocratic mass-meeting again convened, this time in

greater numbers than before. The recent acts of violence had seemingly sated in part their anger. At all events they were a little more reasonable than before. A new committee was appointed to confer with the leading Mormons, and the result was a mutual agreement between the two parties. By the terms of this compact, one half the Saints were to be permitted to remain in the county until the 1st of January, 1834, and the other half until the 1st of April. It was agreed that the *Star* should not again be published, nor a printing press set up by any Mormon in Jackson County. Their immigration thither was at once to cease. In return for these concessions by the Saints, the committee gave a pledge that no further attacks should be made upon them. This agreement the mass meeting ratified and then adjourned.

Oliver Cowdery now carried to Kirtland a full account of what had taken place in Missouri. Affairs in Ohio at that time were far from peaceable. The Prophet was harassed with law-suits, and frequently threatened with violence. Yet the Kirtland Stake was progressing. The corner-stone of the Temple was laid on the very day that the Jackson County mob issued its decree of expatriation against the Saints. It was decided, after Elder Cowdery's arrival, to purchase a new printing press and continue the publication of the *Evening and Morning Star* at Kirtland; also that another paper called the *Latter-day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* be published there. The latter was succeeded by the *Elders' Journal*.

About the middle of September the Prophet sent Orson Hyde and John Gould to Missouri, with a message of comfort and instruction to his people in that State. By this time the mob troubles in Jackson County had resumed. It was Punic faith in which the Saints had trusted. The pledge given by the mass meeting in July had been broken. Two months had not elapsed before the mob renewed hostilities. Some of the Saints then moved into adjoining counties, hoping thereby to allay excitement and secure peace and tranquility. Vain hope. They had no sooner settled there than they were threatened with expulsion from these

newly acquired homes. "The Mormons must go!" was now the prevailing sentiment south of the Missouri river.

An appeal was next made to the Executive of the State. Daniel Dunklin was then Governor of Missouri. A document setting forth the wrongs the Saints had suffered from their fellow-citizens of Jackson County, describing the situation, and asking for military aid and protection while seeking redress in the courts, was carried to Jefferson City and delivered at the Governor's mansion by William W. Phelps and Orson Hyde. This document was dated September 28th, 1833. A reply was received late in October. The Governor declined to give the military aid requested, but advised the petitioners to make a trial of the efficacy of the laws, and promised that if they failed to obtain a proper execution of the same he would then take steps for their relief.

Pursuant to the Governor's advice, though not without some apprehension as to the result, the Mormons, having secured for the sum of a thousand dollars the services of four lawyers, instituted legal proceedings against their oppressors. It was as the application of the lighted match to the mine. An explosion of popular fury followed, before which, like stones and timbers of some huge building blown to atoms, the entire Mormon community, men, women and children, were driven in every direction from Jackson County.

It was about the last of October. Night attacks by armed mobs were made simultaneously at several points. Beyond the Big Blue river, in the western part of the county, houses were unroofed, men beaten, and women and children driven screaming into the wilderness. Similar scenes were enacted elsewhere. For three consecutive nights the work of rapine and ruin went on. At Independence houses were attacked and the expelled inmates whipped and pelted with stones. The Church store was broken open and plundered, its goods strewing the streets. One man, caught in the act of robbing the store, was taken before Justice of the Peace Samuel Weston, who refused to issue a warrant for his arrest. The robber was thus turned loose to rejoin his companions. Later, the Mor-

mons who had arrested him were taken into custody, charged with assaulting their prisoner. Being fired at while under arrest, they were placed in jail to save them from the fury of the rabble. Every effort of the Mormons to obtain justice was unavailing. The officers of the law were either too timid to come to their rescue, or were in league with the mob against them. The circuit judge at Lexington, being applied to for a peace warrant, refused to issue one, but advised the Mormons to arm themselves and shoot down the outlaws who came upon them.

To the Saints such advice was most repugnant. Their religion forbade strife, and strictly prohibited the needless shedding of blood. To meet violence with violence, however, now seemed their only recourse. The mob, emboldened by their policy of non-resistance, were hourly becoming more aggressive. The Mormons must either defend themselves, or supinely submit to wholesale outrage, plunder and massacre. Preferring the former course, they followed the advice of the Lexington judge and armed themselves, and the next onslaught of their foes found them ready to receive them.

On the 4th of November a marauding band fired upon some of the settlers beyond the Big Blue. A battle ensued. Several Mormons were wounded, one fatally, and it was found that two of the banditti had bitten the dust. The Mormon mortally wounded was a young man named Barber. He died next day. Philo Dibble, who was thought to be fatally shot, recovered and is still living, an aged and respected citizen of Utah.

A "Mormon uprising" was now widely heralded. The purpose of the Missourians had been accomplished. They had goaded their victims to desperation, and at length blood had been shed. The rest of the program was comparatively easy. On November 5th Lieutenant-Governor Boggs ordered out the militia to suppress the alleged insurrection. Colonel Thomas Pitcher, a radical anti-Mormon, was placed in command. He permitted the mobocrats, who had caused the trouble, to enroll themselves among the troops called out to put down the "uprising." He required the Mormons to lay down their

arms, and deliver up to be tried for murder certain men who had taken part in the previous day's battle. The rest of the community were required to leave the county forthwith.

The first two behests being obeyed, Colonel Pitcher, to enforce speedy compliance with the other, turned loose his mob militia to work their will upon the disarmed and helpless Saints. Scenes beggaring description were now enacted. Armed bands of ruffians ranged the county in every direction, bursting into houses, terrifying women and children and threatening the defenseless people with death if they did not instantly flee. One of these bands was led by a Christian minister heading, like another Peter the Hermit, this holy crusade. Out upon the bleak prairies, along the Missouri's banks, chilled by November's winds and drenched by pouring rains, hungry and shelterless, weeping and heart-broken, wandered forth the exiles. Families scattered and divided, husbands seeking wives, wives husbands, parents searching for their children, not knowing if they were yet alive. Such was the sorrowful scene—a veritable Acadian tableau—enough, it might be thought, to melt a heart of stone. But alas, the human heart, inhumanized by hate, is harder than stone.

Most of the refugees, after much suffering from hunger and exposure, found an asylum in Clay County, on the opposite shore, where they were kindly received and their woes compassionated. All the other counties to which the Mormons had fled followed the example of Jackson and expelled them from their borders. Ten settlements were now left desolate.

But the exiles did not despair. It was a lawless mob that had driven them from their homes and robbed them of their possessions. Surely in a land of law and order there was recompense and redress for such wrongs. The Governor, Judges and other state officials were in turn appealed to, and even the President of the United States was memorialized in relation to the Jackson County tragedy. Courteous replies came back, deprecating and deploring what had taken place, but that was all. Governor Dunklin held that he could

not lawfully extend military aid to maintain the Mormons in possession of their homes, and the reply of the President, by the Secretary of War, was to the same effect. The mob then was supreme. So seemed it to these homeless and plundered American citizens, suing in vain for redress at the feet of the highest civil and military authority in the land.

President Jackson, as well as Governor Dunklin, doubtless sincerely desired to right the wrongs of the exiles. It was not like "Old Hickory,"* with his "anti-nullifying" record, to hesitate or falter in the presence of what he deemed a duty unperformed. He evidently thought, as most Democrats would think, that the Jackson County episode was a local wrong to be locally rectified, and that he was powerless, unless requested by the Governor or the Legislature of the State, to interfere and take action against the Missouri mob, as he had formerly against the South Carolina nullifiers.

As to Governor Dunklin, a well-meaning though rather weak official, he perhaps did all that a man of his calibre and stamina could be expected to do under the circumstances. At his instance a court of inquiry was held, and Colonel Pitcher for his conduct was court-martialed. It was decided that there had been no Mormon uprising, and that the calling out of the troops and the enforced surrender of arms by citizens defending themselves against unrighteous aggression, was therefore unnecessary and unlawful. The Governor commanded the officers of the militia to restore to the Mormons their arms. This order they ignored. Further efforts for the relief of the Saints were made by fair-minded citizens,—who regarded the Jackson County affair as a grave crime, a stain upon the fair fame of the State,—but owing to popular prejudice, and the difficulty of enforcing in a mobocratic community the edicts of law and order, no adequate recompense was ever given, and the Mormons remain dispossessed of their lands in that locality to this day.

Nearly sixty years have passed since then, yet Jackson County,

* A surname of Andrew Jackson's.

Missouri, to the Latter-day Saints, is still "the land of Zion." Stakes of Zion have multiplied, and the people have flocked thereto; but "the place for the city" has remained unchanged. Zion has not been "moved out of her place, notwithstanding her children are scattered." The generation which once possessed the land—whose descendants still possess it—after repeated mobbings and massacres, endured for conscience-sake, have nearly all fallen asleep. But their aims and aspirations survive in the hearts of their children, who as confidently look forward as did ever their exiled sires, who followed Joseph Smith to Nauvoo and Brigham Young into the wilderness, to the eventual return of the Saints to Jackson County, and the rearing upon its sacred soil, consecrated by their fathers for that purpose, of the glorious Zion of their hopes.



Eben C. Kimball



Eben C. Kimball

highly educated,—a common school training, and a limited amount of that, being all that either could boast,—they were men of gifted minds, possessing unusual intelligence and strength of character.

Brigham Young was a man of undoubted genius,—a master mind, well balanced and powerful, thoroughly practical in thought and method, and of Napoleonic energy and intuition. Heber C. Kimball was a natural prophet,—a poet he would have been, had education lent his genius wings. A deep spiritual thinker, a great yet simple soul, replete with eccentricity. In religion Heber, when Mormonism found him, was a Baptist; while Brigham, like Joseph Smith in his boyhood, leaned toward Methodism.

Brigham Young first saw the Book of Mormon in the spring of 1830, at the home of his brother Phineas in Mendon. It had been left there by Samuel H. Smith, brother to the Prophet. Two years later a party of Mormon Elders from Pennsylvania came preaching in that neighborhood. Being converted to the faith, Brigham was baptized by Eleazer Miller on the 14th of April, 1832. Heber C. Kimball was baptized by Alpheus Gifford on the day following. John Young, senior, Phineas H., Joseph and Lorenzo D. Young, John P. Greene, Israel Barlow and a score of others with their families, in and around Mendon, also embraced Mormonism about the same time. Ordained to the ministry, Brigham, Heber and others rendered the Church efficient service in that region.

Not long afterward Brigham and Heber, accompanied by Joseph Young, visited Kirtland and became acquainted with the Prophet. It was the summer or fall of 1832. This was the first meeting of Joseph Smith with the man who was destined to be his successor. It is said that Joseph predicted about this time that Brigham Young would yet preside over the Church.

Returning east the three visiting Elders re-engaged in the work of the ministry, Brigham and Joseph Young visiting Upper Canada, whence the former, in July, 1833, led several families of converts to Kirtland. Again returning to Mendon, where his wife had died the year before, Brigham and his two motherless daughters dwelt for a

season under the roof-tree of his friend Heber, and in the fall of that year accompanied him and his family to Kirtland.

Other notable stars were likewise dawning or were about to dawn upon Mormonism's cloud-hung horizon. Wilford Woodruff, afterwards an Apostle and the fourth President of the Church, was baptized by Zera Pulsipher at Richland, Oswego County, New York, on December 31st, 1833. He was a native of Farmington—now Avon—Hartford County, Connecticut, and was born March 1st, 1807. George A. Smith, a cousin of the Prophet's, had come to Kirtland with his parents from Potsdam, St. Lawrence County, New York, in May, 1833. Jedediah M. Grant, of Broome County, New York, had joined the Church in March, and Erastus Snow, in February, had espoused the faith in his native State of Vermont. George A. and Jedediah were then youths of sixteen and seventeen respectively, and Erastus only a lad of fourteen.

It was about this time that D. P. Hurlburt was severed from the Church for immoral conduct. He felt his disgrace keenly. He first threatened the Prophet's life,—for which he was tried and put under bonds at Chardon,—and then set diligently to work to stir up strife and prejudice against the Mormons and their leader. He was quite successful in this, and the Prophet was guarded night and day by trusty friends, who feared his attempted assassination. We have already seen how Hurlburt, after his expulsion from the Church, originated the theory identifying the Book of Mormon with the Spaulding story.

On the 17th of February, 1834, was organized at Kirtland the first High Council of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. It was composed of twelve High Priests, presided over by three of the same order. A few words here in relation to High Councils and Mormon religious tribunals in general.

It is pretty well known by this time that the Mormon leaders do not favor litigation among their followers; that "brother going to law against brother" is an offense against the precepts and regulations of the Church. To obviate the need of such things there are

instituted among the Saints tribunals called Bishops' Courts and High Councils, the members of which serve gratuitously and labor much in the capacity of peace-makers ; adjusting difficulties between Church members in such a way as to save expense and prevent ill-feeling at the same time.

The Teacher is the peace-maker proper of the Church, but if he finds it impossible to reconcile the parties disagreeing, it is his duty to report the case to the Bishop,—whose officer he is,—together with any iniquity he may discover from time to time in visiting among the Saints of his "district." There may be many districts and many teachers,—two of whom usually act together,—in the "ward" over which the Bishop and his two counselors as High Priests preside.

The Bishop's Court hears evidence pro and con and decides accordingly. An appeal from its decision may be taken, if the gravity of the case warrants, to the High Council of the Stake in which the Bishop's ward is located. A Stake may have many wards, as the Church at large has many Stakes. Each Stake has its High Council, consisting of twelve High Priests, presided over by three other High Priests who are known as the Stake Presidency. This presidency, to whom the ward Bishops are accountable, are amenable themselves to the First Presidency. The High Councils are the appellate courts of the Church, having also original jurisdiction.

Each party to a case before the High Council has a right to be represented by half the members of that body,—one or more on either side being appointed to defend him,—and the matter in dispute having been thoroughly ventilated, the President renders his decision, which, if sustained by a majority of the Council, is the end of controversy, unless a rehearing is ordered by the First Presidency on a review of the evidence.

The greatest punishment inflicted by the Bishop's Court is disfellowshipment,—suspension from all privileges of Church membership.*

* This applies to persons holding the Melchisedek Priesthood. Members not holding that Priesthood may be excommunicated by the Bishop's Court.

The extreme penalty adjudged by the High Council is excommunication from the Church. All its members are amenable for transgression to these tribunals, one of the main objects of which is to prevent expensive and strife-breeding litigation among the Saints. They were not designed, though it is often alleged, to supersede or in any way interfere with the operations of the civil courts. According to Mormon doctrine, offenders against the laws of the land are amenable to those laws, as interpreted by legally constituted tribunals.

The twelve High Priests composing the first High Council, organized in February 1834, were Oliver Cowdery, Joseph Coe, Samuel H. Smith, Luke Johnson, John S. Carter, Sylvester Smith, John Johnson, Orson Hyde, Jared Carter, Joseph Smith, senior, John Smith and Martin Harris. The presidency of this council was identical with the First Presidency of the Church, namely: Joseph Smith, junior, Sidney Rigdon and Frederick G. Williams.

In the latter part of February, the Prophet began organizing at Kirtland, an expedition for the relief of his people in Missouri. This organization is known in Mormon history as Zion's Camp. It consisted when complete of two hundred and five men, nearly all Elders, Priests, Teachers and Deacons, organized as a military body, with Joseph Smith as their general. They took with them twenty wagons, well laden with supplies. The object of the expedition was to "redeem Zion;" in other words to regain possession of the lands in Jackson County from which the Saints had been driven. It subsequently transpired that the Prophet had another purpose in view: that of proving the mettle of the men who were to be his future Apostles.

One hundred of the Camp left Kirtland on the 5th of May, 1834. The remainder reinforced them on the way. They crossed the Mississippi early in June, and in the latter part of the month pitched their tents between two forks of Fishing River, Missouri, between Richmond, Ray County, and Liberty, the county seat of Clay. There they were joined by some of their brethren of those

parts, and from them learned particulars of further outrages upon the few remaining Saints in Jackson County.

The news of the coming of Zion's Camp, with exaggerated rumors concerning their numbers and the purpose of the expedition, created considerable excitement in western Missouri. Armed bands went out to meet them, and dire threats were uttered as to their doom. They were saved from attack one night on Fishing River by a terrible storm which beat back their foes and rendered the raging stream impassable. Colonel Sconce, of Ray County, Sheriff Gilliam, of Clay, and other prominent men of that vicinity then visited the camp and conversed with the Mormon leader. Having learned from him that his design was merely to secure an amicable adjustment of the difficulties between his despoiled disciples and the people of Jackson County, they were soon placated and became friendly.

Certain dissensions had broken out in Zion's Camp while on the way from Kirtland, and the Prophet, it is said, severely reprimanded some of his followers and predicted that a scourge would come upon the camp in consequence. Certain it is that a scourge did come, in the form of cholera, appearing among them about the 22nd of June. Sixty-eight were attacked by the malady, and thirteen or fourteen died. Among those who fell victims was Algernon S. Gilbert, who had kept the Church store at Independence.

During the plague the camp removed from Fishing River to within a few miles of Liberty. There they were met by General David R. Atchison and others, who in a friendly spirit requested that they come no nearer the town, as the excitement caused by the sensational rumors concerning them had not yet abated. This request was complied with, the Camp changing its course to Rush Creek, where some of the Mormons had settled. In order to show still further that his motives were not hostile, the Prophet disbanded his force and apprised General Atchison of the fact, requesting him to inform Governor Dunklin, whose ears were being filled with all sorts of tales from Jackson County regarding "Joe Smith and his army."

Negotiations, already begun, now continued between the Mormon

leaders and the men of Jackson County. The latter proposed to purchase the possessions of the Saints in that locality. To this the Mormons would not listen, deeming it sacrilege to sell their "sacred inheritance." On their part they submitted a proposition to buy out all residents of Jackson County who did not desire to dwell as their near neighbors. This offer their opponents rejected. It was evident that upon no condition would the Mormons be permitted to return. Samuel C. Owens, a prominent mobocrat, advised the Mormons to "cast an eye back of Clinton"—a distant county—and seek a new home in the wilderness. Believing that further effort would be vain, at all events for the present, the Prophet concluded to return to Kirtland.

Before starting, however, he organized a High Council among his followers in Clay County, and set apart a presidency to take charge of the Church in Missouri. David Whitmer, William W. Phelps and John Whitmer were that presidency. The twelve high councilors were as follows: Simeon Carter, Parley P. Pratt, William E. McLellin, Calvin Beebe, Levi Jackman, Solomon Hancock, Christian Whitmer, Newel Knight, Orson Pratt, Lyman Wight, Thomas B. Marsh and John Murdock. This High Council was organized early in July, 1834. On the 9th the Prophet and his friends set out for Kirtland. And so ended the Zion's Camp expedition.

Work on the Kirtland Temple was now zealously prosecuted. The Saints, as before stated, were poor, and of late their numbers in Ohio had been much diminished by the Missouri emigrations. But all united with a will,—the Prophet and other Elders setting the example by laboring in the quarry or upon the building, while the women sewed, knit, spun and made clothing for the workmen. The walls of the edifice, which were only partly reared when the Missouri expedition took from Kirtland nearly all the bone and sinew of the Church, now that the laborers had returned climbed rapidly toward completion.

The next notable event in Mormon history was the choosing of the Twelve Apostles, the council next in authority to the First Presi-

dency. It took place at Kirtland on Saturday, February 14th, 1835. The survivors of Zion's Camp were that day called to assemble, and the Twelve were selected from their numbers. The choosing was done by the Three Witnesses to the Book of Mormon, after which each Apostle was blessed and set apart by the First Presidency.

The Twelve Apostles were equal in authority, but the order of precedence in council was determined by their ages. According to seniority they ranged as follows: Thomas B. Marsh, David W. Pat-ten, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, William E. McLellin, Parley P. Pratt, Luke Johnson, William Smith, Orson Pratt, John F. Boynton, Lyman E. Johnson.

The same month witnessed the selection of the Seventies—assistant Apostles—who were likewise chosen from the ranks of the survivors of Zion's Camp. Two quorums of Seventies were ordained. Their names are here given :

PRESIDENTS.	Alden Burdick,	Alex. Whitesides,
Hazen Aldrich,	Hiram Winters,	George W. Brooks,
Joseph Young,	Hiram Blackman,	Michael Griffith,
Levi W. Hancock,	William D. Pratt,	Royal Barney,
Leonard Rich,	Zera S. Cole,	Libbeus T. Coons,
Zebedee Coltrin,	Jesse Huntsman,	Willard Snow,
Lyman Sherman,	Solomon Angell,	Jesse D. Harmon.
Sylvester Smith,	Henry Herriman,	Heman T. Hyde,
MEMBERS.	Israel Barlow,	Lorenzo D. Barnes,
Elias Hutchings	Jenkins Salisbury,	Hiram Stratton,
Cyrus Smalling,	Nelson Higgins,	Moses Martin,
Levi Gifford,	Harry Brown,	Lyman Smith,
Stephen Winchester,	Jezaniah B. Smith,	Harvey Stanley,
Roger Orton,	Lorenzo Booth,	Almon W. Babbitt,
Peter Buchanan,	Alexander Badlam,	William F. Cahoon.
John D. Parker,	Zerubbabel Snow,	Darwin Richardson.
David Elliot,	Harpin Riggs,	Milo Andrus,
Samuel Brown,	Edson Barney,	True Glidden,
Salmon Warner,	Joseph B. Noble,	Henry Shibley,
Jacob Chapman,	Henry Benner,	Harrison Burgess.
Charles Kelley,	David Evans,	Jedediah M. Grant.
Edmund Fisher,	Nathan B. Baldwin,	Daniel Stevens,
Warren Parrish,	Burr Riggs,	Amasa M. Lyman.
Joseph Hancock,	Lewis Robbins,	George A. Smith.

SECOND QUORUM.

Elijah Fordham,	Samuel Phelps,	Robert Rathburn,
Hyrum Dayton,	Joel McWithy,	Giles Cook,
Joel H. Johnson,	Selah J. Griffin,	John E. Page,
Daniel Wood,	Shadrach Roundy,	William Tenney,
Reuben McBride,	Zera Pulsipher,	Edmund Marvin,
Jonathan Holmes,	King Follett,	Marvel C. Davis,
Lorenzo D. Young,	Joseph Rose,	Almon Shearman,
Wilford Woodruff,	Robert Culbertson,	Isaac H. Bishop,
Jonathan Crosby,	John Young,	Elijah Réed,
Truman O. Angell,	James Foster,	Rufus Fisher,
Chauncey G. Webb,	Salmon Gee,	Dexter Stillman,
Solon Foster,	Nathaniel Millikin,	Thomas Gates,
Erastus Snow,	Gad Yale,	Uriah B. Powell,
Nathan Tanner,	Josiah Butterfield,	Amasa Bonney,
John Gould,	Elias Benner,	Ebenezer Page,
Stephen Starks,	Ariel Stephens,	Loren Babbitt,
Levi Woodruff,	William Perry,	Levi S. Nickerson,
William Carpenter,	Milton Holmes,	Edmund Durfee, jr .
Francis G. Bishop,	James Dalay,	Henry Wilcox,
William Gould,	Arvin A. Avery,	Edmund M. Webb,
Sherman A. Gilbert,	Charles Thompson,	William Miller,
William Redfield,	Joshua Grant,	Stephen Post,
John Herrit,	Andrew J. Squires,	William Bosley,
Jonathan Hampton.		

From the following paragraphs of a revelation on Priesthood the reader may derive all desired information regarding the duties and powers of the various councils and quorums in the Church : *

There are, in the church, two Priesthoods, namely, the Melchisedek, and Aaronic including the Levitical priesthood.

Why the first is called the Melchisedek Priesthood, is because Melchisedek was such a great High Priest.

Before his day it was called *the Holy Priesthood, after the order of the Son of God*.

But out of respect or reverence to the name of the Supreme Being, to avoid the too frequent repetition of his name, they, the church, in ancient days, called that Priesthood after Melchisedek, or the Melchisedek Priesthood.

All other authorities or offices in the church are appendages to this Priesthood :

But there are two divisions or grand heads—one is the Melchisedek Priesthood, and the other is the Aaronic, or Levitical priesthood.

* Doctrine and Covenants, Section 107.

The office of an elder comes under the Priesthood of Melchisedek.

The Melchisedek Priesthood holds the right of Presidency, and has power and authority over all the offices in the church in all ages of the world, to administer in spiritual things.

The Presidency of the High Priesthood, after the order of Melchisedek, have a right to officiate in all the offices of the church.

High Priests after the order of the Melchisedek Priesthood, have a right to officiate in their own standing, under the direction of the Presidency, in administering spiritual things; and also in the office of an elder, priest, (of the Levitical order,) teacher, deacon and member.

An elder has a right to officiate in his stead when the High Priest is not present.

The High Priest and elder are to administer in spiritual things, agreeable to the covenants and commandments of the church; and they have a right to officiate in all these offices of the church when there are no higher authorities present.

The second priesthood is called the priesthood of Aaron, because it was conferred upon Aaron and his seed, throughout all their generations.

Why it is called the lesser priesthood, is because it is an appendage to the greater or the Melchisedek Priesthood, and has power in administering outward ordinances.

The bishopric is the presidency of this priesthood and holds the keys or authority of the same.

No man has a legal right to this office, to hold the keys of this priesthood, except he be a literal descendant of Aaron.

But as a High Priest of the Melchisedek Priesthood has authority to officiate in all the lesser offices, he may officiate in the office of bishop when no literal descendant of Aaron can be found, provided he is called and set apart and ordained unto this power by the hands of the Presidency of the Melchisedek Priesthood.

The power and authority of the Higher or Melchisedek Priesthood, is to hold the keys of all the spiritual blessings of the church—

To have the privilege of receiving the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven—to have the heavens opened to them—to commune with the general assembly and church of the first born, and to enjoy the communion and presence of God the Father, and Jesus the Mediator of the new covenant.

The power and authority of the lesser, or Aaronic priesthood, is to hold the keys of the ministering of angels, and to administer in outward ordinances, the letter of the gospel—the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins, agreeable to the covenants and commandments.

Of necessity there are presidents, or presiding offices growing out of, or appointed of or from among those who are ordained to the several offices in those two priesthoods.

Of the Melchisedek Priesthood, three Presiding High Priests, chosen by the body, appointed and ordained to that office, and upheld by the confidence, faith, and prayer of the church, form a quorum of the Presidency of the church.

The Twelve traveling counselors are called to be the Twelve apostles, or special witnesses of the name of Christ in all the world; thus differing from other officers in the church in the duties of their calling.

And they form a quorum, equal in authority and power to the three Presidents previously mentioned.

The seventy are also called to preach the gospel, and to be especial witnesses unto the Gentiles and in all the world. Thus differing from other officers in the church in the duties of their callings;

And they form a quorum equal in authority to that of the Twelve special witnesses or apostles just named.

And every decision made by either of these quorums, must be by the unanimous voice of the same; that is, every member in each quorum must be agreed to its decisions, in order to make their decisions of the same power or validity one with the other.

(A majority may form a quorum, when circumstances render it impossible to be otherwise.)

* * * * *

The Twelve are a traveling presiding High Council, to officiate in the name of the Lord, under the direction of the Presidency of the church, agreeable to the institution of heaven; to build up the church, and regulate all the affairs of the same in all nations; first unto the Gentiles, and secondly unto the Jews.

The seventy are to act in the name of the Lord, under the direction of the Twelve or the traveling High Council, in building up the Church and regulating all the affairs of the same in all nations—first unto the Gentiles and then unto the Jews;

The Twelve being sent out, holding the keys, to open the door by the proclamation of the gospel of Jesus Christ—and first unto the Gentiles and then unto the Jews.

* * * * *

Verily, I say unto you, says the Lord of hosts, there must needs be presiding elders to preside over those who are of the office of an elder;

And also priests to preside over those who are of the office of a priest;

And also teachers to preside over those who are of the office of a teacher; in like manner, and also the deacons;

Wherefore, from deacon to teacher, and from teacher to priest, and from priest to elder, severally as they are appointed, according to the covenants and commandments of the church.

Then comes the High Priesthood, which is the greatest of all;

Wherefore it must needs be that one be appointed of the High Priesthood to preside over the Priesthood, and he shall be called President of the High Priesthood of the church;

Or, in other words, the Presiding High Priest over the High Priesthood of the church.

From the same comes the administering of ordinances and blessings upon the church, by the laying on of the hands.

Wherefore the office of a bishop is not equal unto it; for the office of a bishop is in administering all temporal things;

Nevertheless a bishop must be chosen from the High Priesthood, unless he is a literal descendant of Aaron;

For unless he is a literal descendant of Aaron he cannot hold the keys of that priesthood.

Nevertheless, a High Priest that is after the order of Melchisedek, may be set apart unto the ministering of temporal things, having a knowledge of them by the Spirit of truth,

And also to be a judge in Israel, to do the business of the church, to sit in judgment upon transgressors upon testimony as it shall be laid before him according to the laws, by the assistance of his counselors, whom he has chosen, or will choose among the elders of the church.

This is the duty of a bishop who is not a literal descendant of Aaron, but has been ordained to the High Priesthood after the order of Melchisedek.

* * * * *

But a literal descendant of Aaron has a legal right to the presidency of this priesthood, to the keys of this ministry, to act in the office of bishop independently, without counselors, except in a case where a President of the High Priesthood, after the order of Melchisedek, is tried, to sit as a judge in Israel.

* * * * *

And again, verily I say unto you, the duty of a president over the office of a deacon is to preside over twelve deacons, to sit in council with them, and to teach them their duty—edifying one another, as it is given according to the covenants.

And also the duty of the president over the office of the teachers is to preside over twenty-four of the teachers, and to sit in council with them, teaching them the duties of their office, as given in the covenants.

Also the duty of the president over the priesthood of Aaron is to preside over forty-eight priests, and sit in council with them, to teach them the duties of their office, as is given in the covenants.

This president is to be a bishop; for this is one of the duties of this priesthood.

Again, the duty of the president over the office of elders is to preside over ninety-six elders, and to sit in council with them, and to teach them according to the covenants.

This presidency is a distinct one from that of the seventy, and is designed for those who do not travel into all the world.

And again, the duty of the President of the office of the High Priesthood is to preside over the whole church, and to be like unto Moses.

* * * * *

And it is according to the vision, showing the order of the seventy, that they should have seven presidents to preside over them, chosen out of the number of the seventy;

And the seventh president of these presidents is to preside over the six;

And these seven presidents are to choose other seventy besides the first seventy, to whom they belong, and are to preside over them;

And also other seventy, until seven times seventy, if the labor in the vineyard of necessity requires it.

And these seventy are to be traveling ministers unto the Gentiles first, and also unto the Jews;

Whereas other officers of the church, who belong not unto the Twelve, neither to the

seventy, are not under the responsibility to travel among all nations, but are to travel as their circumstances shall allow, notwithstanding they may hold as high and responsible offices in the church.

Early in May the Twelve Apostles started upon their first mission. They traveled through the Eastern States and Upper Canada, preaching, baptizing, advising the scattered Saints to gather westward, and collecting means for the purchase of lands in Missouri and the completion of the Kirtland Temple. They went two by two, but met together in councils and conferences at various points. Late in September they returned to Kirtland.

It is often asserted by opponents of Mormonism that the founders of the Church were coarse and illiterate men, and that the system itself fosters ignorance and is opposed to education. The assertion is for the greater part groundless. That many of the early Elders were at the outset of their careers uncultured and unlearned, is true. No Latter-day Saint disputes it. But that Mormonism fosters or favors ignorance, or in any way opposes education, they emphatically deny. "It is impossible to be saved in ignorance." "A man is saved no faster than he gets knowledge." "The glory of God is intelligence." "Seek ye out of the best books words of wisdom; seek learning even by study and also by faith." Sample precepts, these, of Joseph Smith's. No teacher ever taught more plainly that knowledge in any sphere, in or out of the world, is power.

Reference has already been made to the establishment of the School of the Prophets at Kirtland, and its counterpart the School of Elders in Missouri. These were instituted mainly for spiritual culture. Other schools were founded by the Prophet for secular instruction. A grammar school at Kirtland, taught by Sidney Rigdon and William E. McLellin, was supplemented by a school of science and languages, presided over by learned preceptors engaged for that purpose. Professor Seixas, a finished scholar, was one of these. The Prophet and many other Elders attended these schools.

At the age of thirty Joseph Smith was no longer an illiterate

youth, but had become, if not a ripe and rounded scholar, at least a proficient student, uniting with the lore of ancient languages the far-seeing wisdom of a statesman and a social philosopher. Later he added to these acquirements a knowledge of law. It was about this time that he translated, from papyrus found upon some mummies brought from the catacombs of Egypt, the record known as the Book of Abraham.

The views of the Prophet and his people on civil government and its relationship with religion are set forth in the following pronouncement of August, 1835: *

We believe that governments were instituted of God for the benefit of man, and that he holds men accountable for their acts in relation to them, either in making laws or administering them, for the good and safety of society.

We believe that no government can exist in peace, except such laws are framed and held inviolate as will secure to each individual the free exercise of conscience, the right and control of property, and the protection of life.

We believe that all governments necessarily require civil officers and magistrates to enforce the laws of the same, and that such as will administer the law in equity and justice, should be sought for and upheld by the voice of the people (if a republic,) or the will of the sovereign.

We believe that religion is instituted of God, and that men are amenable to him, and to him only, for the exercise of it, unless their religious opinions prompt them to infringe upon the rights and liberties of others; but we do not believe that human law has a right to interfere in prescribing rules of worship to bind the consciences of men, nor dictate forms for public or private devotion; that the civil magistrate should restrain crime, but never control conscience; should punish guilt, but never suppress the freedom of the soul.

We believe that all men are bound to sustain and uphold the respective governments in which they reside, while protected in their inherent and inalienable rights by the laws of such governments; and that sedition and rebellion are unbecoming every citizen thus protected, and should be punished accordingly; and that all governments have a right to enact such laws as in their own judgment are best calculated to secure the public interest, at the same time, however, holding sacred the freedom of conscience.

We believe that every man should be honored in his station: rulers and magistrates as such, being placed for the protection of the innocent, and the punishment of the guilty; and that to the laws, all men owe respect and deference, as without them peace and harmony would be supplanted by anarchy and terror; human laws being instituted for the express purpose of regulating our interests as individuals and nations, between man and man, and

* Doctrine and Covenants, Section 134.

divine laws given of heaven, prescribing rules on spiritual concerns, for faith and worship, both to be answered by man to his Maker.

We believe that rulers, states, and governments, have a right, and are bound to enact laws for the protection of all citizens in the free exercise of their religious belief; but we do not believe that they have a right in justice, to deprive citizens of this privilege, or proscribe them in their opinions, so long as a regard and reverence are shown to the laws, and such religious opinions do not justify sedition nor conspiracy.

We believe that the commission of crime should be punished according to the nature of the offence; that murder, treason, robbery, theft, and the breach of the general peace, in all respects, should be punished according to their criminality, and their tendency to evil among men, by the laws of that government in which the offence is committed; and for the public peace and tranquility, all men should step forward and use their ability in bringing offenders against good laws to punishment.

We do not believe it just to mingle religious influence with civil government, whereby one religious society is fostered, and another proscribed in its spiritual privileges, and the individual rights of its members as citizens, denied.

We believe that all religious societies have a right to deal with their members for disorderly conduct according to the rules and regulations of such societies, provided that such dealings be for fellowship and good standing; but we do not believe that any religious society has authority to try men on the right of property or life, to take from them this world's goods, or to put them in jeopardy of either life or limb, neither to inflict any physical punishment upon them, they can only excommunicate them from their society, and withdraw from them their fellowship.

We believe that men should appeal to the civil law for redress of all wrongs and grievances, where personal abuse is inflicted, or the right of property or character infringed, where such laws exist as will protect the same; but we believe that all men are justified in defending themselves, their friends, and property, and the government, from the unlawful assaults and encroachments of all persons, in times of exigency, where immediate appeal cannot be made to the laws, and relief afforded.

We believe it just to preach the gospel to the nations of the earth, and warn the righteous to save themselves from the corruption of the world; but we do not believe it right to interfere with bond servants, neither preach the gospel to, nor baptize them, contrary to the will and wish of their masters, nor to meddle with or influence them in the least, to cause them to be dissatisfied with their situations in this life, thereby jeopardizing the lives of men; such interference we believe to be unlawful and unjust, and dangerous to the peace of every government allowing human beings to be held in servitude.

The Kirtland Temple was dedicated on the 27th of March, 1836. Part of the interior at the time was in an unfinished state. It had occupied three years in construction, and had cost between sixty and seventy thousand dollars. The dimensions of the edifice were eighty by sixty feet; the walls being fifty-seven feet high to the eaves. It

comprised two stories and an attic; the whole surmounted by a tower. The building, which was chiefly of stone, stood upon a hill, and was the most conspicuous object visible for miles.

The main purpose of the temple was the administration of religious ordinances, but it was also designed and used for schools, meetings and councils of the Priesthood. Unlike all temples since erected by the Saints, there was no baptismal font in this building; the ordinance of baptism for the dead—for which such fonts are principally used—not yet being practiced in the Church. We will here state, for the benefit of the uninformed, that the Mormons believe that vicarious work, such as baptisms, confirmations, ordinations, marriages, etc., may be performed by the living for the dead; for their friends and progenitors who died without a knowledge of the gospel. This is one of their chief objects in temple building.

Accounts of many miraculous manifestations are recorded in connection with the Kirtland Temple; among them the following by Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery, dated April 3rd, 1836: *

The veil was taken from our minds, and the eyes of our understanding were opened.

We saw the Lord standing upon the breastwork of the pulpit, before us, and under his feet was a paved work of pure gold in color like amber.

His eyes were as a flame of fire, the hair of his head was white like the pure snow, his countenance shone above the brightness of the sun, and his voice was as the sound of the rushing of great waters, even the voice of Jehovah, saying—

I am the first and the last, I am he who liveth, I am he who was slain, I am your advocate with the Father.

Behold, your sins are forgiven you, you are clean before me, therefore lift up your heads and rejoice,

Let the hearts of your brethren rejoice, and let the hearts of all my people rejoice, who have, with their might, built this house to my name,

For behold, I have accepted this house, and my name shall be here, and I will manifest myself to my people in mercy in this house,

Yea, I will appear unto my servants, and speak unto them with mine own voice, if my people will keep my commandments, and do not pollute this holy house,

Yea the hearts of thousands and tens of thousands shall greatly rejoice in consequence of the blessings which shall be poured out, and the endowment with which my servants have been endowed in this house;

* Doctrine and Covenants, Section 110.

And the fame of this house shall spread to foreign lands, and this is the beginning of the blessing which shall be poured out upon the heads of my people. Even so. Amen.

After this vision closed, the heavens were again opened unto us, and Moses appeared before us, and committed unto us the keys of the gathering of Israel from the four parts of the earth, and the leading of the ten tribes from the land of the north.

After this, Elias appeared, and committed the dispensation of the gospel of Abraham, saying, that in us, and our seed, all generations after us should be blessed.

After this vision had closed, another great and glorious vision burst upon us, for Elijah the prophet, who was taken to heaven without tasting death, stood before us, and said—

Behold, the time has fully come, which was spoken of by the mouth of Malachi, testifying that he (Elijah) should be sent before the great and dreadful day of the Lord come,

To turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the children to the fathers, lest the whole earth be smitten with a curse.

Therefore the keys of this dispensation are committed into your hands, and by this ye may know that the great and dreadful day of the Lord is near, even at the doors.

Among those who came to Kirtland during this period, attracted thither not by the religion of the Saints, but by the advantages for lingual training in the Hebrew school founded by the Prophet, was Lorenzo Snow, a native of Mantua, Portage County, in that State, who had been pursuing his studies at Oberlin College. Lorenzo was then a youth of twenty-two. His sister, Eliza R. Snow, the poetess, had joined the Church in April, 1835, and at the time that her brother came to Kirtland was living in the Prophet's household. Lorenzo was baptized in June, 1836, by Apostle John F. Boynton.

Returning now to the Mormons in Missouri. Expelled with fire and sword from Jackson County in the fall of 1833, they had dwelt since then among the hospitable and kindly disposed people of Clay County. Nearly three years they had dwelt there in peace and amity. Though that section was regarded by them as only a temporary abiding place, where they awaited the day when law and justice should restore them to their former homes, they had nevertheless secured lands, purchased or erected dwellings, workshops, etc., and were receiving constant accessions to their numbers by immigration. With these peaceful and legitimate pursuits little or no fault had hitherto been found.

But now a change had come. The people of Clay County had

partaken in a measure of the anti-Mormon spirit which reigned in Jackson. The Saints were on the eve of another exodus, another general abandonment of their homes; though not threatened, as before, with "fire and brand and hostile hand," with robbery and expulsion from the roofs which of late had sheltered them. They had been requested, however, to remove as a community from Clay County, and "seek some other abiding place, where the manners, the habits and customs of the people would be more consonant with their own." Such was the action taken regarding them by a mass meeting of reputable citizens which convened at Liberty on the 29th of June, 1836.

No charge of crime had been preferred against the Mormons. It was not claimed that they had infringed upon the rights of their fellow citizens, broken the laws of the land, or been wanting in respect and loyalty to the local or the general government. True, the old charges were afloat of what they intended doing, what their opinions were on the negro and Indian questions, etc., and these, with their continuous immigrations into the county, were doubtless among the chief reasons for the change of sentiment concerning them. The men of Jackson County too, were constantly sowing the seeds of ill-will between the old settlers of Clay County and the Mormons. Doubtless some of the latter,—for there are cranks and criminals among all peoples,—warranted the adverse opinions formed respecting them. But this, despite the fly-in-the-ointment proverb, ought not to have condemned the whole community.

Yet they were not accused of crime, of any overt act against peace and good order. It was argued merely that "they were eastern men, whose manners, habits, customs and even dialect, were essentially different" from those of the Missourians; that they were "non-slaveholders, and opposed to slavery;" and that their religious tenets were "so different from the present churches of the age" that they "always had, and always would, excite deep prejudices against them in any populous country where they might locate." Such a prejudice, it was claimed, had taken root in Clay County, and had

grown into "a feeling of hostility that the first spark might ignite into all the horrors and desolations of a civil war."

Hence, in the spirit of mediation, with an earnest desire to avert such a calamity for the sake of all, had the mass meeting spoken. Such was its candid and no doubt truthful claim. "We do not contend," said these citizens of Clay County, "that we have the least right, under the constitution and laws of the country to expel them (the Mormons) by force. * * * We only ask them, for their own safety and for ours, to take the least of the two evils." The "least evil" in question was that no more Mormons should settle in Clay County, and that those already there should remove to some other place at as early a period as possible.

Though perfectly aware that in complying with this request they would surrender some of their dearest rights as American citizens, and that if they saw fit they might entrench themselves behind the bulwark of the Constitution and defy their opponents to legally dislodge them, for the sake of peace and through a sense of gratitude for former kindness, the Mormons decided to make the required sacrifice and leave the county. First, however, they determined to put upon record their denial of the charges afloat concerning them.

At a meeting held on July 1st, presided over by William W. Phelps, a preamble and resolutions were reported by a committee previously appointed for the purpose. Therein the Mormons expressed gratitude and good will toward the people of Clay County for past kindness; denied having any claim to lands further than they purchased with money, or more than they were allowed to possess under the Constitution and laws of the country; denied being abolitionists, or that they were holding communications with the Indians, and affirmed their fealty to the government, its laws and institutions. They agreed, however, for the sake of peace and friendship, to comply with the requisitions of the mass meeting held in June.

Within three months they were on their way, migrating, after selling out at a sacrifice, to the spot selected as the site of their new

home. It was known as the Shoal Creek region, comprising the upper part of Ray County, north and east of Clay. It was a wilderness, almost entirely unoccupied, seven men only inhabiting its solitudes. These were bee-hunters. The Mormons purchased their possessions, pre-empted other lands in the vicinity, and were left the sole occupants of that region. Here, in this isolated spot, where the question of social and religious differences could not well arise, at least for the present, they hoped to dwell unmolested, worshiping God in their own way,—in the way that they believed He had commanded.

In December, 1836, in response to their petition, the Legislature of Missouri incorporated the Shoal Creek region and some adjoining lands containing a few settlers, as a separate county, to which was given the name of Caldwell. The Mormons were permitted to organize the county government and select its officers. Here the Saints settled in large numbers, and founded during the winter of 1836-7 the city of Far West.

CHAPTER IX.

1836-1838.

THE KIRTLAND APOSTASY—THE TEMPORAL AT WAR WITH THE SPIRITUAL—FINANCIAL DISASTERS—"SOMETHING NEW MUST BE DONE TO SAVE THE CHURCH"—OPENING OF THE BRITISH MISSION—HEBER C. KIMBALL AND HIS CONFRERES IN LANCASHIRE—MARVELOUS SUCCESS OF MORMONISM ABROAD—AFFAIRS AT KIRTLAND CONTINUED—A DARK HOUR—BRIGHAM YOUNG'S FIDELITY—JOHN TAYLOR—SETTING IN ORDER THE CHURCH—FLIGHT OF THE PROPHET AND HIS FRIENDS FROM KIRTLAND—THE CHURCH REMOVES TO MISSOURI—EXCOMMUNICATIONS—NEW CALLS TO THE APOSTLESHIP—THE LAW OF TITHING INSTITUTED.

WHILE the events last narrated were occurring in Missouri, affairs at Kirtland had been hastening to a crisis. A spirit essentially antagonistic to the genius of religion,—opposed to the success of any great spiritual movement such as Mormonism, had crept into the Church and was playing havoc with the faith and once fervent zeal of many of its members.

The spirit of speculation, then so prevalent throughout the nation; the greed of worldly gain, so fatal to religious enthusiasm in all ages, was rapidly permeating the Mormon community at Kirtland, cooling the spiritual ardor of the Saints, and diverting the minds of many followers of the Prophet from the aims and purposes for which they had renounced "the world" to become his associates and disciples.

Even some of the leading Elders,—Apostles, High Priests and Seventies,—whose especial mission, unless otherwise directed by their superiors, was to administer in spiritual things, were neglecting the duties enjoined upon them and plucking greedily the golden fruit that hung so temptingly from the tree of mammon. Reproved for their remissness by the Prophet, they became angry, and falling

away from their fealty to Joseph, sowed the seeds of disaffection among their friends and sympathizers.

Thus occurred the first serious apostasy in the Church. Before it was over, about half the council of the Apostles, one of the First Presidency and many other prominent Elders had become disaffected, and some of them bitterly hostile to the Prophet and all who adhered to him. Outside enemies were not slow to take advantage of this situation, and unite with the Church's internal foes in various schemes for its destruction.

The Kirtland "boom"—as it would now be styled—began in the summer or fall of 1836, and during the following winter and spring went rushing and roaring on toward the whirlpool of financial ruin that soon swallowed it. The all-prevailing desire to amass wealth did not confine itself to mercantile pursuits, real estate dealings, and other branches of business of a legitimate if much inflated character, but was productive of "wild-cat" schemes of every description, enterprises in every respect fraudulent, designed as traps for the unwary.

An effort was made by the Prophet, who foresaw the inevitable disaster that awaited, to stem the tide of recklessness and corruption now threatening to sweep everything before it. For this purpose the Kirtland Safety Society was organized, the main object of which was to control the prevailing sentiment and direct it in legitimate channels. The Prophet and some of his staunchest supporters became officers and members of this association.

The career of the Kirtland Bank was very brief. Unable to collect its loans, victimized by counterfeiters, and robbed by some of its own officials—subordinates having charge of the funds—it soon collapsed. A heroic effort was made to save it. Well-to-do members of the Church beggared themselves to buy up the bank's floating paper and preserve its credit.* But in vain. In common with many other banks and business houses throughout the country,—for it was a

* Isaac Decker, a prosperous farmer, was one of these.

year of general financial disaster,—it went down in the ruinous crash of 1837.

Another opportunity was thus given to heap censure upon the Prophet; an opportunity of which his enemies, in and out of the Church, quickly availed themselves. As a matter of fact Joseph had withdrawn from the Society some time before, not being satisfied with the way events were shaping. It mattered not. Someone had done wrong, and someone must be blamed. As usual the most prominent target was the one fired at. Before this, however, so intense had become the feeling against the Prophet at Kirtland, that it was almost as much as one's life was worth to defend him against his accusers. Affairs with Mormonism had reached a culminating point, where it was evident—to use the Prophet's own words—that “something new must be done for the salvation of the Church.”

Joseph Smith believed,—as all men must, into whose ideas the philosophy of the divine Nazarene enters,—that the spiritual must save the temporal; that life alone can redeem from death. Consequently, he knew that in the crisis now reached,—a stagnation of the spiritual life-blood of the Church,—a strong reactionary movement was essential to its resuscitation. Too much care for the temporal, with a corresponding neglect of the spiritual, had nearly proved the ruin of Mormonism. The supremacy of the spiritual over the temporal,—the basic and crowning principle of the salvation offered by Jesus Christ,—must needs be emphasized and reasserted. At this period, therefore, the Prophet planned and executed a project as a measure of rescue from the ruin which seemed impending. It was to send his Apostles across the sea and plant the standard of Mormonism upon the shores of Europe.

Hitherto the labors of the Elders had been confined to various parts of the United States and Upper Canada. Into that province such men as Brigham and Joseph Young, Orson Pratt, Parley P. Pratt and even the Prophet himself had penetrated and made many converts. Parley P. Pratt's missions to Canada had been especially productive. Among his converts in the city of Toronto, in the

spring or summer of 1836, was John Taylor, afterwards an Apostle, and the third President of the Church. But as yet no foreign mission had been attempted. Indeed, at that time, when the age of steamships and railways was in its infancy, and months instead of days were consumed in crossing the Atlantic, the idea of a voyage over the ocean was to ordinary minds little less awe-inspiring and miraculous than a projected flight to the moon. To send the Elders to Great Britain, however, and "open the door of salvation to that nation," was the plan conceived by the Prophet early in the summer of 1837.

The Apostle chosen to stand at the head of this important mission was Heber C. Kimball, a staunch friend of Joseph's, a man unlettered, but possessed of much native ability and mental and physical force. His companion Apostle was Orson Hyde, better educated and considerable of an orator. Orson was a native of Oxford, New Haven County, Connecticut, where he was born on the 8th of January, 1805. Another of the party was Elder Willard Richards, a cousin to Brigham Young, late of Berkshire County, Massachusetts, who had but recently joined the Church. Willard was the pioneer of the numerous and distinguished Richards family in Mormonism.

The other members of the mission were Joseph Fielding, a Canadian convert, Isaac Russell, John Goodson and John Snider. The last three were now in Canada.

Apostle Kimball and the others left Kirtland on the 13th of June. Being joined by the Canadian party in New York, they sailed from that port July 1st, on board the packet *Garrick* bound for Liverpool.

It is not our purpose in these pages to give a detailed account of the rise and progress of the British Mission,—the first and so far greatest foreign mission established by the Latter-day Saints,—nor of the various missions which radiated from and grew out of it. Such a work would necessarily fill volumes. Only the main incidents of that wonderfully successful missionary movement,—which was destined to bring into the Church and emigrate to America, from

Great Britain alone, between fifty and seventy-five thousand souls,—can here be touched upon.

Landing at Liverpool on July 20th, 1837, the day that Queen Victoria ascended the throne, Apostle Kimball and his confreres tarried two days in that city, and then repaired by coach to Preston, thirty miles distant. There Joseph Fielding had a brother, the pastor of a church, who had previously been informed by letter from Joseph and other relatives in Canada, of the rise and spread of Mormonism in America. He opened his church—Vauxhall Chapel—to the Elders, who, the day after their arrival at Preston, it being the Sabbath, preached from his pulpit the first sermons delivered by Mormon Elders on the eastern hemisphere.

Baptisms soon followed, then the usual opposition,—though of a much less violent character than had been experienced in some parts of America. The Reverend James Fielding, the first to welcome the Elders and extend to them ministerial courtesy, was also the first to withdraw from them the hand of friendship. Learning that some of his flock had been converted by their preaching, and had applied to them for baptism, he quickly closed his pulpit against the Elders and was thenceforth their bitter opponent. Later, the Reverend Robert Aitken, a famous minister of that period, entered the lists against them. Nothing daunted, for they were inured to such treatment, the Elders betook themselves to the streets and public squares, preaching in the open air to vast crowds—tradesmen, laborers, factory hands, farmers, etc.,—that thronged from all sides to hear them. They also addressed audiences in private houses, that were opened for their accommodation. More opposition ensued, and greater success followed.

From Preston, having there gained a foothold, the missionaries, separating, passed into other counties. Richards and Goodson went to the city of Bedford, Russell and Snider to Alston, in Cumberland, while the two Apostles with Joseph Fielding remained to spread the work in Preston and introduce it into other towns and villages of Lancashire.

Everywhere success attended them,—success nothing short of marvelous. Whole villages were converted at a sweep, and fresh friends flocked round them almost daily. The people as a rule were very poor, and the Elders, themselves penniless, preaching “without purse or scrip,” and most of the time laboring arduously, suffered many privations. But there was no dearth of warm hearts and willing hands, and though the fare was often less than frugal, the shelter never so scant, the guests whom these poor people delighted to honor were ever welcome to the best and most of it.

Sunday, July 30th, 1837—the tenth day of the Elders on British soil—witnessed their first baptisms, nine in number, in the river Ribble, which runs through Preston. Sunday, April 8th, 1838, a little over eight months afterward, at a conference held there prior to the return of the Apostles to America, their total following in that land was reported at about two thousand souls. Three-fourths of these had been converted by one man,—the unlettered but magnetic Apostle, Heber C. Kimball. Twenty-six branches of the Church were represented. Thus was laid the foundation of the British Mission.

Apostles Kimball and Hyde with Elder Russell on the 20th of April sailed from Liverpool aboard the *Garrick*, homeward bound. Joseph Fielding was left to preside over the British Mission, with Willard Richards and William Clayton as his counselors. Clayton was an English convert. Goodson and Snider—the former being disaffected—had returned to America some months before.

On the 12th of May the returning Apostles landed at New York. There they met Orson Pratt, who, with his brother Parley, had succeeded after much labor in raising up a branch of the Church in that city. Parley’s celebrated work, the *Voice of Warning*, which was destined to convert thousands to Mormonism, had been published there the year before. Two days after landing, the Kimball party proceeded on to Kirtland, arriving there on the 22nd of May.

Returning now to the summer of 1837. While Mormonism had been prospering abroad, what had been its fortunes in America? The tidal wave of disaffection still swept over Kirtland. The Mor-

mon leader was denounced as "a fallen prophet" by men who had been his trusted friends and associates. A plot was formed to depose him from the Presidency and put another in his stead. Concerned in this conspiracy were several of the Apostles and some of the witnesses to the Book of Mormon. Their choice for Joseph's successor was David Whitmer, one of the Three Witnesses.

Heber C. Kimball, when appointed to his foreign mission, had asked the Prophet if Brigham Young might go with him. The answer was: "No; I want him to stay with me. I have something else for him to do."

Doubtless it was well for Joseph and for Mormonism in general that he decided to keep by him at that time the lion heart and intrepid soul of Brigham Young. Firm as a rock in his fealty to his chief, he combined sound judgment, keen perception, with courage unfaltering and sublime. Like lightning were his intuitions, his decisions between right and wrong; like thunder his denunciations of what his soul conceived was error. A man for emergencies, far-sighted and inspirational; a master spirit and natural leader of men.

Well might Joseph,—brave almost to rashness,—whose genius, though lofty and general in its scope, was pre-eminently spiritual, while Brigham's was pronouncedly practical, wish to have near him at such a time, just such a man. In that dark hour,—the darkest perhaps that Mormonism has seen,—when its very foundations seemed crumbling, when men supposed to be its pillars were weakening and falling away, joining hands secretly or openly with its enemies, the man Brigham never faltered, never failed in his allegiance to his leader, never ceased defending him against his accusers, and as boldly denouncing them betimes for falsehood, selfishness and treachery. His life was imperilled by his boldness. He heeded not, but steadily held on his way, an example of valor and fidelity, a faithful friend, *sans peur et sans reproche*.

Among others who stood loyal to the Prophet was John Taylor,

the future Apostle and President, who arrived at Kirtland from his home in Canada in the latter part of 1837. It was in Toronto, during August of that year, that Joseph Smith and John Taylor had first met. Seven years later they stood side by side in an Illinois dungeon, facing an infuriate mob, together receiving the bullets,—fatal to Joseph, well-nigh fatal to John,—which reddened with their mingled life-blood the floor of Carthage jail.

Soon after the Prophet's return from Canada, a return rendered barely possible by mobs lying in wait to attack him, a conference was held at Kirtland and steps taken to purge the disaffected element from the various councils of the Priesthood. It was Sunday, September 3rd, 1837. On that day the Church voted with uplifted hands to sustain in office the following named Elders: Joseph Smith, junior, as President of the Church; Sidney Rigdon as his first counselor; Oliver Cowdery, Joseph Smith, senior, Hyrum Smith and John Smith, as assistant counselors; Thomas B. Marsh, David W. Patten, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, William Smith and William E. McLellin as members of the council of the Apostles; John Gaylord, James Foster, Salmon Gee, Daniel S. Miles, Joseph Young, Josiah Butterfield and Levi Hancock, as Presidents of Seventies, and Newel K. Whitney as Bishop of Kirtland, with Reynolds Cahoon and Jared Carter as his counselors.

Frederick G. Williams, one of the First Presidency; Luke S. and Lyman E. Johnson and John F. Boynton, three of the Apostles, and John Gould, one of the Presidents of Seventies, were rejected. Five members of the High Council were also objected to by the people, and new ones appointed in their stead.

Affairs of a similar nature, with other business pertaining to the settlement of the Saints in their new gathering place, now summoned the Prophet to Missouri. In company with Elder Rigdon and others he left Kirtland on September 27th, and reached Far West about the 1st of November. On the 7th of that month a conference was held there, at which the general and local Church authorities

were presented, as usual, to the congregation. Frederick G. Williams, being rejected as one of the First Presidency, Hyrum Smith, the Prophet's brother, was chosen in his stead. The local presidency, David Whitmer, John Whitmer and William W. Phelps, after some consideration were retained in office, as were also the members of the High Council. Bishop Edward Partridge and his counselors, Isaac Morley and Titus Billings, were likewise sustained. It was decided, during the Prophet's stay, to enlarge the plat of Far West to two miles square. About the 10th of November he started back to Kirtland, arriving there a month later.

During his absence Warren Parrish, John F. Boynton, Joseph Coe and others had dissented from the Church, and aided and abetted by prominent Elders in Missouri, were now conspiring for its overthrow. In every way possible they sought to induce others to join them. Brigham Young's only reply was to denounce them. Wilford Woodruff, likewise approached, remained immovable. John Taylor stood staunchly by Joseph. As for Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde and Willard Richards, they had given their answer in June, when they accepted a call to cross the Atlantic and herald on Europe's shores the advent of a restored Gospel, and a latter-day Prophet in the person of Joseph Smith. The Pratt brothers, Bishop Whitney and many more threw in their lot with the Prophet, while others equally prominent forsook him.

Soon after his return from Missouri, the dissenters at Kirtland boldly came out, proclaiming themselves the Church of Christ, "the old standard," and denouncing Joseph and his followers as heretics. Then came the climax. Threatened with assassination, their lives in imminent jeopardy, the Church leaders were finally compelled to flee. Brigham Young, to escape the fury of a mob which had sworn to kill him, left Kirtland on the 22nd of December. He directed his course toward Missouri. Less than three weeks later the Prophet and Elder Rigdon fled also. Their flight being discovered, they were pursued by armed men a distance of two hundred miles, narrowly escaping capture. The Prophet and his party.

including Brigham Young and others who had joined him, reached Far West about the middle of March, 1838.

Several weeks before, a general assembly of the Saints had convened there for the purpose of setting in order the Church in Missouri. David Whitmer, John Whitmer and William W. Phelps, the local presidency, whose conduct for some time had not been satisfactory to the people, were now suspended from office. Subsequently they were severed from the Church. William W. Phelps soon returned, but the Whitmer brothers were never again connected with the cause.

The Prophet having arrived, the work of "setting in order" continued. Evidently a clean sweep had been determined on. The Church, so nearly brought to ruin by apostates in Ohio, insomuch that a general exodus of the Saints from that state was now necessary, could no longer afford to harbor within its fold the disaffected element, indifferent to or bent upon its destruction. The tree, in order to live, must be pruned of its dead branches.

Doubtless this end was in view when, at the April conference of 1838, Thomas B. Marsh, Brigham Young and David W. Patten were chosen to preside over the Church in Missouri. Under their administration the work of pruning went vigorously on. Neither high nor low were spared, except they speedily brought forth "fruits of repentance." The excommunicating axe even lopped some of the loftiest limbs. Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, Martin Harris, Luke S. and Lyman E. Johnson, John F. Boynton and William E. McLellin were all deprived of membership in the Church during this period. Luke Johnson afterwards returned, and became one of the Utah pioneers of 1847. Oliver Cowdery and Martin Harris also rejoined the Church many years later, but the others were never again identified with Mormonism. The vacancies in the council of the Twelve caused by the excommunication of Elders Boynton, McLellin and the Johnson brothers, were filled by the calling of John Taylor, John E. Page, Wilford Woodruff and Willard Richards to the Apostleship.

The departure of the Church leaders from Kirtland had been the signal for a general migration of the Mormons from Ohio to

Missouri. Far West was now their gathering place,—not their Zion, but only a stake of Zion, as Kirtland had been before. All during the spring and summer of 1838 the exodus continued, until the Saints remaining at Kirtland were very few. Apostles Kimball and Hyde, arriving there from Europe in May, tarried only long enough to arrange their affairs and make suitable preparations for their journey to Missouri. About the 1st of July the two Apostles, accompanied by Erastus Snow, Winslow Farr and others, with their families, set out for Far West. Among those remaining at Kirtland were Bishop N. K. Whitney and Oliver Granger, who had charge of the Church property in Ohio.

At Far West, on the 8th of July, the law of tithing was instituted as a standing law of the Church. Hitherto it had been practiced only by individuals. Its observance was now obligatory upon all, officers as well as members.


This event signalized the discontinuance of the United Order, which had practically been dissolved some time before. According to that system, which, as has been shown, the Saints yet hope to establish, the members of the community consecrated their all, and each, being given a stewardship, with his or her support, labored unitedly for the common weal. The law of tithing, which bears about the same relation to the Order of Enoch as the Mosaic law to the gospel of Christ, required of them as individual possessors, (1) all their surplus property, to be placed in the hands of the Bishop and by him cared and accounted for; (2) one tenth of all their interest annually.

The fund thus created was for the support of the Priesthood,—such as devoted their whole time to the service of the Church,—the building of temples and for public purposes in general. From the first, however, much of the tithing fund, together with special offerings for that purpose, was expended to support the helpless poor. Such was and is the law of tithing, instituted in July, 1838, and observed by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to this day.

CHAPTER X.

1838-1839.

THE MORMONS IN MISSOURI—FAR WEST, DIAHMAN AND DEWITT—A SLUMBERING VOLCANO—CELEBRATING THE NATION'S BIRTHDAY—THE STATE ELECTION—ATTEMPT TO PREVENT MORMONS FROM VOTING—THE GALLATIN RIOT—THE VOLCANO AWAKES—DAVIESS COUNTY IN ARMS—JOSEPH SMITH AND LYMAN WIGHT ARRESTED—THE MOB ARMY THREATENS DIAHMAN—THE MORMONS ARM IN SELF-DEFENSE—GENERALS ATCHISON, PARKS AND DONIPHAN—THE SAINTS EXONERATED—SIEGE AND BOMBARDMENT OF DEWITT—GOVERNOR BOGGS APPEALED TO—HE DECLINES TO INTERFERE—DEWITT EVACUATED AND DIAHMAN AGAIN THREATENED—GILLIAM'S GUERRILLAS—THE MORMON MILITIA MAKE WAR UPON THE MOB—THE DANITES—BATTLE OF CROOKED RIVER—DEATH OF DAVID W. PATTEN—GOVERNOR BOGGS ESPOUSES THE CAUSE OF THE MOBOCRATS—THE MORMONS TO BE "EXTERMINATED OR DRIVEN FROM THE STATE"—THE HAUN'S MILL MASSACRE—FALL OF FAR WEST—THE MORMON LEADERS IN CHAINS—LIBERTY JAIL—THE EXODUS TO ILLINOIS.

 HE Mormons in Missouri in the summer of 1838 numbered in the neighborhood of twelve thousand souls. All were not located in Caldwell County. Lands had been purchased or pre-empted by them in other places as well. In two of the counties contiguous to Caldwell, namely: Daviess on the north, and Carroll on the east, in parts previously unoccupied or but thinly peopled, they had founded flourishing settlements. In Daviess County, as in Caldwell, a stake of Zion was organized.

Their chief settlement in Daviess County was Adam-ondi-Ahman,*—abbreviated to Diahman; the one in Carroll County, Dewitt. Good order, sobriety and industry prevailed, and peace and prosperity were everywhere manifest. "Heaven smiles upon the Saints in Caldwell," wrote the Prophet at the time, and even in parts where they were

* So named, said the Prophet, because Adam, who dwelt there after being driven from Eden, would there sit, as Ancient of Days, fulfilling the vision of Daniel. The Garden of Eden, Joseph Smith declared, was in Jackson County, Missouri.

not, as there, politically dominant, they were thriving and dwelling in amity with their neighbors.

But all this must soon change. The old fires were but smouldering. The volcano only slept. Beneath the fair frail crust of outside seeming lurked the burning lava streams,—the pitiless torrent of human hate,—about to be belched forth in whelming ruin upon the hapless Saints. Missouri, in spite of every promise and fair prospect,—whatever the far future might develop,—was not yet to be their permanent abiding place. Inexorable fate with iron finger pointed elsewhere. Destiny, for these sons and daughters of the Pilgrims, had other fortunes in store. History,—the history of religion in quest of liberty, wading in its search through rivers of blood and tears,—for the hundredth time was preparing to repeat itself.

July 4th, that day of days, in the year 1838 was celebrated at Far West with great rejoicings. Thousands of the Saints assembled from the surrounding districts to witness and participate in the proceedings in honor of the nation's birthday. Yes, these "disloyal" Mormons,—for disloyal even then they were deemed,—many of whom might trace their life-stream back to its parent lake in the bosom of patriots of the Revolution, came together, erected a liberty-pole, unfurled the stars and stripes, sacred emblem of the success and sufferings of their heroic ancestors, and worshiped gratefully beneath its glorious folds the God of truth and freedom.

True, it was but their custom so to do, as it has continued their custom ever since. But such had been their past experience, deprived as many of them had been of that liberty for which their forefathers contended, and such was their present situation, as to render the occasion one of peculiar interest. Robbed of their rights, despoiled and trampled on, for daring to believe as conscience dictated, and exercise as American freemen the privileges guaranteed by a Constitution which they believed to be God-inspired, instituted for their especial protection, small wonder that some of the sentiments uttered that day, a day on which patriotism is prone to

take unusual and oft-times extravagant flights, did not smack entirely of saintly meekness.

“We take God to witness,” cried Sidney Rigdon, in a burst of heated eloquence, “and the holy angels to witness THIS DAY, that we warn all men in the name of Jesus Christ to come on us no more forever. The man or the set of men who attempt it do it at the expense of their lives; and the mob that comes on us to disturb us, there shall be between us and them a war of extermination, for we will follow them till the last drop of their blood is spilled, or else they will have to exterminate us.”

Censure such sentiments, Christian reader, if you will. Fault-finding is easy, and human nature, the world over, weak and censurable. But the provocation, in such cases, should in all fairness be considered.

The foundations of a temple at Far West were likewise laid that day; the Saints thus emphasizing their determination to establish in that place a permanent stake of Zion. Why that temple was not built, nor another temple, projected at Diahman, we have yet in detail to explain.

Among the numerous charges preferred against the Mormon people, by those who seek to justify or extenuate the harsh treatment to which they have at various times been subjected, is that of “meddling in politics.” Parallel with this runs the charge of “voting solidly” for the candidates of their choice.

If by meddling in politics is meant—as we assume it must mean—practicing or participating in politics, the science of government, there is little doubt that the defendant community, if arraigned on such a charge, would promptly plead guilty. Moreover, they would very likely inquire if the right of any class of American citizens, no matter to what creed or church attached, to wield the ballot and peacefully strive to put in office the persons of their choice, could legally or morally be called in question? As to “voting solidly,” they would probably plead guilty again, but they might ask who was responsible for it in their case,—for the unity and compactness of an

oppressed people at the polls? Outside pressure, they would maintain,—the principle that even in an urchin's hands forms from a few loose feathery flakes the snow-ball and moulds it into a lump of ice,—was so responsible. A common peril, they would argue, will unite and ought to unite any people, any nation, savage or civilized.

To this extent the Mormons would admit having “meddled in politics.” They would doubtless freely concede that they had generally “voted solid” to insure the election of their friends and the defeat of their enemies.

But, some will say, it is not the right of the Mormon people, as American citizens, to engage in politics that is questioned. It is the right of their leaders to control their political actions that is disputed. It is believed that their Apostles and Bishops wield undue influence over them in such matters; that there is a union of Church and State among them, and that the people are not left free to vote as they please.

These allegations the Mormons emphatically deny. They maintain that their leaders have never sought to wield more influence over them in political affairs than prominent men in every community exercise over the masses who naturally look to them for guidance and instruction. They deny that a union of Church and State has ever existed among them, but they affirm that it has practically existed among those who find fault with them on that score,—the priests and politicians who have repeatedly joined hands, on the stump, and even in the halls of Congress, to create anti-Mormon legislation.

They admit that their Apostles and Bishops have sometimes given political advice, though not as Apostles and Bishops, but as American citizens, with a free opinion and the right to voice that opinion. They admit, too, that in Mormon communities Church officials have often been elected to civil offices; yet not because they were Church officials, but simply the best men that could be found in whom the people had confidence; men who knew how to be just and fair, and would separate their civil from their ecclesiastical functions.

In the Mormon Church, it should be remembered, nearly every man is an Elder, and it would be next to impossible to nominate from among them a man who did not hold some order of priesthood.

They claim that while in communities strictly Mormon, Mormons have necessarily held all the offices, that in mixed communities where they predominated they have allowed the minority a fair representation. They admit that in places where they themselves were in the minority they have asked the same privilege, demanding it as a right, and when necessary have banded together to secure that right. They admit having used the balance of power, which at times they have found themselves possessed of, to put in office, regardless of party affiliations, men of capacity and integrity, their friends in lieu of their enemies.

If this be "meddling in politics" the Mormons, like all other American citizens, have undoubtedly so meddled; and they do not deny it.

It was just such an event as this,—their voting or trying to vote for their friends and against their foes,—that formed the prologue to the appalling tragedy, which, beginning with outrage, robbery and rapine, ended in murder, massacre, and the eventual expulsion—a mid-winter exodus—of the entire Mormon community from Missouri.

It was the 6th of August, 1838, and the state election was in progress. To Gallatin, the principal town of Daviess County, went twelve Mormon citizens for the purpose of casting their ballots. Colonel William P. Peniston was a candidate in that district for representative to the Legislature. Having been prominent in the anti-Mormon agitation, preceding the moderate action of the mediators, in Clay County, he had good reason to believe that the people whom he would have driven from their homes did not design aiding him with their suffrages. He had therefore organized a mob, and now harangued them at the polls, to prevent the Mormons from voting. Mounting a barrel, he poured out upon them a torrent of abuse, styling them "horse-thieves and robbers" and proclaiming his opposition to their settling in that region or being allowed to vote. He

admitted having headed a mob to drive them from Clay County, and declared that he would not now interfere to prevent a similar fate befalling them. He also attacked their religion, denouncing as "a d——d lie" their profession of healing the sick by the laying on of hands.

What all this had to do with the right of the Mormons to vote, and to vote if they wished against William P. Peniston, is not very apparent at this time, nor was it, we opine, even then. But the tirade had its desired and designed effect. The Mormons, pronouncing his charges false, insisted upon their right to vote. Immediately Peniston's party, crazed with drink and furious with rage, set upon them. The twelve Mormons, attacked by over a hundred men, stoutly defended themselves. Clubs, stones and fists were freely used, and even knives were unsheathed by some of the assailants. In the melee, though no lives were lost, some on both sides were wounded, and several mobocratic heads were broken. The Mormons withdrew from the scene, and the election proceeded.

This event, supplemented by incendiary speeches and articles in the local press, caused a general anti-Mormon uprising. All Daviess County was aroused, and even in parts adjacent, as ran the exaggerated rumor of the riot at Gallatin, the Missourians began arming and organizing. For what? They scarcely knew,—ignorant dupes as most of them were, tools of designing demagogues, of men without principle, who saw, as such characters quickly see, in a popular movement against an unpopular people, opportunities for plunder and promotion.

Social and religious as well as political lines were sharply drawn. Old charges, oft-denied, were reiterated, and new ones brought forth and made to do yeoman service in the cause of the coming crusade. The priest, the politician and the apostate again joined hands, like the three weird sisters in Macbeth, each putting in his quota of terrible tales to make the cauldron of the people's hatred "boil and bubble."

As the excitement grew and hostilities began, hordes of red-

handed desperadoes, refugees from justice,—a class commonly found on the frontier,—scenting the conflict from afar, came pouring into Daviess and Caldwell counties, like vultures flocking to the shambles. Some of these painted and disguised themselves as Indians,—the better, no doubt, to escape detection for past and future crimes. The leader of these pseudo savages was Cornelius Gilliam, formerly sheriff of Clay County, who styled himself “the Delaware chief.”

Efforts were early made to avert the bloody crisis that was felt to be approaching. Good and wise men on both sides met and signed a covenant of peace, agreeing to maintain the right and use their influence to allay the unwarrantable agitation. Among these were Lyman Wight, John Smith, Vinson Knight and Reynolds Cahoon, who signed for the Mormons of Daviess County; and Joseph Morin, senator-elect, John Williams, representative-elect, James P. Turner, clerk of the circuit court, and others representing the older settlers.

But all in vain. The Missourians, misled and thoroughly prejudiced, were for war, not peace. The excitement continued to increase, until finally nothing but bloodshed or the banishment of the hated Mormons would suffice.

Adam Black, an illiterate politician, though a justice of the peace for Daviess County, was visited on the 8th of August, two days after the election, by Joseph Smith and Lyman Wight, and requested, as other prominent men had been, to sign an agreement of peace. He acceded to their request, writing and signing a document amicable in tone, if well-nigh illegible in character, and immediately afterwards circulated the report that his signature had been secured by threats of violence.

On the complaint of Colonel Peniston, the mob leader at Gallatin, Joseph Smith and Lyman Wight were arrested, charged not only with intimidating Judge Black, but with collecting a large body of armed men in Daviess County, to drive out the older settlers and despoil them of their lands. Tried before Judge Austin A. King, at Gallatin, early in September, nothing was proven against the

two defendants. Judge King, they claimed, admitted as much to them in private, but deemed it politic to bind them over in the sum of \$500.

That the Mormons in Daviess County had been arming themselves, was doubtless true. True also that they had been receiving reinforcements from other places. The Missourians, their neighbors, had been doing precisely the same things, and threatening them daily with attack. Already had they driven some Mormons from their homes and compelled them to seek safety with their friends at Diahman. Remembering their experience in Jackson County, when, being unarmed, they were trampled on without mercy by the mob, the Saints, as Sidney Rigdon had declared, did not propose to tamely submit to a repetition of such outrages. They were determined to maintain their rights, and defend to the death, if need be, their hard earned homes and the peace and safety of their families.

But this was their only purpose—self-defense; a fact subsequently affirmed by the chief officers of the State militia, sent to suppress the insurrection. To say that the Mormons contemplated wholesale robbery and expulsion—the infliction upon their fellow settlers of wrongs similar to what they themselves had suffered in Jackson County, and for which they were still hoping redress, and that too, at a time when confronted by foes eager for an excuse to attack and annihilate them, is to accuse them, not of criminal intent, but of madness, sheer idiocy.

Lilburn W. Boggs was now governor of Missouri. He was Lieutenant-Governor, the reader will remember, during the troubles of 1833, at which time he espoused the cause of the mob which drove the Saints from Jackson County. He was a rank Mormon-hater, as were nearly all the residents of that county, and probably owed to that, in part, his elevation to the executive chair. Learning of the situation in Daviess County, the Governor directed Major-General Atchison and other officers of militia to muster and equip men to put down the insurrection.

While this order was being executed, the mob army was making

ready to attack Diahman. For this purpose reinforcements and supplies were being forwarded to them from other points. On the 9th of September a wagon load of guns and ammunition, on its way from Richmond, Ray County, to the mobocratic camp, was captured with those in charge of it by Captain William Allred and his men,—Mormons belonging to the State militia.

Notifying Judge King of his capture, and asking what disposition should be made of the prisoners, Captain Allred was ordered by that official to treat them kindly and set them at liberty. Whether or not they were promptly released does not appear. The probability is that Captain Allred, surprised at receiving such an order, still held them. At any rate Judge King, on the same day, wrote to General Atchison to send two hundred or more men to force the Mormons to surrender.

The militia of Ray and Clay Counties, commanded by Brigadier-Generals Parks and Doniphan, now came upon the scene. Parks proceeded to Gallatin, the county seat of Daviess, to survey the situation, while Doniphan went via Far West to Millport and Diahman. At Far West, which place he visited with a single aide, leaving his troops on Crooked River, General Doniphan was the guest of the Prophet, who was favorably impressed with his frank and friendly manner. This was the same General Doniphan who subsequently played a notable part in the Mexican War. He and his superior, General Atchison, were Joseph Smith's attorneys in the legal troubles following the military episode of the autumn of 1838. Under them also the Prophet and Elder Rigdon studied law.

Marching to the camp of the mobocrats near Millport, Doniphan ordered them to disperse. They protested that they were merely acting in self-defense. He then went to Diahman and conferred with Colonel Wight, commanding the Mormon force, "Host of Israel." He found them willing to disband, provided the enemy threatening them would disperse, and willing also to surrender any of their number accused of offenses against the laws to be dealt with by legal authority. The prisoners and weapons taken by the Mormons were

delivered up at the demand of General Doniphan, who, on the 15th of September joined Generals Atchison and Parks at Gallatin.

The report of these officers to the Governor was substantially as follows: that affairs in Daviess County were not so bad as rumor had represented, and that his Excellency had been deceived by designing or half-crazy men; that the Mormons, so far as could be learned, had been acting on the defensive, showing no hostile intent, and evincing no disposition to resist the laws; that the officers, on their arrival there, had found a large body of men from other counties, armed and in the field, to assist the people of Daviess against the Mormons, without being called out by the proper authorities; and that the Daviess County men were still threatening, in the event of the failure of a certain committee on compromise to agree, to drive the Mormons with powder and lead.

Colonel Wight and a score of others, accused of various offenses, had previously given themselves up and been pledged to appear for trial on the 29th of September. It is noticeable that no Missourians were arrested, though many of them were guilty of riot and mobocracy, and that even those captured by the Mormons had been set at liberty. During the excitement of the past several weeks overt acts had doubtless been committed on both sides. The wonder is not that such was the case, but that the Mormons were the only ones called to account.

Most of the troops were now disbanded, it being supposed that the trouble was over. Only a few companies remained under arms to quell, if necessary, any further demonstrations of disorder.

The scene now changes to Dewitt, in Carroll County. Enraged at being thwarted in their designs upon Diahman, the mob army, a portion of which had previously threatened Dewitt, appeared in force before that place, and in the beginning of October began to bombard the town. A party from Jackson County, with a six-pounder, assisted in the assault. The besieged, compared with the besiegers, were a mere handful. Colonel George M. Hinkle was their commander. The leaders of the attacking force—which was partly

composed of militia men lately disbanded—were a Doctor Austin, Major Ashley, a member of the Legislature, and Sashiel Woods, a Presbyterian clergyman. Later came Captains Bogart and Houston, the former a Methodist preacher, with two companies of militia. These, instead of operating against the mob, united with them against the Mormons. General Parks came also, but did nothing to restore order remaining a silent and apparently a helpless spectator of the scene. His troops were evidently in sympathy with the mob.

The first gun was fired upon Dewitt on the 2nd of October. Colonel Hinkle waited forty-eight hours, and then ordered the fire returned. The bombardment continued at intervals for nine days. During its progress the Prophet made his way through much difficulty and danger from Far West to the beleaguered settlement. He found his people there hemmed in by their foes, their provisions exhausted, their cattle and horses stolen, their houses burned, and themselves threatened with death if they attempted to leave the town.

Through the agency of non-Mormon friends in that vicinity an appeal was made to Governor Boggs, in behalf of the beleaguered Saints. He replied that the quarrel was between the Mormons and the mob, and that they might "fight it out."

Finally the Mormons were permitted to evacuate Dewitt, which they did on the 11th of October. Under the treacherous fire of their foes the homeless and plundered refugees fled to Far West.

Eight hundred strong the mob army now marched upon Diahman. General Doniphan informed the Prophet of this movement, and stated that no protection could be hoped for from the militia. Said he: "They are d——d rotten hearted." They were certainly in sympathy if not in league with the lawless element that now concentrated from every direction against Diahman. It was under these circumstances that General Doniphan advised the Mormon militia at Far West to organize and march to the relief of their friends in Daviess County. His advice was taken, the command of the Caldwell regiment being given to Colonel George M. Hinkle.

About this time was brought to Diahman the news of house-burnings, drivings and other depredations committed by Gilliam's guerillas upon some scattered families of Saints beyond Grand River. Women, children and even the sick were dragged from their beds and thrust out into the night, some wandering for days through a pitiless storm that prevailed in that region about the middle of October. One of these refugees was Agnes, wife of Don Carlos Smith, the Prophet's brother, who was then absent in Tennessee. Her house being burned she had fled with two babes in her arms and waded Grand River to get beyond the reach of her ruffian pursuers.

The Mormon blood was now thoroughly up. The Prophet no longer counseled peace and submission. He bade his followers arm and defend themselves; to die, if need be, protecting their homes, the virtue of their wives and daughters, and the lives of their little ones. General Parks, arriving at Diahman, against which the mob was fast gathering, permitted Colonel Wight, who held a commission under him in the 59th regiment of the militia, to organize his command and proceed against the robbers and house-burners.

Here apparently was the beginning of retaliative measures on the part of the Mormons in Missouri. Smarting under their wrongs they made vigorous war upon the marauding bands that now fled precipitately before them, and ceased not their efforts until Daviess County was well clear of them. If they went further, as alleged by the Missourians, and burned the towns—or hamlets—of Millport and Gallatin, it was not to be wondered at after the provocation given.

The Mormons, however, do not admit having burned the property of the Missourians; but allege that the mob set fire to the houses of their own friends, and then fled, scattering the false report that the Mormons were the incendiaries. Be this as it may, there is at least one Missourian now living who, while claiming that the Mormons did the burning, concedes that

they were justified in what they did, as the Missourians had set the example.*

It was asserted by those who spread these reports that the design of the Mormons was next to sack and burn the town of Richmond. This rumor, being generally believed, or feared,—all the more readily since the Mormons had suffered just such outrages, and the law of retaliation is a recognized rule of human nature,—served to augment the reigning agitation and swell the discord of the hour.

About this time the rumor became current at Far West of a secret organization called Danites, or Destroying Angels, whose alleged purpose was to prey upon the Gentiles and avenge the Saints of their enemies.† The origin of the movement was accredited to the chiefs of the Church, especially Sidney Rigdon, who, it was said, had authorized the organization. It transpired, however, that the originator of the movement, which was indeed attempted, was Dr. Sampson Avard, a characterless fanatic then numbered among the Saints, whose scheme for blood and plunder, becoming known to the First Presidency, was repudiated and its author severed from the Church. In revenge for the exposure of his villainy, Avard declared that the Church leaders had authorized him to organize the death-dealing society called Danites.

The story of these preyers and avengers, which, barring the above, is a pure myth,—Joaquin Miller and other less reputable romancers to the contrary notwithstanding,—is still perpetuated by anti-Mormon writers and speakers, and has probably done the Saints more harm than any other of the numerous tales uttered

* Messrs. Andrew Jenson and Edward Stevenson, of Salt Lake City, state that during a visit to Daviess County, Missouri, in September, 1888, they conversed with one Major McGee, an old resident of Gallatin, who spoke to that effect. He said that he thought some of the Mormons were to blame for teasing the other inhabitants with the doctrine that they—the Saints—were the heirs to the whole country, but that he knew of no lawlessness committed by the Mormons prior to the troubles in 1838. He also stated that he was taken prisoner by the Mormons during those troubles and treated kindly. According to Major McGee, Gallatin at that time consisted of about four houses.

† Genesis xlix—17.

against them. The Danite Society, according to all but anti-Mormon authors, whose assertions against the Saints should be taken *cum grano salis*, was nipped in the bud, and had no after existence.

The battle of Crooked River was fought on the 25th of October. Captain David W. Patten, of the Far West militia, had been directed by Colonel Hinkle to proceed with a company of men to the ford of the river and disperse a band of marauders under Captain Bogart, who were committing depredations in that vicinity. They had captured three Mormons,—Nathan Pinkham, William Seely and Addison Green,—and had boasted of their intention to put them to death the next night. It was to rescue these men, as well as to put a stop to Bogart's operations that Captain Patten went forth. Leaving Far West about midnight, he and his company, seventy-five in number, came upon Bogart's band in ambush just at day-break. As the Mormons crossed the bluff above his camp, which was among the brush and willows in the river bottom, the mob leader ordered his men to fire. They obeyed, when young Patrick O'Banion, a Mormon, fell mortally wounded. Captain Patten then ordered his men to charge. Forward they dashed, returning the enemy's fire. After delivering a second volley Bogart's band broke and fled, crossing the river at the ford and abandoning their camp to the victorious Mormons. The three prisoners held by the mob were liberated, though one of them had been shot and wounded by his captors during the engagement.

But the victory had been dearly won. Captain Patten, like O'Banion, was mortally wounded, and Gideon Carter killed. Other Mormons were wounded, but not seriously. Bogart, whose force outnumbered the attacking party, lost one man.

David W. Patten died that night. He was a man much esteemed by his people, and his loss was deeply mourned. The Church regarded him as a martyr.

The excitement among the Missourians, already at fever heat over the troubles in Daviess County, now became intense. The Crooked River battle was heralded abroad as another "Mormon

atrocities," and the public mind was more and more inflamed against the Saints.

The Mormon-hating Governor of Missouri now saw his opportunity. So long as it was only the Saints who were being worsted, he could afford to sit by, like Xerxes on his mountain throne at Salamis, and see the two sides "fight it out." But when the tables were turned, and the mob began to suffer some reverses, he came to the conclusion that it was high time for him to interfere for their protection. Besides the opportunity to wreak personal spite upon the Mormons, there was a chance to make political capital out of the situation.

On the 27th of October Governor Boggs issued an order to Major-General John B. Clark, giving him command of an overwhelming force of militia, with instructions to proceed at once against the Mormons. "Their outrages are beyond all description" said the Governor, "they must be exterminated or driven from the State." Other generals were ordered to take part, under Clark, in the military crusade.

General Atchison, upon whom the command rightfully devolved, had been ignored or relieved by the Governor,—apparently for the same reason that caused the wife of the newly fledged Thane of Cawdor to "fear the nature" of her lord. In General Clark, who was not so "full o' the milk of human kindness," but proved himself a pitiless tyrant, Boggs found a fitting instrument to execute his fell design. Another account states that Atchison, while raising troops to quell the disturbance, on learning of the Governor's exterminating purpose, exclaimed: "I will have nothing to do with so infamous a proceeding," and resigned.

Over two thousand troops, massed at Richmond under Major-General Samuel D. Lucas and Brigadier General Moses Wilson, both of Jackson County, during the closing days of October set out for Far West. General Clark, their commander, was elsewhere mustering another army for the same purpose. Lucas, on his march, captured two Mormons named Tanner and Carey. Tanner, an old man, was

struck with a gun by one of the soldiers, and his skull laid bare. A similar blow dashed out Carey's brains. He was laid in a wagon, no aid being rendered him, and died within twenty-four hours. Thus the militia moved on toward the fated town of Far West.

Among the first fruits of the sanguinary edict of Missouri's executive was the Haun's Mill massacre. It occurred on the 30th of October. Haun's Mill was situated on Shoal Creek, about twenty miles south of Far West. Here dwelt, in the neighborhood of other lately arrived immigrants, all awaiting a lull in the warlike storm before proceeding farther, a few families of Latter-day Saints. Among them were Joseph Young and his family, lately from Kirtland.

About four o'clock in the afternoon a company of two hundred and forty men, commanded by one Nehemiah Comstock, fell upon the little settlement and butchered in cold blood, without warning or provocation, nearly a score of the unoffending Mormons. Men, women and children were shot down indiscriminately, their bodies stripped and mutilated, their camp plundered and their horses and wagons driven off by the murdering marauders. The dead bodies were thrown into an old well.

Among the victims was an aged man named Thomas McBride, a soldier of the Revolution who had served under General Washington. A Missourian named Rogers, after shooting the old man with his own gun, hacked him to pieces with a corn-cutter. Another victim was George Spencer Richards, aged fifteen, son of Phinehas Richards, and brother to Franklin D., the present Apostle. Franklin at that very time was making his way across the Alleghanies from his native town of Richmond, Berkshire County, Massachusetts, to join his people at Far West.

Among those who survived the awful butchery, though almost riddled with bullets from the assassins' rifles, was the late Isaac Laney, father of Judge H. S. Laney, of Salt Lake City; also the late Alma L. Smith, of Coalville, Summit County, brother of Hon. Willard G. Smith, of Morgan County. His father, Warren, and his brother Sardius were among the slain.

On the day of the massacre, the troops from Richmond, reinforced to nearly three thousand men, advanced upon and beleaguered Far West. General Clark was still at a distance, mustering his forces. The whole surrounding region was now being over-run by marauding bands, shooting, burning and pillaging wherever Mormons were to be found. As the survivors of these savage raids came fleeing into Far West for safety, their red-handed pursuers augmented the army of investment. Among those who thus joined the militia against the Mormons were Gilliam's painted guerillas and the perpetrators of the Haun's Mill massacre.

The inhabitants of the doomed city, their mails having been stopped, had not yet heard of the Governor's exterminating order, but supposed the army of General Lucas to be an overwhelming military mob. Though greatly outnumbered by the besieging force, they prepared to make a vigorous defense and sell their lives as dearly as possible. Hastily throwing up some rude fortifications, they awaited the onslaught of the foe.

A messenger was now sent from Lucas to announce that to three persons in the town—Adam Lightner, John Cleminson and wife—two of them non-Mormons, amnesty would be given, but that the design was to lay Far West in ashes and exterminate the rest. "Then we will die with them!" heroically answered the three, and rejected the proffered pardon.

Charles C. Rich went out from the city with a flag of truce, to confer with General Doniphan, who was with Lucas. As he approached the camp of the militia Captain Bogart fired upon him.

It was at this critical juncture that Colonel George M. Hinkle, commanding the defenders of Far West, entered into negotiations with General Lucas, and without consulting his associates agreed upon a compromise, the terms of which were as follows :

- (1) The Mormon leaders were to be delivered up to be tried and punished.
- (2) The Far West militia were to surrender their arms.
- (3) An appropriation was to be made of the property of all

Mormons who had taken up arms, to indemnify for damages said to have been inflicted by them. This was afterwards construed to cover all the expenses of the militia in making war upon the Saints.

(4) The Mormons, as a body, excepting such as should be held as prisoners, were to forthwith leave the State. The prisoners were to include all Mormon participants in the Crooked River battle, who were to be tried for murder.

The observance of these conditions, it was promised, would avert bloodshed. The alternative was an immediate assault upon the city.

Under pretense of arranging a conference between the Mormon leaders and the besieging generals, and without notifying the former of the compact he had entered into, Colonel Hinkle, on the 31st of October, delivered up to General Lucas the following named persons, who had been demanded: Joseph Smith, junior, Sidney Rigdon, Parley P. Pratt, Lyman Wight and George W. Robinson. Later were added to the list, Hyrum Smith and Amasa M. Lyman. They were placed under a strong guard and treated as prisoners of war.

Some writers have palliated Colonel Hinkle's conduct in this affair, on the score of obedience to his superior officer, General Lucas, who demanded the prisoners; also because their delivery is supposed to have saved the lives of the other citizens. The Mormons, however, will always regard George M. Hinkle as a traitor, who to save himself betrayed his friends, in the most cowardly and contemptible manner possible.

Next day, the army having advanced nearer the city, the Mormon militia laid down their arms, and were then compelled at the point of the bayonet and the cannon's mouth to sign away their property to pay the expenses of the war waged upon them. They had made no agreement to do so, but Hinkle, forsooth, had made it for them. All the men, save those who had escaped, were held in temporary durance, and the town then given up to pillage. Nameless crimes were committed by the ruthless soldiery, and their yet more ruthless allies, the banditti. Women were abused, some of them till

they died, within sight of their agonized husbands and fathers, powerless to protect them. Let imagination paint the horror from which the historian's pen recoils.

William E. McLellin and other apostate Mormons were in Far West at this time, taking part against their former brethren.

On the evening of November 1st, General Lucas convened a court-martial, consisting of the principal officers of his army, and no less than seventeen Christian preachers. By a majority of this religio-military tribunal, Joseph Smith and his fellow prisoners, none of whom were permitted to be present during their trial, were sentenced to be shot at eight o'clock next morning, in the public square at Far West, in the presence of their wives and children. Generals Doniphan and Graham refused their assent to this decision, the former denouncing it as "cold-blooded murder," and threatening to withdraw his brigade from the scene of the proposed massacre. This caused Lucas and his murderous colleagues to hesitate, and finally to reconsider their action. On the morning set for the execution they decided, in lieu of killing the prisoners, to parade them in triumph through the neighboring counties.

Prior to setting out from Far West, General Lucas allowed the prisoners to see for a few moments, in the presence of their guards, their weeping wives and children. Most of them were not permitted to speak, but merely look farewell to them, before being hurried away.

Mary Fielding Smith, wife of Hyrum Smith, a few days after this painful parting from her husband became a mother. The child thus born amid these warlike scenes, drinking in with his mother's milk a wholesome hatred of tyrants and mobs, and the courage to fearlessly denounce them, is known to-day as Joseph Fielding Smith, second counselor in the existing First Presidency.

Leaving a large portion of his troops at Far West, to await the arrival of General Clark, and having sent Gilliam and his banditti against the Mormons at Diahman, Lucas, with his confrere Wilson and a strong guard set out with the prisoners southward. As they neared the Missouri River orders were received from General Clark,

demanding the return of the captives. Lucas, however, ignored the order, and pressed on with the prisoners to Jackson County.

They were now treated with some degree of consideration. Wilson assured them that their lives should be spared, and that they should be protected: "We only want to take you over the river and let our people see what a d——d fine looking set of fellows you are," said this typical son of Jackson County. He also told them that one of the reasons for bringing them along was to keep them out of the hands of General Clark, "a G——d d——d old bigot," said he, "so stuffed with lies and prejudice that he would shoot you down in a moment."*

~~The~~ Prophet, on the day of their arrival at Independence—Sunday, November 4th—was permitted to preach to the multitude that thronged to gaze at him and his brethren. The feeling against them diminished daily, until it was almost in their favor. After four days' imprisonment at Independence, during which they were visited by curious thousands, the prisoners, in response to repeated demands from General Clark, were sent to Richmond for trial.

Clark, at the head of two thousand troops, had arrived at Far West on the 4th of November. He approved of all that Lucas had done, except the taking away of the Mormon leaders, whose persons he evidently desired as trophies of his own triumph. He solaced himself, however, by putting Bishop Partridge and fifty-five other prominent Mormons in chains and carrying them captive to Richmond.

Prior to departing, he sent a brigade of troops in the wake of Gilliam and his guerillas, to demand the surrender of Diahman, on the same terms as those enforced at Far West. He also delivered, before leaving, an address to the citizens of that place, of which the following was the substance:

*Wilson admitted, according to Parley P. Pratt, that in the reigning troubles, as well as those in Jackson County, the Mormons had not been the aggressors, but had been purposely goaded to resistance by the Missourians in order to furnish an excuse for their expulsion.

GENTLEMEN :

You whose names are not attached to this list of names, will now have the privilege of going to your fields, and of providing corn, wood, etc., for your families. Those who are now taken will go from this to prison, to be tried and receive the due demerit of their crimes ; but you (except such as charges may hereafter be preferred against), are at liberty as soon as the troops are removed that now guard the place, which I shall cause to be done immediately.

It now devolves upon you to fulfill a treaty that you have entered into, the leading items of which I shall now lay before you. The first requires that your leading men be given up to be tried according to law ; this you already have complied with. The second is, that you deliver up your arms ; this has been attended to. The third stipulation is that you sign over your properties to defray the expenses of the war. This you have also done. Another article yet remains for you to comply with,—and that is, that you leave the state forthwith. And whatever may be your feelings concerning this, or whatever your innocence, it is nothing to me. General Lucas (whose military rank is equal with mine), has made this treaty with you ; I approve of it, I should have done the same had I been here. I am therefore determined to see it executed.

The character of this state has suffered almost beyond redemption, from the character, conduct and influence that you have exerted ; and we deem it an act of justice to restore her character to its former standing among the states by every proper means. The orders of the Governor to me were, that you should be exterminated, and not allowed to remain in the state. And had not your leaders been given up, and the terms of the treaty complied with, before this time you and your families would have been destroyed, and your houses in ashes.

There is a discretionary power vested in my hands, which, considering your circumstances, I shall exercise for a season. You are indebted to me for this clemency. I do not say that you shall go now, but you must not think of staying here another season or of putting in crops ; for the moment you do this the citizens will be upon you ; and if I am called here again in case of a non-compliance of a treaty made, do not think that I shall do as I have done now. *You need not expect any mercy, but extermination, for I am determined the Governor's order shall be executed.*

As for your leaders, do not think, do not imagine for a moment, do not let it enter into your minds, that they will be delivered and restored to you again, for their fate is fixed, their die is cast, their doom is sealed.

I am sorry, gentlemen, to see so many apparently intelligent men found in the situation that they are ; and oh ! if I could invoke that Great Spirit, the Unknown God to rest upon and deliver you from that awful chain of superstition, and liberate you from those fetters of fanaticism with which you are bound—that you no longer do homage to a man.

I would advise you to scatter abroad and never again organize yourselves with Bishops, Presidents, etc., lest you excite the jealousies of the people and subject yourselves to the same calamities that have now come upon you. You have always been the aggressors—you have brought upon yourselves these difficulties by being disaffected, and not being subject to rule. And my advice is, that you become as other citizens, lest by a recurrence of these events you bring upon yourselves irretrievable ruin.

General Clark then proceeded with his captives to Richmond, where the Prophet and his fellow prisoners soon arrived. A protracted examination before Judge Austin A. King,—who, with the public prosecutor, Thomas Burch, had sat in the court-martial at Far West and sentenced these same men to be shot,—failed to fasten guilt upon any of them. Finally, all save Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Hyrum Smith, Lyman Wight, Parley P. Pratt, Caleb Baldwin, Alexander McRae, Morris Phelps, Luman Gibbs, Darwin Chase and Norman Shearer, were discharged. These were held for murder, arson, treason,—in fact nearly all the crimes in the calendar.

One evidence of their treason, as cited in open court, was their avowed belief in the prophecy of Daniel—Chapters II. and VII.—relative to the setting up of the latter-day kingdom of God. Their taking up arms in the late troubles was also construed as treason. Their murders were the battles and skirmishes they had had with the mob. The depredations and deeds of blood committed by the Missourians against the Mormons apparently cut no figure in the case. The Haun's Mill massacre was as completely ignored as if it had never occurred. Said General Doniphan to the defendants, whose attorney he was: "Offer no defense; for if a cohort of angels should declare your innocence it would be all the same. The judge is determined to throw you into prison."

Colonel Sterling Price had charge of the captives at this time. The yet to be noted Confederate general seems to have done all in his power to render their situation as miserable as possible. One method employed by their guards to entertain them was the recital in their hearing of the murders and rapes that they—the soldiers—boasted of having committed at and in the vicinity of Far West. Finally the Prophet, arising in his chains, in a voice of thunder rebuked the crime-stained wretches and commanded them to be still. So overpowering was his indignation, his metaphysical force, that the armed guards quailed before him and begged his pardon.*

* Says Parley P. Pratt of the Prophet on that occasion: "He ceased to speak. He stood erect in terrible majesty, chained and without a weapon. * * * *

Joseph and Hyrum Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight, Alexander McRae and Caleb Baldwin were now removed to Clay County, and immured in Liberty jail. The remainder of the prisoners were still held at Richmond. The Clay County captives were treated with great barbarity. Several times their food was poisoned, nearly causing their death, and they even declared that cooked human flesh, called by their guards "Mormon beef," was repeatedly served up to them.

Months passed. Various efforts were made by legal process to free the prisoners. Among those actively engaged in their behalf were Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball, who, being comparatively unknown by the Missourians, had escaped arrest and incarceration. Stephen Markham was another faithful friend. Generals Atchison and Doniphan lent their aid, and Judge Hughes, of the Supreme Court of Missouri, also favored the release of the captives. It was conceded by many that they were illegally held, but owing to the prevailing prejudice, their friends were powerless to do much for them. Again and again they were put upon trial and nothing was proven against them, even after their own witnesses had all been driven from the State. Finally by proceedings in *habeas corpus* Sidney Rigdon was let out on bail. Threatened by the mob after his liberation he was compelled to flee for his life. His companions were remanded to prison, where they passed the winter of 1838-9.

Meantime such of the leading Mormons as had retained or regained their liberty addressed a memorial to the Missouri Legislature, reciting the wrongs and sufferings of the Saints in that State and praying for redress of grievances. The total loss of property sustained by the Mormons in Missouri was estimated at about two million dollars. The Legislature, after much delay, appropriated

I have seen the ministers of justice, clothed in magisterial robes and criminals arraigned before them, while life was suspended on a breath in the courts of England; I have witnessed a congress in solemn session to give laws to nations; * * * but dignity and majesty have I seen but once, as it stood in chains at midnight, in a dungeon, in an obscure village of Missouri."

some thousands of dollars to be distributed among the people of Daviess and Caldwell counties, "the Mormons not excepted." Some say that only two thousand dollars were thus appropriated; others that two hundred thousand was the amount. The latter seems the more reasonable, and the Missourians should be given the benefit of the doubt.*

In the absence of the First Presidency—in prison—the authority to direct the Church devolved upon the Twelve Apostles. Their some time president, Thomas B. Marsh, had apostatized during the Far West troubles, which event, with the death of David W. Patten, left Brigham Young the senior Apostle and consequently the President of the Twelve. Being sustained as such by his brethren Brigham now took charge of the Church and planned and directed the exodus of the Saints to Illinois.

Late in January and early in February, meetings were held at Far West, and the following committee appointed to arrange for the exodus: John Taylor, Alanson Ripley, Brigham Young, Theodore Turley, Heber C. Kimball, John Smith, Don C. Smith, Elias Smith, Erastus Bingham, Stephen Markham and James Newberry. A sub-committee was also appointed. They were William Huntington, Charles Bird, Alanson Ripley, Theodore Turley, Daniel Shearer, Shadrach Roundy and Jonathan H. Hale. "On motion of President Brigham Young," says the record, "it was resolved that we this day enter into a covenant to stand by and assist each other to the utmost of our abilities in removing from this State, and that we will never desert the poor, who are worthy, till they shall be out of the reach of the exterminating order of General Clark, acting for and in the name

* Heber C. Kimball thus describes the manner in which was distributed to the Mormons their share of the appropriation: "Judge Cameron,"—who with one McHenry had charge of the distribution.—"drove in the hogs belonging to the brethren (many of which were identified) shot them down in the streets, and without further bleeding they were half dressed, cut up and distributed by McHenry to the poor, charging four or five cents per pound, which, together with a few pieces of refuse calicoes, at double and treble price, soon consumed the appropriation."

of the State." This covenant, signed by several hundred persons, was faithfully kept.

That winter from ten to twelve thousand Latter-day Saints, men, women and children, still hounded and pursued by their merciless oppressors, fled from Missouri, leaving in places their bloody foot-prints on the snow of their frozen path-way. Crossing the icy Mississippi they cast themselves, homeless, plundered and penniless, upon the hospitable shores of Illinois. There their pitiable condition and the tragic story of their wrongs awoke wide-spread sympathy and compassion, with corresponding sentiments of indignation and abhorrence toward their persecutors.

The main body of the Mormons were now beyond the reach of the Missourians. But some of the Committee on Exodus and a few scattered families yet remained. These were now the objects of mobocratic malice. About the middle of April a lawless band, encouraged by Judge—once Captain—Bogart, assaulted and drove away the committee, threatened the lives of the remaining Mormons, and plundered and destroyed thousands of dollars' worth of property with which the committee were assisting the poor to remove.*

At Quincy, Adams County, Illinois, where most of the exiled Saints found refuge and a kindly welcome, they were joined late in April or early in May by the Prophet and his brother Hyrum, who had recently escaped with others of their captive companions from their imprisonment in Missouri.

* Says Heber C. Kimball: "One mobber rode up, and finding no convenient place to fasten his horse, shot a cow that was standing near while a girl was milking her, and as the poor animal was struggling in death he cut a strip of her hide from the nose to the tail to which he fastened his halter."

CHAPTER XI.

1839-1842.

NAUVOO—THE SAINTS IN ILLINOIS AND IOWA—DANIEL H. WELLS—THE APOSTLES DEPART FOR EUROPE—THE PROPHET LAYS THE GRIEVANCES OF HIS PEOPLE BEFORE THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT—PRESIDENT VAN BUREN'S REPLY—"YOUR CAUSE IS JUST, BUT I CAN DO NOTHING FOR YOU"—ILLINOIS POLITICS—WHIGS AND DEMOCRATS—THE MORMONS HOLD THE BALANCE OF POWER—A CLOUD ON THE HORIZON—MISSOURI DEMANDS OF ILLINOIS THE MORMON LEADERS AS FUGITIVES FROM JUSTICE—THE REQUISITION RETURNED UNSERVED—THE NAUVOO CHARTER—THE APOSTLES IN GREAT BRITAIN—THE BEGINNING OF MORMON IMMIGRATION FROM ABROAD—THE SAINTS CONCENTRATE AT NAUVOO—THE POLITICIANS ALARMED—RISE OF THE ANTI-MORMON PARTY—THE MISSOURI WRIT RE-ISSUED AND THE PROPHET ARRESTED—HABEAS CORPUS—JUDGE DOUGLAS—LIBERATION—JOHN C. BENNETT—THE SHADOW OF A COMING EVENT—THE PROPHET PREDICTS THE FLIGHT OF HIS PEOPLE TO THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS.

NAUVOO, the Beautiful. Such was the name of the fair city founded by Joseph Smith and his followers on the eastern shore of the Mississippi, after their flight and expulsion from Missouri. It was in Hancock County, Illinois, fifty miles above the town of Quincy.

Situated in a graceful bend of the majestic Father of Waters, on an eminence commanding a noble view of the broad and rolling river, here sweeping round it in a semi-circle, Nauvoo, even as the site of the lovely city it soon became, well merited the surname of Beautiful. The site of the city, prior to May, 1839, when the Mormons made their first purchase of lands in that locality, was the little town or village of Commerce, which title it continued to bear until about a year later, when it was rechristened by the Saints Nauvoo.

Among the landed proprietors from whom they made extensive purchases in and around Commerce was Daniel H. Wells, famous in

Utah history as General and as "Squire" Wells. He was a native of Trenton, Oneida County, New York, and was descended from Thomas Wells, the fourth Governor of Connecticut. He was now in his twenty-fifth year, and had resided in Illinois since he was eighteen. At first he had engaged in clearing land and farming, but before coming of age had entered upon his official career, being first elected constable and then justice of the peace. He also held an office in the first military organization of Hancock County. He was noted for courage and wisdom, and was a man of strict integrity and of broad and generous soul. He was not then connected with any religious society. In politics he was a staunch Whig, but was much esteemed by men of all creeds and parties.

A foe to oppression in all its forms, and a fearless champion of universal freedom, Squire Wells at once befriended the outcast Mormons upon their arrival in his neighborhood, and extended to them a cordial welcome. He might have speculated out of their necessities at that time, but would not. Platting his land into city lots he let them have it almost on their own terms—low rates and long-time payments. Though not a Mormon until after the Prophet's death, Daniel H. Wells was always his staunch and faithful friend.

Another land-owner from whom the Saints purchased largely in that locality was Dr. Isaac Gallaud, who also joined the Church. With him the Prophet had corresponded upon the subject while in Liberty jail.

Lands were likewise secured on the Iowa side of the river; about one hundred families settling in Lee County, opposite Nauvoo, in 1839. Brigham Young dwelt there, at a place called Montrose. The Iowa purchase included the town of Nashville, with twenty thousand acres of land adjoining, upon which was projected and partly built the Mormon town of Zarahemla.

Nauvoo was not altogether "a city set upon a hill." Some of it lay in the low lands, where the surface sloped down to the river. Here the soil was naturally moist and miry, superinducing malaria;

in consequence of which the locality was at first very unhealthy. Within a short time, however, under the energetic labors of the thrifty and industrious Saints,—whose mission seems to have been from the beginning to make the wilderness blossom,—the climate underwent a salutary change, regarded by the devout people as miraculous, and thenceforth it became a wholesome as well as a charming place of abode. But this was not until after some painful and protracted sieges of sickness, which at one time prostrated nearly all the inhabitants of Commerce, and many people in the neighboring towns.

It was during the reign of such an epidemic, in the latter part of 1839, that the Twelve Apostles of the Church—or a majority of them—started upon their first mission to foreign lands. They had been appointed to this mission in July, 1838, while the Saints were in Missouri. It had then been declared by the Prophet that they should meet upon the Temple grounds at Far West on the 26th of the ensuing April, and take formal leave of the city, prior to crossing the “great waters.” What special significance was attached to this event we know not, but the Apostles and the Prophet seemed to regard it as very important and were determined to see the prophecy fulfilled.

The Missourians, however, who had been informed by their apostate allies of the prediction concerning the 26th of April, were just as firmly resolved to thwart it. Probably this was one reason why Bogart and his mob, as related, expelled the few remaining Mormons from Far West about the middle of April. It was their boast that if all others of “Joe Smith’s prophecies” should be fulfilled, this one, now that he was in prison and his people driven from the State, should fail.

Before day-break, however, on the morning of April 26th, 1839, Apostles Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Pratt, John Taylor, John E. Page and others rode into Far West. Holding a meeting on the temple grounds, they ordained Wilford Woodruff and George A. Smith to the Apostleship, and having severed thirty-one persons from the Church, bade adieu to the half-deserted, half-ruined

city and departed, ere their enemies had arisen to renew their oath that the words of the Mormon Prophet relating to this event should never be realized. Subsequently, the founding of Nauvoo and the labor of settling their people in that vicinity, with the terrible epidemic that swept over them that summer, unavoidably delayed the departure of the Apostles from America.

During August and September, however, seven of the Twelve, namely: Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Parley P. Pratt, * Orson Pratt, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff and George A. Smith, with Elders Theodore Turley, Reuben Hedlock and Hiram Clark, left Commerce for Europe. Most of them were weak and ailing, and some even arose from sick beds, burning with fever or shaking with ague to begin the journey. Their families, whom they were forced to leave behind, were also sick and well-nigh helpless. Penniless, as usual, and with swelling hearts, these devoted men went forth to perform their duty, trusting in Him who feedeth the sparrows and heareth the young ravens when they cry, to minister to their own needs, and to care for and comfort their wives and little ones.

Of such undaunted mettle and quenchless zeal were the men whom the Mormon Prophet had gathered round him as his Apostles, in whose destiny it was written that they should not only war with "principalities and powers," contending for their faith with the learned polemicists of Christendom, but battle in the same strength and sturdiness of purpose with Nature's sterile elements, and conquering redeem a desert.

Reference has been made to the widespread sympathy and compassion for the Saints, coupled with abhorrence and detestation for their oppressors, felt by the generous people of Illinois when the homeless refugees first came among them. Indignation was rife that in a free land and in an enlightened age a community should thus be persecuted for their opinions; that a sovereign state of the American Union, instead of shielding its citizens from mobocracy, should

* Parley had but recently escaped from Richmond jail, Missouri.

actually join hands with the lawless element and assist in the work of wholesale plunder and expatriation. Upon Governor Boggs and his coadjutors censure was heaped unsparingly. Upon the hapless victims of their tyranny favors were abundantly bestowed. Said the Quincy *Argus* of March 16th, 1839 :

We have no language sufficiently strong for the expression of our indignation and shame at the recent transaction in a sister State, and that State Missouri, a State of which we had long been proud, alike for her men and history, but now so fallen that we could wish her star stricken out from the bright constellation of the Union. We say we know of no language sufficiently strong for the expression of our shame and abhorrence of her recent conduct. She has written her own character in letters of blood, and stained it by acts of merciless cruelty and brutality that the waters of ages cannot efface. It will be observed that an organized mob, aided by many of the civil and military officers of Missouri, with Governor Boggs at their head, have been the prominent actors in this business, incited, too, it appears, against the Mormons by political hatred, and by the additional motives of plunder and revenge. They have but too well put in execution their threats of extermination and expulsion, and fully wreaked their vengeance on a body of industrious and enterprising men who had never wronged nor wished to wrong them, but on the contrary had ever comported themselves as good and honest citizens, living under the same laws, and having the same right with themselves to the sacred immunities of life, liberty, and property.*

Professor Turner, of Illinois College, wrote :

Who began the quarrel? Was it the Mormons? Is it not notorious, on the contrary, that they were hunted like wild beasts, from county to county, before they made any desperate resistance? Did they ever, as a body, refuse obedience to the laws, when called upon to do so, until driven to desperation by repeated threats and assaults from the mob? Did the State ever make one decent effort to defend them as fellow-citizens in their rights, or to redress their wrongs? Let the conduct of its governors, attorneys, and the fate of their final petitions answer. Have any who plundered and openly massacred the Mormons ever been brought to the punishment due to their crimes? Let the boasting murderers of begging and helpless infancy answer. Has the State ever remunerated even those known to be innocent, for the loss of either their property or their arms? Did either the pulpit or the press through the State raise a note of remonstrance or alarm? Let the clergymen who abetted and the editors who encouraged the mob answer.

To be sure, not all the people of Illinois shared these sentiments. The Mormons had enemies there as well as friends. These, it is

* Some of the Missouri papers of that period contained similar articles, denouncing the ill-treatment of the Mormons and censuring the Legislature for avoiding an investigation of the crimes committed against them.

almost needless to say, were largely of the religious element, who could neither forget nor forgive that Joseph Smith, whatever his innocence of crime, had been guilty of founding a new Church, which opposed theirs, and in spite of all that had been said and done against it, was fast becoming a power in the land.

Of course there were exceptions even here; but this was the general feeling among earnest Christians concerning Mormonism. They sincerely and heartily hated the system, and their hatred extended in most instances to all connected with it. It was this class, in conjunction with two others, its traditional allies—politicians and apostates—that finally encompassed the murder of the Mormon Prophet, and the driving of his people into the western wilderness.

As yet, however, there were no signs of such an issue. Illinois had opened her arms to the exiles. Her governor, Thomas Carlin, and other State officials, with editors, professors and prominent citizens in general had taken the lead in extending aid and sympathy to the outcast community. Thousands of dollars in money, clothing and provisions had been contributed for their relief by the citizens of Quincy and other places, and every effort made of which a humane and benevolent people seemed capable, to cause the Saints to forget their former sufferings in the assurance of present protection and promised peace.

Nor were the people of Iowa at all behind in friendly feeling for the Mormons. Robert Lucas, Governor of that Territory—a former governor of Ohio—treated them kindly, pledged to them the protection of the Constitution and the laws, and testified to their general repute as “industrious, inoffensive and worthy citizens.”

One of the first steps taken by the Prophet, after planting the feet of his people in these places of refuge, was to lay their grievances before the general government. A committee, consisting of himself, Sidney Rigdon and Elias Higbee, was appointed at a conference held at Commerce, October 5th, 1839, to proceed to Washington for that purpose. They started on the 29th of October. Elder Rigdon,

owing to ill health, did not go any farther than Columbus, Ohio. His companions reached the capital late in November.

On the way thither the Prophet met with an exciting adventure, in which the part he played doubtless saved the limbs if not the lives of several persons. The coach upon which they were traveling was descending a mountain pass of the Alleghanies. The driver having laid down his lines and got off at a wayside tavern, the horses, becoming frightened, ran away. Climbing from the inside of the vehicle to the driver's seat, while the horses were in furious motion, the Prophet secured the reins and skillfully guided the foaming steeds until they were brought to a stand-still. On the coach were several ladies and some members of Congress. The daring feat of their fellow-traveler, whose identity they were unaware of, was greatly admired and gratefully mentioned by all. Later they learned with much surprise that the one to whom they were so deeply indebted was no other than Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet.

He remained several months at the capital, forming many acquaintances among leading statesmen and politicians of the period, and pleading earnestly the cause of his plundered and exiled people. But beyond the personal interest that he excited his mission was apparently fruitless. The authority of the general government to interfere in the affairs of a State,—even when that State had acted as Missouri had done,—where not denied, was seriously doubted, especially by Democrats, and it was a Democratic administration that held the reins of power. Others, though holding different views, were unwilling, for political reasons, to champion the cause of the unpopular Mormons. Policy, the Prophet discovered, rather than principle, swayed the hearts and minds of the majority of his country's statesmen. The Committee on Judiciary, to whom the memorial of the Saints was referred, with claims against Missouri for about one-and-a-half million dollars, finally reported adversely upon the petition. This, however, was after the Prophet left Washington.

While there he had interviews with the President, Martin Van Buren, who said, after listening to his story: "Your cause is just, but I can do nothing for you." This frank democratic statement the Mormon leader might have excused,—though himself a Whig, and differing from the President on the "State Rights" question involved. But Van Buren unwisely added: "If I take up for you I shall lose the votes of Missouri,"—referring to the approaching presidential election. Personal ambition, quite as much as loyalty to his political principles, was thus shown to be his ruling motive. For such an admission Joseph Smith's fearless, uncalculating spirit was hardly prepared. Heartsick and disgusted at what he deemed a display of pusillanimity in high places, he now left Washington for home.

Passing through Chester County, Pennsylvania, he formed the acquaintance of Edward Hunter, a prosperous farmer and an influential man in that vicinity, who was already favorably impressed with Mormonism. He soon afterwards embraced the faith and removed to Illinois. Edward Hunter became Bishop of the Fifth Ward of Nauvoo, and in Utah the Presiding Bishop of the Church.

From Chester County the Prophet proceeded to Philadelphia, where a flourishing branch of the Church existed, and then returned to Illinois, arriving at Commerce on the 4th of March, 1840.

Hyrum Smith, in the absence of his associates, had had presidential charge of the Church. Stakes of Zion had been organized at Commerce and in Iowa. William Marks became President of the Commerce Stake, with Charles C. Rich and Austin Cowles as his counselors. The members of the High Council were G. W. Harris, Samuel Bent, Henry G. Sherwood, David Fullmer, Alpheus Cutler, William Huntington, Thomas Grover, Newel Knight, Charles C. Rich, David Dort, Seymour Brunson and Lewis D. Wilson. On the Iowa side John Smith was President of the Stake, and Reynolds Cahoon and Lyman Wight were his counselors. Members of the High Council: Asahel Smith, John M. Burk, A. O. Smoot, Richard Howard, Willard Snow, Erastus Snow, David Pettigrew, Elijah Fordham,

Edward Fisher, Elias Smith, John Patten and Stephen Chase. Alanson Ripley was Bishop in Iowa. Other stakes were in early contemplation.

At Commerce in November, 1839, Don Carlos Smith and Ebenezer Robinson had established a semi-monthly paper called the *Times and Seasons*. This was the organ of the Church. In its columns Hyrum Smith had published an account of the Missouri persecutions. The Prophet became the editor of this paper. The *Nauvoo Wasp*, edited by William Smith, and afterwards renamed the *Nauvoo Neighbor*, was a later publication.

On April 6th, 1840—the tenth anniversary of the Church—the Saints convened, according to custom, in general conference. During its session Apostles Orson Hyde and John E. Page were appointed to take a mission to Palestine. Orson Hyde accepted the call, and subsequently departed for the Holy Land. Elder Page failed to fulfill his mission. It was the beginning of his defection from Mormonism. President Joseph Smith detailed to the conference his recent visit to Washington, including his interview with Van Buren, of whom he expressed his opinion in plain terms. Resolutions were passed thanking the people of Illinois, their representatives in Congress, their governor, Thomas Carlin, and Governor Lucas, of Iowa, for aid, sympathy and protection.

Commerce now changed its name to Nauvoo. During their first year of occupancy, hundreds of houses had been erected by the Saints, who were fast flocking to their new gathering place, and the insignificant hamlet of a few months before was rapidly assuming the dimensions of a city. The bend in the Mississippi at this point gave the place three river fronts, with some of the streets terminating at the water's edge. The thoroughfares were wide, crossing each other at right angles; a model of healthfulness and beauty many times copied by the city-building Saints in laying out their settlements in the Rocky Mountains. The houses, embowered in groves and gardens, tastefully and securely fenced, ranged all the way from the neatly white-washed log-cabin, through buildings of brick and frame

to the stately mansion of stone. When the Temple came to crown the noble hill upon which the city had already climbed, and the busy hum of industry from forge, mill and factory arose as incense from a hundred altars, Nauvoo, the home of twice ten thousand people, was not only the City Beautiful of the Saints, but bid fair to become, in the not far distant future, the pride and glory of Illinois.*

At the time of which we write, May, 1840, the town had from two to three thousand inhabitants, and was divided ecclesiastically into three wards—Upper, Middle and Lower—presided over severally by Bishops Edward Partridge,† Newel K. Whitney and Vinson Knight. As the place grew, these three wards became four, then ten, while in the farming districts, outside the city, three additional wards were created.

Thus were affairs at Nauvoo prospering. Thus, with that wonderful recuperative power which has ever characterized them as a people, were these whilom exiles of Missouri already recovering from the effects of the persecution which had robbed them of well-nigh their earthly all.

The Mormons now began to take part in Illinois politics. Perhaps it would have been well for them in a worldly sense, though not so well in a sense far wider and higher, had they refrained from exercising this right. Though not immediately apparent, it was the beginning for them of untold sorrow. Next to the rancor of religious hatred is the bitterness of political animosity. The Mormons ere this had experienced both. They were fated ere long to again experience them.

A great presidential election was approaching. The celebrated “log-cabin and hard cider” campaign was in progress, and Whigs and Democrats throughout the entire land were working arduously in the interests of their respective parties. William Henry Harrison was the Whig candidate for the Presidency, while Martin Van Buren had

* Nauvoo in 1844-5 was said to be the most populous city in the State.

† Bishop Partridge died on May 27th of that year.

again been put forward by the Democrats. In Hancock County, Illinois, the two great parties were almost equally divided. A handful of votes, thrown either way, would suffice to turn a local election. This balance of power was held by the Mormons. To secure and retain their favor, therefore, became an object with politicians of both sides.

Most of the Mormons were traditionally Democrats. In Ohio, in February, 1835, they had started a paper called the *Northern Times*, supporting democracy. But now, it seems, they mostly voted with the Whigs, casting their ballots for the Harrison electors. The reason probably was, not that Joseph Smith was a Whig, but that Martin Van Buren was a Democrat. At subsequent elections in Illinois the majority of the Mormons generally voted the democratic ticket.

They were quite naturally averse, however, to supporting their enemies on any ticket, or men whom they believed incompetent, corrupt and immoral. They insisted, not only upon representation for themselves, but that men of character and ability be put forward, if their vote was wanted to elect them. The politicians, not always able to furnish what was required, no doubt deemed this fastidious. Many thought it dictatorial. Misunderstandings occurred, and much ill-feeling was at times created. Men whom the Mormons thus rejected as nominees,—for at times they carried their point in caucus,—as well as those whom they defeated at elections, generally became their enemies.

Among their friends in political circles were Hon. Sidney H. Little and Hon. Stephen A. Douglas, the former a Whig and the latter a Democrat. Mr. Little, who was a State senator, died before the Mormon troubles in Illinois had fairly begun. Judge Douglas, who was Secretary of the State, though he eventually proclaimed against the Saints, was their friend for several years after the Prophet's death. Stephen A. Douglas and Joseph Smith each regarded the other as a master spirit. It was by means of the Mormon vote, during the Prophet's lifetime, that "the little giant" finally attained to the

United States Senate. His opponents styled him "the Mormon-made Senator."

In 1840, as said, the Saints supported the Whig party in the contest which resulted in the defeat of Martin Van Buren, and the election of General Harrison as President of the United States. The anxiety of the rival parties to attach the Mormons to their interests, was doubtless an important element in the peace and prosperity enjoyed by the Saints during this period.

But now a cloud, "a cloud no bigger than a man's hand," but that hand an inveterate foe to the Prophet and his people, appears upon their horizon. It is the forerunner of a storm, a storm which, though not bursting forth instantly, shall know no lull when once its fury breaks, till the blood of that Prophet has been shed, and another and a crowning exodus of that people—from the confines of civilization to the wilds of the savage west—shall have startled by its strangeness and awakened by its unparalleled achievement, a world's wonder.

On the 15th of September, 1840, the Governor of Missouri, Lilburn W. Boggs, made a demand upon Thomas Carlin, Governor of Illinois, for Joseph Smith, junior, Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight, Parley P. Pratt, Caleb Baldwin and Alanson Brown, as fugitives from justice. The demand, it seems, was retaliative in its character. On the 7th of July, preceding, a party of Missourians had kidnapped four Mormons, namely: James Allred, Noah Rogers, Alanson Brown and Benjamin Boyce, whom they carried over the river to Tully, Lewis County, Missouri, tied them to trees and whipped them unmercifully.

Their excuse for their lawlessness and barbarity was that the Mormons had stolen from them. The valley of the Mississippi, at that time, was infested with thieves and rogues of every description; preying upon all classes, the Saints included. Some of these thieves were probably Mormons, weak and wicked enough to thus retaliate upon those who had robbed them of their all. But the Mormon people were not given to thievery, nor was there any proof that the four men abducted and abused by the Missourians were guilty. They

were in the river-bottom hunting horses, it is said, when the men of Tully, after recovering some stolen goods near Warsaw, twenty miles below Nauvoo, came upon and captured them.

The affair created considerable excitement at Nauvoo and throughout Hancock County; the general feeling of all classes, Mormon and non-Mormon, being against the Missourians. Governor Carlin, in response to popular demand, called upon Missouri to deliver up the kidnappers. It was then that Governor Boggs issued his requisition for Joseph Smith and his brethren, most of whom had escaped from captivity in that State nearly eighteen months before.

Possibly there was more than retaliation in this act of Governor Boggs. The conduct of Missouri in the bloody crusade inaugurated by her Executive against her Mormon citizens, had been widely condemned, and the charges alleged against the Saints in justification of that conduct were generally disbelieved. The fact that many months had passed since the escape of the Mormon leaders, during which no effort had been made to retake them, was being cited in proof of the falsity of those charges. Governor Boggs, therefore, after a Rip Van Winkle sleep of seventeen months, suddenly wakes up and returns to the assault, hoping perhaps to vindicate, or at least render consistent his former course, and rescue by a *coup d'etat* what remains of his besmirched and shattered reputation.

Besides, the state election is approaching, and it may be that he hopes for another term of office. What more brilliant a bribe, what more tempting a bait for ballots, in Mormon-hating Missouri, than Joseph Smith the Mormon leader in chains?

Many non-Mormon citizens of Illinois stoutly opposed the delivery of the persons named, even if guilty, to be dealt with by officials who had sanctioned and even assisted in the butchery, wholesale robbery and expulsion of their innocent co-religionists. But many did not believe them guilty. Said the Quincy *Whig*, a prominent journal of that period: "We repeat, Smith and Rigdon should not be given up. * * The law is made to secure the

punishment of the guilty, and not to sacrifice the innocent. * * Compliance on the part of Governor Carlin would be to deliver them, not to be tried for crime, but to be punished without crime."

Other papers justified the Governor in observing the forms of law usual in such cases, and issuing his requisition for the arrest and delivery of the Mormon leaders to the officers of Missouri.

Carlin's writ was returned to him unserved; the sheriff of Hancock County, entrusted with its service, not being able to find the persons wanted. Having no faith in Missouri justice, like the wise man in the proverb they had probably "foreseen the evil" and "hid themselves."

Despite this unpleasant episode, fortune continued to rain favors upon the Mormons in Illinois. During the winter of 1840-41 the Legislature granted the Charter of the City of Nauvoo, one of the most liberal charters ever bestowed upon a municipality. It was planned by the Prophet and devised, as he said, "on principles so broad that any honest man might dwell secure under its protective influence without distinction of sect or party."

A few sections of the Charter are here inserted:

Sec. 4. There shall be a City Council to consist of Mayor, four Aldermen and nine Councilors, who shall have the qualifications of electors of said city, and shall be chosen by the qualified voters thereof, and shall hold their offices for two years, and until their successors shall be elected and qualified. The City Council shall judge of the qualifications, elections and returns of their own members, and a majority of them shall form a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and compel the attendance of absent members, under such penalties as may be prescribed by ordinance.

Sec. 5. The Mayor, Aldermen and Councilors, before entering upon the duties of their offices, shall take and subscribe an oath or affirmation, that they will support the Constitution of the United States and of this State, and that they will well and truly perform the duties of their offices to the best of their skill and abilities.

Sec. 11. The City Council shall have power and authority to make, ordain, establish and execute all such ordinances, not repugnant to the Constitution of the United States or of this State, as they may deem necessary for the benefit, peace, good order, regulation, convenience and cleanliness of said city; for the protection of property therein from destruction by fire or otherwise, and for the health and happiness thereof; they shall have power to fill all vacancies that may happen by death, resignation or removal, in any of the offices herein made elective; to fix and establish all the fees of the officers of said corporation not herein established; to impose such fines not exceeding one hundred dollars for

each offense, as they may deem just, for refusing to accept any office in or under the corporation, or for misconduct therein; to divide the city into wards; to add to the number of Aldermen and Councilors, and apportion them among the several wards as may be most just and conducive to the interests of the city. •

Sec. 13. The City Council shall have exclusive power within the city, by ordinance to license, regulate and restrain the keeping of ferries; to regulate the police of the city; to impose fines, forfeitures and penalties for the breach of any ordinance, and provide for the recovery of such fines and forfeitures, and the enforcement of such penalties, and to pass such ordinances as may be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the powers specified in this act: Provided, Such ordinances are not repugnant to the Constitution of the United States or of this State; and in fine, to exercise such other legislative powers as are conferred on the City Council of the city of Springfield, by an act entitled "An act to incorporate the city of Springfield," approved February third, one thousand eight hundred and forty.

Sec. 16. The Mayor and Aldermen shall be conservators of the peace within the limits of said city, and shall have all the powers of Justices of the Peace therein, both in civil and criminal cases, arising under the laws of the State; they shall, as Justices of the Peace within the limits of said city, perform the same duties, be governed by the same laws, give the same bonds and security as other Justices of the Peace, and be commissioned as Justices of the Peace in and for said city by the Governor.

Sec. 17. The Mayor shall have exclusive jurisdiction in all cases arising under the ordinances of the corporation, and shall issue such process as may be necessary to carry said ordinances into execution and effect; appeals may be had from any decision or judgment of said Mayor or Aldermen, arising under the city ordinances, to the Municipal Court, under such regulations as may be presented by ordinance, which Court shall be composed of the Mayor, or Chief Justice, and the Aldermen as Associate Justices, and from the final judgment of the Municipal Court to the Circuit Court of Hancock County, in the same manner as appeals are taken from the judgments of Justices of the Peace: Provided, That the parties litigant shall have a right to a trial by a jury of twelve men in all cases before the Municipal Court. The Municipal Court shall have power to grant writs of *habeas corpus* in all cases arising under the ordinances of the City Council.

Sec. 19. All processes issued by the Mayor, Aldermen or Municipal Court shall be directed to the Marshal, and in the execution thereof he shall be governed by the same laws as are or may be prescribed for the direction and compensation of constables in similar cases. The Marshal shall also perform such other duties as may be required of him under the ordinances of said city, and shall be the principal ministerial officer.

Sec. 24. The City Council may establish and organize an institution of learning within the limits of the city for the teaching of the arts, sciences and learned professions, to be called the "University of the City of Nauvoo;" which institution shall be under the control and management of a Board of Trustees, consisting of a Chancellor, Registrar, and twenty-three Regents, which Board shall thereafter be a body corporate and politic, with perpetual succession, by the name of the "Chancellor and Regents of the University of the City of Nauvoo," and shall have full power to pass, ordain, establish and execute

all such laws and ordinances as they may consider for the welfare and prosperity of said University, its officers and students; Provided, That the said laws and ordinances shall not be repugnant to the Constitution of the United States or of this State; and, Provided, also, That the Trustees shall at all times be appointed by the City Council, and shall have all the powers and privileges for the advancement of the cause of education which appertain to the trustees of any other college or university of this State.

Sec. 25. The City Council may organize the inhabitants of said city subject to military duty into a body of independent military men, to be called the "Nauvoo Legion," the court-martial of which shall be composed of the commissioned officers of said Legion, and constitute the law-making department, with full powers and authority to make, ordain, establish and execute, all such laws and ordinances, as may be considered necessary for the benefit, government and regulation of said Legion; Provided, Said court-martial shall pass no law or act repugnant to or inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States or of this State; and Provided, also, That the officers of the Legion shall be commissioned by the Governor of the State. The said Legion shall perform the same amount of military duty as is now or may be hereafter required of the regular militia of the State, and shall be at the disposal of the Mayor in executing the laws and ordinances of the City Corporation, and the laws of the State, and at the disposal of the Governor for the public defense and the execution of the laws of the State, or of the United States, and shall be entitled to their proportion of the public arms; and, Provided, also, That said Legion shall be exempt from all other military duty.

Having passed both houses of the Legislative Assembly, the Charter of Nauvoo was signed by Governor Carlin and certified by Secretary Douglas on the 16th of December. It went into effect February 1st, 1841.

On that day occurred the first city election of Nauvoo, resulting in the choice of the following named officers: Mayor, John C. Bennett; Aldermen, William Marks, Samuel H. Smith, Daniel H. Wells and Newel K. Whitney; Councilors, Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Charles C. Rich, John T. Barnett, Wilson Law, Don Carlos Smith, John P. Greene and Vinson Knight.

Among the first bills for ordinances presented to the city council, was one to prohibit the sale of liquor at retail within the corporate limits, and others providing for the freedom of all religious sects and of all peaceable public meetings within the city. These bills were presented by the Prophet, and ordinances passed accordingly. It was the purpose of the Saints, who greatly predominated at Nauvoo, to make of it a strictly moral and free city, as free from vice

as from tyranny, a delight at once to its inhabitants and to the stranger within its gates.

The municipal election was followed by the organization of the University and of the Nauvoo Legion, as provided for in the Charter. At the military election, held on the 4th of February, Joseph Smith was chosen Lieutenant-General, John C. Bennett, Major-General, and Wilson Law and Don Carlos Smith, Brigadier-Generals of the Legion. It was modeled after the Roman legion, and consisted originally of six companies, divided into two brigades or cohorts. Subsequently other citizens of Hancock County joined the Legion, and it finally aggregated several thousand troops.

The Nauvoo University, for which a suitable edifice was to be erected, was officered as follows: Chancellor, John C. Bennett; Registrar, William Law; Regents, Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Hyrum Smith, William Marks, Samuel H. Smith, Daniel H. Wells, Newel K. Whitney, Charles C. Rich, John T. Barnett, Wilson Law, John P. Greene, Vinson Knight, Isaac Galland, Elias Higbee, Robert D. Foster, James Adams, Samuel Bennett, Ebenezer Robinson, John Snider, George Miller, Lenos M. Knight, John Taylor and Heber C. Kimball. Its faculty included the names of Sidney Rigdon, Orson Pratt, Orson Spencer and James Kelly; the latter two college graduates. Four common school wards, with three wardens to each, were connected with the University.

On January 24th of that year, a change had taken place in the personnel of the Church Presidency. Hyrum Smith, second counselor to the Prophet, having been called to succeed his deceased sire as Patriarch of the Church, William Law was chosen to fill the vacancy thus created in the Presidency. A few days later, Joseph Smith was chosen Trustee-in-Trust for the Church, to hold the legal title to its property agreeable to the laws of Illinois. The succession to this office was vested in the First Presidency. It was perpetuated for many years after the Mormons removed to Utah.

April 6th, 1841. A general conference convened this day at the chief city of the Saints. During the morning hours the corner stones

of the Nauvoo Temple were laid and dedicated. On the third day of the conference, Lyman Wight was ordained an Apostle to fill a vacancy which had for some time existed in the council of the Twelve.

Apropos of the Apostles, let us now briefly advert to them and their mission abroad. After leaving Illinois, in the fall of 1839, the majority of the Twelve made their way to Kirtland, where a few families of Saints yet resided. Thence they journeyed to New York, preaching by the way and laboring for some time in that city and its vicinity. In the latter part of December, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, Hiram Clark and Theodore Turley sailed for Liverpool on board the *Oxford*. Three months later, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, George A. Smith and Reuben Hedlock followed in their wake on the *Patrick Henry*.

Landing at Liverpool on the 6th of April, 1840, President Young and his party there found Apostle Taylor, with about thirty converts. He and his party had arrived at that port on the 11th of January. They were there welcomed by Mr. George Cannon, Apostle Taylor's brother-in-law, who resided at Liverpool. He was the father of George Q. Cannon, then a mere lad, and not yet connected with the cause in which he was destined to play, in after years, so prominent a part. Visiting Preston, Apostle Taylor had returned with Joseph Fielding to Liverpool, while Elders Woodruff and Turley had gone into Staffordshire, and Hiram Clark to Manchester. In that great town a branch of the Church had previously been built up by Elder William Clayton.

Immediately upon the arrival of President Young, a conference of the British Saints was called to convene at Preston on the 14th of April. That day Willard Richards was ordained to the Apostleship. It was decided to send for a score or more of the Seventies, to assist the Apostles in their ministry; to publish a hymn book for the use of the Saints, and to establish at Manchester a monthly periodical to be called *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*.*

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The Apostles and Elders then separated and went preaching into various parts of Great Britain. Their experience was a repetition of the success of Heber C. Kimball and his confreres in that land a few years before. The fruits of Apostle Woodruff's labors in Staffordshire and Herefordshire were especially abundant. He baptized hundreds, including over forty preachers of the sect known as United Brethren. Wales, Scotland, Ireland, the Isle of Man, and parts of England yet unvisited by the Elders, were all penetrated and many converts made of each nationality. The foundations for future missionary success, in the organization of conferences, the establishment of a publishing house and a shipping agency were now laid broad and permanently.

On June 6th, 1840, a company of forty-one Latter-day Saints—the first to emigrate from a foreign land, sailed from Liverpool on the ship *Britannia*, bound for Nauvoo, via New York. John Moon had charge of this company. About three months later two hundred more, in charge of Theodore Turley and William Clayton, were carried over in the *North America*. Several other companies sailed in 1841, the last one for that year going to Nauvoo by way of New Orleans, which then became the regular route. Each succeeding year added its quota; the work of proselyting more than keeping pace with the continuous drain of emigration. It is estimated that prior to the settlement of Utah nearly five thousand British converts to Mormonism had landed in America.

Thus was set in motion that great tide of immigration which, swelling the numbers of the Saints in the Mississippi Valley, peopled in later years with the skilled mechanics and hardy yeomanry of Britain, Scandinavia and other European countries, the mountain valleys of Utah; mingling their brave blood—brave to forsake native land, sunder all earthly ties and endure the scorn and odium heaped ever upon the adherents of an unpopular faith—with the life-stream of a race equally heroic, cradled in the lap of liberty. The result, the bone and sinew, character and intelligence of Utah to-day,—the promise of the present to the future.

When the Apostles landed at Liverpool, in April, 1840, the Church in Great Britain numbered less than two thousand souls. Twelve months later, when most of them returned to America, that figure had been more than trebled. Said Brigham Young: "It truly seems a miracle to look upon the contrast between our landing and departing at Liverpool. We landed in the spring of 1840, as strangers in a strange land, and penniless; but through the mercy of God we have gained many friends, established churches in almost every noted town and city of Great Britain; baptized between seven and eight thousand souls, printed five thousand Books of Mormon, three thousand hymn books, twenty-five hundred volumes of the *Millennial Star* and fifty thousand tracts; emigrated to Zion one thousand souls, established a permanent shipping agency, which will be a great blessing to the Saints, and have left sown in the hearts of thousands the seed of eternal life. And yet we have lacked nothing to eat, drink or wear."

Parley P. Pratt was left by his brethren to preside over the British Mission. Orson Hyde was in Palestine. The remainder of the Apostles who had gone abroad now returned home, some of them reaching Nauvoo early in July, 1841.

Anticipating their arrival by several weeks, our story now returns to the latter part of May. As already shown, it was a part of the plan of the Mormon leader, besides building up a central Stake of Zion at Nauvoo, to establish other stakes in that vicinity. Among these, which had now been organized for several months, were those of Ramus and Lima in Hancock County, Quincy and Mount Hope in Adams County, Geneva in Morgan County, and Zarahemla in Lee County, Iowa. One of the stake presidency at Quincy was Ezra T. Benson, afterwards an Apostle and a prominent Utah pioneer.

The stake at Kirtland, Ohio, had lately been reorganized, with Almon W. Babbitt, Lester Brooks and Zebedee Coltrin as its presidency. All or most of the stakes were being built up rapidly by the gathering of the Saints from various parts, including those from abroad.

On the 24th of May, 1841, President Smith announced through the *Times and Seasons* the discontinuance of all the stakes outside of Hancock County, Illinois, and Lee County, Iowa, and called upon the Saints residing in other parts "to make preparations to come in without delay." Said he: "This is important, and should be attended to by all who feel an interest in the prosperity of this, the corner stone of Zion. Here the temple must be raised, the university be built, and other edifices erected which are necessary for the great work of the last days; and which can only be done by a concentration of energy and enterprise." To this call the Saints responded with alacrity, and came pouring in from all parts outside the two counties mentioned, to engage in the work of building up and beautifying "the corner stone of Zion."

To the followers of the Prophet, as well as to the Prophet himself, this was all that the call really meant. Temple-building, with the Saints, we need scarcely inform the reader, amounts to what might be termed a divine passion; a work done by Time for Eternity. The sacred edifices they rear, with their solemn ceremonies and ordinances, represent to them so many links literally binding earth to heaven. No work in their estimation is so important,—not even their proselyting labors among the nations. Next to their religious mission of preaching, proselyting, and administering in their temples for the salvation of the living and the dead, is their penchant for founding institutions of learning. This fact Mormon history abundantly verifies, in spite of all that has been said and thought to the contrary. This explains in part that ready obedience,—wrongfully supposed to be a mere servile yielding to the dictum of a despot,—manifested by the Saints to the word and will of their leader. He was simply inviting them to engage in the work most congenial to their souls; and this, as we have said, was all that the call really meant.

But to the politicians it meant more,—or rather, meant something entirely different. It was construed by them as a shrewd political maneuver, foreshadowing the ultimate domination of Han-

cock County by the Mormons, and the relegation to the rear, as a hopeless minority, of the combined forces of Whigs, Democrats and whatever else, in spite of all that could be done to hinder. It was believed, in short, to be a "colonizing" scheme, a trick to increase and render supreme the local Mormon vote. Already jealous of the power wielded by the Saints at the polls, and professing to "view with alarm" the prospective increase of that power by means of the proposed concentration, some of the politicians now set about organizing in Hancock County a new party, the avowed object of which was to oppose and counteract the political influence of the Mormons in county and in state.

Public meetings to discuss the question were held at various points, and resolutions expressive of the anti-Mormon feeling passed by those assembled. The result was the rise of the Anti-Mormon Party, and the origin of the term "anti-Mormon," thenceforth in vogue in Illinois politics. Much bitterness was engendered by this party, not only against the Mormons, whom they finally compelled to leave the State, but against all who affiliated with or in any way befriended them. Such were denominated Jack-Mormons. The hatred of the Anti-Mormons for the Mormons, despite their resolutions and protestations to the contrary, expressed itself not only in politics, but in everything else, social, commercial and religious.

Of course there were exceptions to this rule; Joseph Smith himself styled some of the Anti-Mormons "good fellows." But they were mixed in politics,—which like adversity "makes strange bed-fellows,"—with many characters that were positively disreputable. The party as a whole probably answered, far better than did Bacon, Pope's caustic description of England's great Lord Chancellor,—“the wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind.”

The Anti-Mormon Party of Illinois was made up of all parties. Anyone with a grievance against the Saints,—from the apostate, expelled from the Church for adultery, to the common thief and counterfeiter, convicted and punished at Nauvoo for breaking the city

ordinances,—forthwith became an anti-Mormon. Whigs and Democrats then, as Republicans and Democrats since, united to oppose and destroy the political power of the Mormons.

Whether or not the anti-Mormons conspired about this time with the Executive of Illinois, to effect a speedier solution of the problem than seemed possible by means of ordinary methods,—even to remove the Mormon leader from the midst of his people, thus paralyzing the gathering movement in progress,—may never be known. But the arrest of the Prophet, a few weeks after his proclamation had gone forth, on the identical writ first issued by Governor Boggs in September, 1840, with the part played by Governor Carlin in bringing about that arrest, almost warrants the suspicion. It occurred as follows: About the 4th of June, 1841, Joseph Smith, having accompanied as far as Quincy his brother Hyrum and William Law, who were starting east upon a mission, called upon Governor Carlin at his residence in that place. He was received with marked kindness and respect. In the extended interview which followed between the Governor and his visitor, nothing whatever was said of the writ formerly issued by Missouri, concerning which all excitement had long since abated. Taking leave of his Excellency, the Prophet set out for Nauvoo. He had not gone far when he was overtaken and arrested by Sheriff King of Adams County, and a *posse*, whom he believed the Governor had sent after him. Among them was an officer from Missouri, the bearer of the writ, who gloated exultingly over the prisoner and the prospect of carrying him back to his former captivity.

But Joseph Smith had studied law as well as theology, and knew how to defend his rights under the circumstances. Obtaining a writ of *habeas corpus* from C. A. Warren, Esq., master in chancery at Quincy, he had the hearing in the case set for the 8th of June, at Monmouth, Warren County, before Judge Stephen A. Douglas. Judge Douglas had arrived at Quincy on the night of the arrest. Next morning the Prophet, accompanied by Sheriff King and the Missouri officer, started for Nauvoo. On the way the Sheriff, who was

in poor health, was taken seriously ill. The Prophet conveyed him to his own home and nursed him with the kindest care.

The hearing at Monmouth came off in due order on the day appointed. Considerable excitement reigned, and an effort was made by the rabble to mob the Mormon leader as he entered the town. Sheriff King, however, faithfully stood by his prisoner and protected him from assault. A formidable array of attorneys assisted in the prosecution. The Prophet's counsel were C. A. Warren, Sidney H. Little, O. H. Browning, James H. Ralston, Cyrus Walker and Archibald Williams. Mr. Browning, in the course of an earnest and eloquent plea, pictured so vividly the sufferings of the Prophet and his people in Missouri, and the hopeless case of the prisoner if delivered over to his former persecutors, that nearly all present, including Judge Douglas himself, shed tears.*

The defense rested upon two propositions: (1) that the Missouri writ, having once been returned to the Executive unserved, was void; (2) that the entire proceeding on the part of Missouri was illegal. Judge Douglas, without going into the merits of the second proposition, decided that the writ was void and that the prisoner must be liberated. Amid the rejoicings of his friends, and to the chagrin of his enemies, the Prophet returned to Nauvoo.

But press and pulpit now took up the controversy, the tone of the former, once so favorable to the Saints, being now much modified. Some papers were openly hostile. Beneath the burning rays of political jealousy and religious hatred the flowers of friendship were fast fading. Even Judge Douglas was censured for his decision

* Said Browning: "Great God! have I not seen it? Yes, mine eyes have beheld the blood-stained traces of innocent women and children, in the drear winter, who had traveled hundreds of miles bare-foot through frost and snow, to seek a refuge from their savage pursuers. It was a scene of horror, sufficient to enlist sympathy from an adamant heart. And shall this unfortunate man, whom their fury has seen proper to select for sacrifice, be driven into such a savage land, and none dare to enlist in the cause of justice? If there was no other voice under heaven ever to be heard in this cause, gladly would I stand alone, and proudly spend my latest breath in defence of an oppressed American citizen."

which had set the Mormon leader free. The Prophet's personal foes, the more radical anti-Mormons, sought in every way to prejudice the public mind against him. That they succeeded the tragic issue amply showed.

One charge preferred against the Mormons in Illinois was that of "spoiling the Philistines,"—in other words stealing from the Gentiles; a practice which it was said their leaders sanctioned. This accusation, being noised abroad and believed by many, was an effective weapon for the anti-Mormons. It was particularly gratifying to the thieving bands that continued plying their nefarious trade up and down the Mississippi. Screening them from suspicion, by placing the onus of their misdeeds upon others, it enabled them to pursue their dangerous vocation with greater security.

That some Mormons practiced thievery was doubtless true,—as true as that some anti-Mormons did,—but the allegation that the Mormon leaders sanctioned such a practice was totally false. On the contrary they denounced it, in public and in private, publishing, in December, 1841, their emphatic denial of the charge of teaching their followers that it was right and proper for them to prey upon "the Philistines." They made examples, too, of such of their community as were convicted of stealing. Two subordinate officers of the Nauvoo Legion, being found guilty of theft, were promptly cashiered and their names stricken from the rank roll.

With the return of the Apostles from Europe, the work of building up Nauvoo and the surrounding stakes was much accelerated. The Nauvoo Temple and the Nauvoo House—the latter designed for the entertainment of strangers—were now progressing favorably; also other edifices and public improvements. What gave the Temple a special impetus about this time was the enunciation by the Prophet of the tenet of baptism for the dead. A Masonic Temple was likewise projected at Nauvoo, and Joseph and Hyrum Smith, Brigham Young and many other leading Mormons became Free Masons.

Joseph Smith's fame was now the property of two hemispheres. He was styled, from his rank as Lieutenant General of the Nauvoo

Legion, "a military prophet," and referred to both in Europe and America as "the Western Mohamet." All sorts of rumors as to his alleged intended conquests, with the sword in one hand and his Koran—the Book of Mormon—in the other, began to fill the air.

Early in 1842 the great journals of the land, which had hitherto ignored or treated lightly the subject of Mormonism, began to send representatives to Nauvoo to write up the question, or solicit from the Prophet contributions to their columns touching that topic, which had become one of the most interesting of the hour. The first of these journals to give the Mormons a fair and full presentation to the public was the New York *Herald*, in which a series of letters appeared over the signature of James Arlington Bennett, of Long Island, who visited Nauvoo to see for himself, and as the representative of James Gordon Bennett, this Mecca and its Mohamet of the West. So pleased were the authorities at Nauvoo with the fair and impartial letters published in the *Herald* that the City Council passed resolutions thanking the editor for his courtesy and liberality, while upon the author of the articles was gratefully conferred the honorary title of Inspector-General of the Nauvoo Legion.

John Wentworth, Esq., proprietor of the Chicago *Democrat*—an influential journal—solicited from the Prophet's pen a concise sketch of his personal history with that of the Church from its inception to the year 1842. The sketch was furnished and published. It contained what are known as the Articles of Faith of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. It stated, among other things, that the Prophet's followers at Nauvoo, were from six to eight thousand souls, with "vast numbers in the county around and in almost every county of the State." Other pens and tongues, of tourists and visitors, praised the hospitality, enterprise, industry, good order and morality of the City Beautiful and its inhabitants.

We have stated that Stephen A. Douglas regarded Joseph Smith as a master spirit. He was not alone in that opinion of the founder of Mormonism. James Arlington Bennett styled him "one of the greatest characters of the age." Josiah Quincy, who, in company

with Charles Francis Adams, senior, was at Nauvoo shortly before the Prophet's death, said of him :

It is by no means improbable that some future textbook, for the use of generations yet unborn, will contain a question something like this : What historical American of the nineteenth century has exerted the most powerful influence upon the destinies of his countrymen ? And it is by no means impossible that the answer to that interrogatory may be thus written : *Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet*. And the reply, absurd as it doubtless seems to most men now living, may be an obvious common-place to their descendants. History deals in surprises and paradoxes quite as startling as this. The man who established a religion in this age of free debate, who was and is today accepted by hundreds of thousands as a direct emissary from the Most High,—such a rare human being is not to be disposed of by pelting his memory with unsavory epithets. Fanatic, imposter, charlatan, he may have been ; but these hard names furnish no solution to the problem he presents to us. Fanatics and impostors are living and dying every day, and their memory is buried with them ; but the wonderful influence which this founder of a religion exerted and still exerts throws him into relief before us, not as a rogue to be criminated, but as a phenomenon to be explained. * * * * *

“ A fine looking man,” continues Mr. Quincy, “ is what the passer-by would instinctively have murmured. But Smith was more than this, and one could not resist the impression that capacity and resource were natural in his stalwart person.”

In May, 1842, the treachery and rascality of a man whom the Mormon leader had befriended and loaded with honors, became known to his benefactor. That man was Dr. John C. Bennett, Mayor of Nauvoo, Chancellor of its University, and Major-General of its Legion. He had become associated with the Saints soon after their exodus from Missouri. Though a great egotist, he was a man of education, address and ability. That he had little or no principle was not immediately apparent. Considerable of a diplomat and possessing some influence in political circles, he rendered valuable aid in securing the passage by the Illinois Legislature of the act incorporating the city of Nauvoo.* Hence the honors bestowed upon

* It was to such men as Senator Little and Judge Douglas that the Mormons were most indebted for the passage of the act. Abraham Lincoln, the future martyr President, then a member of the Illinois Legislature, voted, it is said, for the Nauvoo Charter and congratulated the Mormons on its passage. Lincoln was never an enemy to the Saints, and they much esteemed him.

him by the Mormon people. Prior to that, and subsequently, he was Quartermaster-General of Illinois. Bennett professed great sympathy for the Saints. He joined the Church and apparently was a sincere convert to the faith.

Governor Thomas Ford, in his history of Illinois, styles Bennett "probably the greatest scamp in the western country." But this was not until long after the Mormons, thrice victimized, had become aware of his villainy.

On the 7th of May the Nauvoo Legion, now consisting of twenty-six companies, aggregating two thousand troops, assembled for a grand parade and sham battle, which was witnessed by thousands of spectators. Among the visitors present, as guests of General Joseph Smith, were Judge Stephen A. Douglas and other legal lights, who had adjourned the circuit court at Carthage in order to attend the Mormon military review. Wilson Law and Charles C. Rich,—the latter successor to Don Carlos Smith, deceased,—were the Brigadier-Generals of the Legion. As such, it devolved upon them to lead the two cohorts in the battle. For some reason, however, Major-General Bennett tried hard to induce the Prophet to take part in the fight and lead one of the cohorts. Suspecting Bennett's motive, General Smith declined, and subsequently recorded his impression that the purpose was to have him treacherously slain, in such a way that none but the guilty might know who did the deed.

Bennett's after course gave color to the Prophet's suspicion. The same month he was convicted of seduction,—a crime which seems to have been common with him,—and expelled from the Mormon Church. He was also deprived of the various offices given him by the people of Nauvoo. Joseph Smith succeeded him as Mayor, Orson Spencer as Chancellor of the University, and Wilson Law as Major-General of the Legion.

Bennett, to subserve his licentious practices, had secretly taught that the Prophet sanctioned illicit relations between the sexes. Professing deep contrition after his exposure, he voluntarily went before Alderman Daniel H. Wells and made oath to the effect that Joseph

Smith had never taught him anything contrary to virtue and morality, and that so far as he knew the Prophet's private life was above reproach. These statements he repeated in public meetings. Finding, however, that he had become morally bankrupt in the eyes of the community, and could not, even if forgiven, regain their confidence, he withdrew from Nauvoo and joined the anti-Mormons.

He now repeated his former tale of Joseph Smith's licentious teachings and practices, claiming that his denial of the charge had been forced from him by threats of violence. He revived the story of the Danites, originated by Dr. Avarad at Far West. Bennett declared that these "Avenging Angels," were following him to take his life, as they had previously taken other lives at the Prophet's command. He also wrote and published a book against Mormonism, and devoted himself assiduously to the task of bringing trouble upon his former friends. The more intelligent and reputable anti-Mormons despised Bennett and distrusted his story, but others believed and made use of it, and prejudice against the Saints increased correspondingly.* During August the Prophet sent out the Apostles and a large number of Elders to preach in the country round and refute the vile slanders of this vengeful apostate.

Coming events now cast their solemn shadows before. The Prophet foresaw the inevitable. He more than once had hinted at his own death, and, as seen, had singled out intuitively his successor. To him a mighty destiny was opening for his people, but the far West, and not the East, nor even the intermediary region was the fated arena of Mormonism's immediate future. On Saturday, August 6th, 1842, at Montrose, Lee County, Iowa, he uttered in the presence of several friends a prediction, recorded in his own words as follows:

"I prophesied that the Saints would continue to suffer much affliction, and would be driven to the Rocky Mountains. Many would

* Governor Carlin being informed by Joseph Smith of Bennett's conduct at Nauvoo, replied, "Bennett's meanness is in accordance with representations of his character made to me more than two years since, and which I felt constrained to believe were true, since which time I have desired to have as little intercourse with him as possible."

apostatize; others would be put to death by our persecutors, or lose their lives in consequence of exposure or disease; and some would live to go and assist in making settlements and building cities, and see the Saints become a mighty people in the midst of the Rocky Mountains.”

CHAPTER XII.

1842-1843.

AGAIN IN THE TOILS—JOSEPH SMITH AND PORTER ROCKWELL ARRESTED, CHARGED WITH ATTEMPTED MURDER—EX-GOVERNOR BOGGS OF MISSOURI THE ALLEGED VICTIM—HOW THE DEED WAS DONE—THE PRISONERS RELEASED BY HABEAS CORPUS—THEY EVADE RE-ARREST—ROCKWELL KIDNAPPED AND CARRIED TO MISSOURI—GOVERNOR FORD SUCCEEDS GOVERNOR CARLIN—THE PROPHET SUBMITS TO A JUDICIAL INVESTIGATION—JUDGE POPE—THE MORMON LEADER AGAIN LIBERATED—ANOTHER REQUISITION—JOSEPH SMITH KIDNAPPED—HIS RESCUE AND RELEASE—ANTI-MORMON DEPREDACTIONS AROUND NAUVOO.

✠ TWO days after the delivery of the foregoing prediction the Prophet was again arrested. He was charged this time with being an accessory to an attempt to murder. The alleged victim was no other than Lilburn W. Boggs, ex-Governor of Missouri, who, on the night of May 6th, 1842, at his home in Independence, Jackson County, in that State, had indeed been shot and dangerously wounded by some person or persons unknown.

Lying near an open window in a pool of blood, with a ghastly wound in his head, the ex-Governor had been found by his little son, soon after the shooting. Footprints and a smoking pistol on the ground outside afforded the only clue to the perpetrator of the deed. Suspicion, however, at once rested upon the Mormons, whom Boggs had so persistently persecuted while in power, and without further ado the crime was laid at their door. It was said that Joseph Smith had predicted a violent death for Governor Boggs, and lo! here was an attempt at fulfillment. Could anything be plainer? The proof was positive—positive enough to suit the Missourians, eager for any excuse to get the Mormon leader back into their power—that he was in some way connected with the commission of the crime.

It was not contended that he had committed the assault in person.

The Missourians soon learned that Joseph Smith, if so accused, could prove an *alibi*. The date of the assault was just one day prior to the grand parade and sham battle at Nauvoo, already mentioned, and the distance between that place and Independence was at least two hundred miles; in those days a full week's journey. Besides it was pretty generally known that the Prophet had not been in Missouri since his escape from captivity in that State in the spring of 1839. But then he might have sent a "Danite"—say Porter Rockwell, or some "avenging angel,"—to do the deed of blood, after which the assassin had made good his escape. So reasoned among themselves the Missourians.

It was useless after that for Joseph Smith to deny—as he did—having ever made such a prediction about ex-Governor Boggs. Useless, also, that he denied sending Porter Rockwell, or anyone else into Missouri for such a purpose; or that Rockwell had been in that State during the year 1842. Such denials availed nothing. Suspicion had already decided his guilt. Neither would evidence the most conclusive now clear him. Were not the Mormons all falsifiers? Had they not slandered Missouri and rendered her name odious by declaring that she had persecuted them for their religious opinions? Here was a rare chance for revenge. The hated Prophet had lain himself liable, or had been laid liable to fall back into their power. Let them once but "get him on the hip," and they would "feed fat the ancient grudge" they bore him.

Boggs himself shared, or professed to share, in the general opinion regarding the Mormon leader's complicity in the crime. As soon, therefore, as he had recovered from his well-nigh fatal wound, and he and his friends had had time to mature their plans, he went before a justice of the peace—Samuel Weston—and swore out a complaint charging "Joseph Smith, commonly called the Mormon Prophet," with being "an accessory before the fact of the intended murder." The affidavit stated that "the said Joseph Smith" was "a citizen or resident of the State of Illinois."

Upon this complaint, application was made to the Governor of

Missouri, Thomas Reynolds, for the issuance of a writ demanding Joseph Smith of the authorities of Illinois. Governor Reynolds promptly responded, issuing the desired requisition. The writ, however, instead of following the language of the affidavit, described Joseph Smith, not as "a citizen or resident of the State of Illinois," but as a "fugitive from justice" who had "fled to the State of Illinois." It also went beyond the affidavit in stating that the assault was "made by one O. P. Rockwell," whose name, it appears, had been left out of the original complaint.

Governor Carlin, on receiving the requisition from Missouri, issued a warrant for Joseph Smith's arrest, stating therein—if Governor Ford's duplicate warrant upon which the case finally came up for trial was an exact copy of the original—that it had been "made known" to him "by the Executive authority of the State of Missouri, that one Joseph Smith stands charged by the affidavit of one Lilburn W. Boggs * * with being accessory before the fact to an assault with intent to kill, made by one O. P. Rockwell," etc., "and that the said Joseph Smith had fled from the justice of said State and taken refuge in the State of Illinois." Thus Carlin not only repeated the mis-statements of Governor Reynolds, but added one of his own, in saying that the Executive of Missouri had informed him that "Joseph Smith had fled from the justice of said State." It was these discrepancies between the Boggs affidavit and the writs of the two governors ostensibly based thereon, together with the insufficiency of the affidavit, that proved the mouse to gnaw the net and set the lion free.

The glaring illegality of the whole proceeding is further shown in the fact that an attempt was here made to transport to Missouri for trial a citizen of the State of Illinois, for an offense committed—if committed at all—in Illinois. Joseph Smith was not charged with assaulting ex-Governor Boggs, but with sending O. P. Rockwell from Illinois to Missouri for that purpose. Rockwell, on a proper showing, might indeed have been lawfully tried in Missouri; but not Joseph Smith, whose alleged offense was against the laws of Illinois.

Whether the two governors erred blindly or wilfully in the parts played by them in this legal burlesque, we know not. The probability is that Reynolds, perceiving the weakness of the affidavit, purposely overstated its contents in order to insure the success of the undertaking. Carlin, on his part, was either a co-conspirator with Reynolds, or, to give him the benefit of the doubt, ignorant or careless as to the outcome.

Anyway, Joseph Smith and Orrin Porter Rockwell were both arrested by the deputy sheriff of Adams County, at Nauvoo, on the 8th of August. Immediately after their arrest they obtained a writ of *habeas corpus*, and were discharged after a hearing before the Municipal Court of Nauvoo. The deputy sheriff and his assistants denied the jurisdiction of the Nauvoo Court, but leaving the prisoners, they returned to Governor Carlin for further instructions. Two days later they reappeared, having been instructed to "re-arrest at all hazards." But the persons wanted were nowhere to be found.

The authority under which the Municipal Court acted in discharging the prisoners was the following ordinance passed by the City Council on the day of the arrest :

An Ordinance regulating the mode of proceeding in cases of *habeas corpus* before the Municipal Court:

Sec. 1. Be it ordained by the City Council of the City of Nauvoo, That in all cases where any person or persons shall at any time hereafter be arrested or under arrest, in this city, under any writ or process, and shall be brought before the Municipal Court of this city, by virtue of a writ of *habeas corpus*, the Court shall in every case have power and authority, and are hereby required to examine into the origin, validity and legality of the writ or process, under which such arrest was made ; and if it shall appear to the Court upon sufficient testimony, that said writ or process was illegal, or not legally issued, or did not proceed from the proper authority, then the Court shall discharge the prisoner from under said arrest ; but if it shall appear to the Court that said writ or process had issued from proper authority, and was a legal process, the Court shall then proceed and fully hear the merits of the case upon which said arrest was made, upon such evidence as may be produced and sworn before said Court ; and shall have power to adjourn the hearing, and also issue process from time to time, in their discretion, in order to procure the attendance of witnesses, so that a fair and impartial trial and decision may be obtained in every case.

Sec. 2. And be it further ordained, That if upon investigation it shall be proven before the Municipal Court that the writ or process has been issued either through private pique,

malicious intent, religious or other persecution, falsehood or misrepresentation, contrary to the Constitution of the United States or of this State, the said writ or process shall be quashed, and considered of no force or effect, and the prisoner or prisoners shall be released and discharged therefrom.

Sec. 3. And be it also further ordained, That in the absence, sickness, debility or other circumstances disqualifying or preventing the Mayor from officiating in his office, as Chief Justice of the Municipal Court, the Aldermen present shall appoint one from amongst them to act as Chief Justice or President *pro tempore*.

Sec. 4. This ordinance to take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

HYRUM SMITH,

Vice-Mayor and President *pro tempore*.

Passed August 8, 1842.

JAMES SLOAN, Recorder.

The Prophet, who was determined not to be taken back to Missouri, now retired for several weeks, concealing himself in the homes of trusted friends at and near Nauvoo. Rockwell, equally averse to being taken, absented himself for some months, during which he traveled to the eastern states. Returning thence and visiting St. Louis, he was captured and carried in chains to Jackson County. Nothing being proven against him, he was eventually set free and made his way back to Illinois.

The most strenuous efforts were put forth for the capture of the Prophet, but without avail. Besides the regular officers, John C. Bennett and others were in the field, seeking to kidnap and carry him to Missouri. Such an event, however, was not destined to be. The fates had not decreed his return to his former captivity.

From his secret retreat he sent forth epistles from time to time relative to the administration of the affairs of his various offices. In one of these, addressed to the Major-General of the Nauvoo Legion, he expressed his desires for peace and the supremacy of the law, but declared his determination to submit no more to mob violence and tyranny. Appeals were successively made to Governor Carlin by the Prophet, his wife Emma, and the ladies of the Nauvoo Relief Society, a benevolent institution that Joseph Smith had founded.* But all to no purpose. The Governor apparently was hand-and-

* The forerunner of the great Relief Society system now flourishing in Utah.

glove with the anti-Mormons, who were doing all in their power to foment trouble and bring affairs to a bloody crisis. Carlin insisted that Joseph give himself up to the officers. This the Prophet refused to do, as his friends feared his assassination or kidnapping.

Joseph Smith, as repeatedly averred, was no coward; but neither did he court death, nor a repetition of his experience in a Missouri dungeon. It would have been eminently characteristic of him,—for his was truly a martial spirit,—to have taken the field with his legion and fought like a lion to the death rather than tamely submit to what he had endured, or was now enduring. But other considerations restrained him. Because he declined to surrender himself, he was represented as being with his people in an attitude of defiance to the laws. Public feeling ran high against him, and men were daily offering their services to Governor Carlin to arm and march upon Nauvoo.

Meantime, the State election had come round. Joseph Duncan, an ex-Governor of Illinois, was put forward by the Whigs for re-election. The Democrats nominated Adam W. Snyder for Governor, but he dying, Judge Thomas Ford became a candidate in his stead. Duncan was regarded as a brave and able man, and under ordinary conditions might have been elected. But he was an anti-Mormon, and took the stump against the Saints, expecting, it is said, to be elected on that issue. This solidified the Mormon vote against him, and in favor of his opponent. The result was the election of Thomas Ford as Governor of Illinois. At the same time William Smith, the Prophet's brother, was chosen a representative from Hancock County to the Legislature. Jacob C. Davis—of whom more anon—was elected a state senator.

The Whigs were very angry at the outcome, and the papers of that party now teemed with accounts of the alleged iniquities of the Mormons at Nauvoo, and severely took to task the Democrats for deigning to accept support from the Prophet and his followers.

About the 1st of October Governor Carlin made public proclamation offering a reward of four hundred dollars for the persons of

Joseph Smith and Orrin Porter Rockwell. At the same time Governor Reynolds of Missouri increased his standing offer of a much larger sum for their capture.

In December, 1842, Carlin's term of office expired, and he was succeeded by Governor Ford. The new executive was reputed as a well-meaning man, though not a strong official; possessing some ability, but liable to be swayed from his convictions by the opinions of others. In his inaugural address to the Legislature, Ford recommended that the Charter of Nauvoo, as it was objectionable to other citizens of the State, be modified and restricted. This caused the Whigs to exult over the Mormons and ask them ironically what they thought of their democratic Governor.

Immediately after Governor Ford's installation, the Mormon leader, still in exile, appealed to him to recall the writs and proclamation of his predecessor. The case was fully presented to Ford by Justin Butterfield, Esq., the United States District Attorney. He, in common with several of the Judges of the Supreme Court, held that Carlin's writs were illegal. Ford, though sharing the same opinion, deemed it impolitic to interfere with the acts of his predecessor. He therefore advised the Prophet to submit his case to a judicial investigation.

This the latter finally concluded to do. Accordingly, on the 26th of December, he allowed himself to be arrested by General Wilson Law, and on the day following, in company with Hyrum Smith, John Taylor, Willard Richards and others, he set out for Springfield, the State capital. There, on the 4th of January, 1843, occurred his celebrated trial before Judge Pope, which resulted in his again being set at liberty.

The original warrant issued by Governor Carlin not being at hand, it was duplicated for the purpose of this trial by his successor. Judge Pope granted a writ of *habeas corpus*, and the case was argued by Josiah Lamborn, Attorney-General of Illinois, for the prosecution, and by Justin Butterfield, Esq., for the defense. The Judge gave as the grounds for his decision in the prisoner's favor the

insufficiency of the Boggs affidavit and the mis-recitals and overstatements in the documents of the two Governors. This decision rendered void the proclamation as well as the writs issued against the Prophet, and he was once more a free man.

He now enjoyed a brief season of peace. On the 6th of February, 1843, recurred the city election of Nauvoo. The officers chosen for the ensuing two years were: Joseph Smith, Mayor; Orson Spencer, Daniel H. Wells, George A. Smith and Stephen Markham, Aldermen; Hyrum Smith, John Taylor, Orson Hyde, Orson Pratt, Sylvester Emmons, Heber C. Kimball, Benjamin Warrington, Daniel Spencer and Brigham Young, Councilors. Liberality without extravagance in public officials, the establishment of markets, and the regulation of prices to protect the poor against avarice and monopoly, were among the measures proposed by Mayor Smith to the new council.

On the 25th of March the Mayor issued the following proclamation:

Whereas it is reported that there now exists a band of desperadoes, bound by oaths of secrecy, under severe penalties in case any number of the combination divulges their plans of stealing and conveying properties from station to station up and down the Mississippi and other routes: And

Whereas it is reported that the fear of the execution of the pains and penalties of their secret oaths on their persons prevents some members of said secret association (who have, through falsehood and deceit, been drawn into their snares,) from divulging the same to the legally-constituted authorities of the land:

Know ye, therefore, that I, Joseph Smith, Mayor of the city of Nauvoo, will grant and insure protection against all personal mob violence to each and every citizen of this city who will come before me and truly make known the names of all such abominable characters as are engaged in said secret combination for stealing, or are accessory thereto in any manner. And I respectfully solicit the co-operation of all ministers of justice in this and the neighboring states to ferret out a band of thievish outlaws from our midst.

Immigration continued pouring in at Nauvoo. On the 12th of April two large companies, led by Parley P. Pratt, Lorenzo Snow and Levi Richards, landed there. Among these arrivals were the Cannon family from Liverpool. They had crossed the sea in the fall of 1842, but were ice-bound at St Louis, and had there spent the winter.

Mrs. Cannon, the mother, had died and been buried at sea. The father, George Cannon, with his sons, George Q., Angus M., David H. and three daughters, reached their destination in safety.

Another attempt, the final one, was now made to drag the Mormon leader back to Missouri. The charge this time was treason—treason against that State—a reiteration of the old charge upon which the Prophet had once suffered imprisonment. John C. Bennett was at the bottom of this new attempt upon the liberty and life of his former friend, and Samuel C. Owens and others in Jackson County assisted in the scheme. Governor Reynolds issued his writ, Governor Ford his warrant, and the ball was thus set rolling. Sheriff J. H. Reynolds of Jackson County was Missouri's officer to receive the prisoner, and Harmon T. Wilson of Carthage, Hancock County, the person authorized to make the arrest.

Late in June, 1843, they set out upon their errand. Learning that the Prophet was visiting with his wife at a Mrs. Wasson's—Emma Smith's sister—near Dixon, Lee County, Illinois, the two officers proceeded thither, passing themselves off as Mormon Elders. Arriving at Mrs. Wasson's, they inquired for "Brother Joseph." On his appearing, they covered him with cocked pistols, threatened him with death if he resisted, hurried him into a vehicle and were about to drive away. Stephen Markham, who was present, protested against this lawlessness,—Reynolds and Wilson having shown no warrant for their act,—but they threatened his life also and drove away with their prisoner toward Dixon. They compelled him to sit between them, and all along continued to threaten him, punching his sides with their pistols. The pain from these assaults was so excruciating that the Prophet finally begged them to cease torturing and kill him outright, whereupon they modified their abusive treatment.

Meanwhile Stephen Markham, mounting a horse, preceded the party to Dixon, where he secured legal counsel for his friend. Reynolds and Wilson, on their arrival, at first refused to allow the prisoner to confer with his attorneys, but finding the citizens of

Dixon opposed to them, demanding that their brutality cease, they finally consented.*

A writ of *habeas corpus* was obtained for the Prophet, returnable before Judge Caton, at Ottawa, but he being absent another writ was secured, returnable before the nearest tribunal in the fifth judicial district authorized to hear and determine writs of *habeas corpus*. This district included Quincy and Nauvoo. Reynolds and Wilson, who were now themselves under arrest for abuse, threatening and false imprisonment, obtained a writ of *habeas corpus*, made returnable before Judge Young at Quincy. Toward that place the whole party now proceeded, in charge of Sheriff Campbell, of Lee County.

Meeting a party of his friends from Nauvoo,—for the city had been alarmed and the whole surrounding region was being scoured by the Mormons in quest of their leader,—the Prophet asked permission of the sheriff to go to Nauvoo, instead of to Quincy, where he feared treachery. The attorneys present, one of whom was Cyrus Walker, Esq., giving it as their opinion that the hearing might legally be held there, the sheriff consented and to Nauvoo they went accordingly. Reynolds and Wilson fiercely protested against this change in the program, probably fearing violence at the hands of the Mormon citizens. The Prophet, however, took them to his own home and seated them at the head of his own table, thus heaping upon them, in a scriptural sense, “coals of fire.” They were not in the least molested, but treated kindly by all.

A hearing before the Municipal Court followed,—the Prophet's case coming up on its merits,—and the defendant was again discharged. Reynolds and Wilson, denying the court's jurisdiction, applied to Governor Ford for the use of the militia to re-take their prisoner, but His Excellency, being fully informed of the matter, refused the request, and Sheriff Reynolds returned crest-fallen to Missouri.

* It is said that the Prophet, on being taken to the Dixon hotel, found a Masonic friend in the landlord, who rendered him timely succor.

Why he and his confrere Wilson,—against whom the prosecution for false imprisonment, etc., seems to have been dropped,—failed to show their warrant at the time of the Prophet's arrest, and acted, instead of as officers, in the role of kidnappers, has never been satisfactorily explained. Possibly kidnapping was their purpose, and not anticipating the intervention of officers and courts, they deemed the warrant superfluous and unnecessary.

Another election occurred. Cyrus Walker was the Whig candidate, and Joseph P. Hoge the Democratic candidate for Congress, from the district of which Hancock County was a part. The Whigs, it seems, had been counting upon, and fully expected to receive the Mormon vote; notwithstanding their former criticism of the Democrats for condescending to accept it. What gave the Whigs hope of securing it at this election was the fact that Mr. Walker, their candidate, had defended the Mormon leader in his latest legal difficulty and rescued him from the clutches of the would-be kidnappers, Reynolds and Wilson. Judge Pope, whose decision in January had liberated the Prophet, was also a Whig, as was Mr. Browning, the eloquent champion of the prisoner's cause on that occasion. These considerations, it was thought, would be of sufficient weight to turn the majority of the Saints in favor of Mr. Walker.

The Mormons, however, or the majority of them, stood by their democratic principles, and cast their ballots for Mr. Hoge; while a minority, including the Prophet, being Whigs, voted for Mr. Walker.* Hoge was elected by a majority in the district of 455 votes.

The Whigs were now angry again; not only at the Mormons, for failing to solidify in favor of Mr. Walker, but also at the Democrats, for again accepting Mormon assistance.

It is not at all clear, however, that the Mormons were responsible for the defeat of Mr. Walker at this election. Many of the Whigs, being sincere anti-Mormons, were "highly indignant" at

* The Mormons in Adams County, being Whigs, voted at this election for Mr. O. H. Browning, the party candidate in that district.

their candidate for defending the Prophet in the Reynolds and Wilson affair.* It is not improbable, therefore, that the dissatisfied ones repudiated him at the polls. Still it cannot be doubted that this exhibition of anti-Mormon animus on the part of the Whigs was not likely to attract Mormon votes, and it may have accounted in part for the large majority rolled up at Nauvoo for the democratic candidate.

Naturally the Whigs were angry, but they ought not to have been surprised. After denouncing the Democrats for receiving on a former occasion Mormon support, and filling their journals with accounts of alleged Mormon atrocities at Nauvoo, they should have been prepared for what awaited them. A little queer, too, that the fox, having once pronounced the grapes sour, should make another desperate attempt to taste them, and be angry because they were still out of reach. It beats the original fable. But such is politics.

Jealousy of the political power of the Mormons was now much enhanced. In August, several of them, chosen for county offices at the late election, proceeded to Carthage, the county seat of Hancock, to qualify. They were there threatened by an armed mob, led by Constable Harmon T. Wilson, who swore that they should not be installed. The Mormons, however, filed their bonds and took the required oaths of office, while their opponents were deliberating upon how best to prevent them.

The anti-Mormon party, which for some time had been discontinued, was now reorganized, with "war to the knife"—figuratively speaking—as its motto. Not altogether figurative, either, was that motto, if what followed may be taken as a criterion. The party pledged itself to assist Missouri in any future attempt that she might make against the Mormon leader.

Nor was this all. Mobs began attacking and burning Mormon houses outside Nauvoo, and even threatened to come against the city. Governor Ford being appealed to for protection, answered much in

* Gregg's History of Hancock County, page 295.

the same vein as President Van Buren when visited by the Prophet on a former occasion. "You must defend yourselves," was the inference drawn from Ford's reply. The Nauvoo Legion was therefore held in constant readiness to repel any mobocratic assault that might be made upon the city or the surrounding settlements.

CHAPTER XIII.

1843-1844.

CELESTIAL MARRIAGE—WHY THE MORMONS PRACTICED POLYGAMY—THE PROPHET AND THE POLITICIANS—JOSEPH SMITH A CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES—HIS PLATFORM OF PRINCIPLES—PLANNING THE WESTERN EXODUS—THE LAWS, FOSTERS, AND HIGBEES EXCOMMUNICATED—THE “EXPOSITOR” ABATEMENT—ARREST OF THE MAYOR AND CITY COUNCIL OF NAUVOO—A GATHERING STORM—NAUVOO UNDER MARTIAL LAW—GOVERNOR FORD DEMANDS THE SURRENDER OF THE MORMON LEADERS—THE PROPHET AND HIS FRIENDS START FOR THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS—THE RETURN—THE SURRENDER—CARTHAGE JAIL—MURDER OF THE PROPHET AND PATRIARCH.

THE question has probably occurred to the reader, was there really any ground for the charges of immorality and licentiousness hurled against the Mormon leaders by their enemies, personal, political and ecclesiastical. What of John C. Bennett's story to the effect that Joseph Smith sanctioned illicit relations between the sexes? Was the tale true or false? We propose to answer these queries.

First let us ask if it seems consistent,—except upon the theory that the Mormon leaders were double-dyed hypocrites, arrant knaves, who were wont to sacrifice on occasion one of their own number in order to throw a halo of virtue around the rest,—that such men as John C. Bennett, D. P. Hurlburt and others, expelled from the Mormon Church for unchastity, would have been so expelled if unchastity had been sanctioned by that Church or those leaders? Again, where **was** their cunning, that shrewdness for which their enemies gave them credit, to have thus alienated from their cause for such a purpose—their own preservation—men fully cognizant of their crimes?

Reader, the Latter-day Saints, with all their faults—for they have never pretended to be perfect—are a chaste and virtuous people. We speak of course of the generality of them. There are black sheep in

every fold. No community on earth values virtue more highly. They require chastity in man, as well as in woman, and next in enormity to murder, in their minds and according to their doctrines, are the sins of seduction and adultery. Had they their way the adulterer and the seducer, no less than the murderer, should answer for his crime with his life. Those who do not know this, do not know the Latter-day Saints, and they who state to the contrary simply state what is not true.

Then why so much talk about Mormon immorality? It springs, aside from sheer falsehood, from this fact. The Mormons believed in a doctrine called by them Celestial Marriage, but by others named polygamy. Whatever may be thought of the propriety of the former term, the latter, strictly speaking, is a misnomer. Polygamy means "many marriages," and may imply a plurality of husbands as well as wives. That a woman should have more than one husband, living and undivorced at the same time, the Mormons have never believed, but that a man, upright and moral, might under proper regulations, and in conformity with religious principle, have more than one wife, they have believed and in times past have practiced according to that belief. Polygeny, meaning "many wives," and not polygamy, which may mean "many husbands," is a more correct term to use in this connection.

With the Mormons this was a religious principle,—a tenet of their faith. They ceased its practice after nearly half a century's observance, because of a manifesto issued by the President of their Church, indicating as the will of the Lord that it should be discontinued. Congress had previously passed laws against plural marriage, making it a crime, and the Supreme Court of the United States had declared those laws constitutional. Not immediately, however, did the Mormons cease the practice of polygamy. They thought that Congress was wrong in thus legislating against their religion; that the Supreme Court was wrong, and might yet see its error, as it did in the Dred Scott case, and reversing its former ruling declare the anti-polygamy laws unconstitutional. But finally, after

much suffering, resulting from prosecutions, fines, imprisonments and some deaths, the manifesto was issued and the practice of Mormon polygamy was at an end.

Many, perhaps most of the Latter-day Saints, still believe in the plural-wife doctrine,—there being no law against their belief,—and consider that the former practice of the principle was eminently right and proper. Some, however, disbelieve the doctrine, while crediting those who accepted and practiced it with perfect sincerity. Only a small percentage of the Mormon people were ever practical polygamists, for the observance of the principle was not compulsory. But those who engaged in it—most of them at least—were actuated by high moral and religious motives. This, however difficult for some to believe, is nevertheless true. Their honesty of purpose was not questioned by those who knew them best, in or out of the Church. They proved their sincerity in many ways, suffering much as individuals and as a community rather than relinquish, even at the behest of the parent government, this tenet of their faith.

They were wont to give various reasons for the practice of this principle, among them the following: the right and privilege of every honorable woman to be a wife and mother, which in monogamy, under existing conditions, preponderance of women over men, disinclination of men to marry, etc., was virtually denied: the extirpation of the social evil; the production of a healthier posterity, and the physical, mental and moral improvement of the race. These were among the temporal or tangible reasons put forth. But they also believed, and this was the spiritual phase of the question, that those who faithfully obeyed this principle here would be exalted to the highest glory hereafter, as the ancient patriarchs, Abraham, Jacob, *et al*, and their plural wives had been. It was to the Latter-day Saints the key to the Celestial Kingdom, where, according to their faith, family relationships formed on earth according to divine law will be perpetuated. Hence the revelation enjoining Celestial Marriage was entitled: “Revelation on the Eternity of the Marriage

Covenant including Plurality of Wives." The more pertinent parts of it are here given :

Verily, thus saith the Lord unto you, my servant Joseph, that inasmuch as you have inquired of my hand, to know and understand wherein I, the Lord, justified my servants Abraham, Isaac and Jacob ; as also Moses, David and Solomon, my servants, as touching the principle and doctrine of their having many wives and concubines :

Behold ! and lo, I am the Lord thy God, and will answer thee as touching this matter :

Therefore, prepare thy heart to receive and obey the instructions which I am about to give unto you ; for all those who have this law revealed unto them must obey the same ;

For behold ! I reveal unto you a new and an everlasting covenant ; and if ye abide not that covenant, then are ye damned ; for no one can reject this covenant, and be permitted to enter into my glory ;

For all who will have a blessing at my hands, shall abide the law which was appointed for that blessing, and the conditions thereof, as were instituted from before the foundation of the world :

And as pertaining to the new and everlasting covenant, it was instituted for the fullness of my glory ; and he that receiveth a fullness thereof, must and shall abide the law, or he shall be damned, saith the Lord God.

And verily I say unto you, that the conditions of this law are these :—All covenants, contracts, bonds, obligations, oaths, vows, performances, connections, associations, or expectations, that are not made, and entered into, and sealed, by the Holy Spirit of promise, of him who is anointed, both as well for time and for all eternity, and that too most holy, by revelation and commandment through the medium of mine anointed, whom I have appointed on the earth to hold this power, (and I have appointed unto my servant Joseph to hold this power in the last days, and there is never but one on the earth at a time, on whom this power and the keys of this Priesthood are conferred), are of no efficacy, virtue or force, in and after the resurrection from the dead ; for all contracts that are not made unto this end, have an end when men are dead.

* * * * *

Therefore, if a man marry him a wife in the world, and he marry her not by me, nor by my word ; and he covenant with her so long as he is in the world, and she with him, their covenant and marriage are not of force when they are dead, and when they are out of the world ; therefore, they are not bound by any law when they are out of the world ;

Therefore, when they are out of the world, they neither marry, nor are given in marriage ; but are appointed angels in heaven, which angels are ministering servants, to minister for those who are worthy of a far more, and an exceeding and an eternal weight of glory ;

For these angels did not abide my law, therefore they cannot be enlarged, but remain separately and singly, without exaltation, in their saved condition, to all eternity, and from henceforth are not Gods, but are angels of God, for ever and ever.

And again, verily I say unto you, if a man marry a wife, and make a covenant with

her for time and for all eternity, if that covenant is not by me, or by my word, which is my law, and is not sealed by the holy spirit of promise, through him whom I have anointed and appointed unto this power—then it is not valid, neither of force when they are out of the world, because they are not joined by me, saith the Lord, neither by my word; when they are out of the world, it cannot be received there, because the angels and the Gods are appointed there; by whom they cannot pass; they cannot, therefore, inherit my glory, for my house is a house of order, saith the Lord God.

And again, verily I say unto you, if a man marry a wife by my word, which is my law, and by the new and everlasting covenant, and it is sealed unto them by the Holy Spirit of promise, by him who is anointed, unto whom I have appointed this power, and the keys of this Priesthood; and it shall be said unto them, ye shall come forth in the first resurrection; and if it be after the first resurrection, in the next resurrection; and shall inherit thrones, kingdoms, principalities, and powers, dominions, all heights and depths—then shall it be written in the Lamb's Book of Life, that he shall commit no murder whereby to shed innocent blood, and if ye abide in my covenant, and commit no murder whereby to shed innocent blood, it shall be done unto them in all things whatsoever my servant hath put upon them, in time, and through all eternity, and shall be of full force when they are out of the world; and they shall pass by the angels, and the Gods, which are set there, to their exaltation and glory in all things, as hath been sealed upon their heads, which glory shall be a fullness and a continuation of the seeds for ever and ever.

Then shall they be Gods, because they have no end; therefore shall they be from everlasting to everlasting, because they continue; then shall they be above all, because all things are subject unto them. Then shall they be Gods, because they have all power, and the angels are subject unto them.

* * * * *

I am the Lord thy God, and will give unto thee the law of my Holy Priesthood, as was ordained by me, and my Father, before the world was.

Abraham received all things, whatsoever he received, by revelation and commandment, by my word, saith the Lord, and hath entered into his exaltation, and sitteth upon his throne.

Abraham received promises concerning his seed, and of the fruit of his loins—from whose loins ye are, namely, my servant Joseph,—which were to continue so long as they were in the world; and as touching Abraham and his seed, out of the world they should continue; both in the world and out of the world should they continue as innumerable as the stars; or, if ye were to count the sand upon the sea shore, ye could not number them.

This promise is yours, also, because ye are of Abraham, and the promise was made unto Abraham; and by this law are the continuation of the works of my Father, wherein he glorifieth himself.

Go ye, therefore and do the works of Abraham; enter ye into my law, and ye shall be saved.

But if ye enter not into my law ye cannot receive the promise of my Father, which he made unto Abraham.

God commanded Abraham, and Sarah gave Hagar to Abraham to wife. And why

did she do it ? Because this was the law, and from Hagar sprang many people. This, therefore, was fulfilling, among other things, the promises.

Was Abraham, therefore, under condemnation ? Verily, I say unto you, Nay ; for I, the Lord, commanded it.

Abraham was commanded to offer his son Isaac ; nevertheless, it was written, thou shalt not kill. Abraham, however, did not refuse, and it was accounted unto him for righteousness.

Abraham received concubines, and they bear him children, and it was accounted unto him for righteousness, because they were given unto him, and he abode in my law, as Isaac also, and Jacob did none other things than that which they were commanded ; and because they did none other things than that which they were commanded, they have entered into their exaltation, according to the promises, and sit upon thrones, and are not angels, but are Gods.

David also received many wives and concubines, as also Solomon and Moses my servants ; as also many others of my servants, from the beginning of creation until this time ; and in nothing did they sin save in those things which they received not of me.

David's wives and concubines were given unto him, of me, by the hand of Nathan, my servant, and others of the prophets who had the keys of this power ; and in none of these things did he sin against me, save in the case of Uriah and his wife ; and, therefore he hath fallen from his exaltation, and received his portion ; and he shall not inherit them out of the world ; for I gave them unto another, saith the Lord.

I am the Lord thy God, and I gave unto thee, my servant Joseph, an appointment, and restore all things ; ask what ye will, and it shall be given unto you according to my word :

And as ye have asked concerning adultery—verily, verily I say unto you, if a man receiveth a wife in the new and everlasting covenant, and if she be with another man, and I have not appointed unto her by the holy anointing, she hath committed adultery, and shall be destroyed.

If she be not in the new and everlasting covenant, and she be with another man, she has committed adultery ;

And if her husband be with another woman, and he was under a vow, he hath broken his vow, and hath committed adultery.

* * * * *

And again, as pertaining to the law of the Priesthood : If any man espouse a virgin, and desire to espouse another, and the first give her consent ; and if he espouse the second, and they are virgins, and have vowed to no other man, then is he justified ; he cannot commit adultery, for they are given unto him ; for he cannot commit adultery with that that belongeth unto him and to no one else ;

And if he have ten virgins given unto him by this law, he cannot commit adultery, for they belong to him, and they are given unto him, therefore is he justified.

But if one or either of the ten virgins, after she is espoused, shall be with another man ; she has committed adultery, and shall be destroyed ; for they are given unto him to multiply and replenish the earth, according to my commandment, and to fulfill the promise which was given by my Father before the foundation of the world ; and for their exaltation in the eternal worlds, that they may bear the souls of men ; for herein is the work of my Father continued, that he may be glorified.

Prior to the recording of this revelation the Prophet had taught the doctrine, privately, and he and other prominent Elders had practiced it. But this also was in secret, owing to the great prejudice it was foreseen it would evoke. It was not avowed, even to the masses of the Saints, until after their removal from Illinois.

Such a doctrine as plurality of wives—the patriarchal marriage system of the ancients—though practiced by an Abraham, a Jacob, a Moses, a Gideon, could not well be mooted, much less established in this monogamic age, without meeting opposition, even among the Saints, prepared in a measure by their peculiar religious training for startling innovations on the prescribed boundaries of tradition. Hence, as said, the secrecy with which it was at first carried on. It would have proved a terrible weapon in anti-Mormon hands, had it been openly proclaimed at Nauvoo in those dangerous days.

As it was, it became known to some extent on the outside through apostasy, and of course was deemed and denounced as immoral. John C. Bennett obtained an inkling of it before leaving Nauvoo, and it doubtless formed the basis of his vengeful assault upon those who had severed him from the Church for adultery, which to the Latter-day Saint differs as much from plural marriage as darkness differs from light. Other seceders from Mormonism, who fell away later, revamped the tales told by Bennett, until they became with other things a *casus belli* against the Prophet and his people, and no doubt helped to hasten his tragic end.

The first record of the revelation on Celestial Marriage was made by William Clayton, at the Prophet's dictation. It was on the 12th of July, 1843. A month later it was read by Hyrum Smith to the Stake Presidency and the High Council at Nauvoo. The majority of them accepted it. Emma Smith, the Prophet's wife, though at first averse to the doctrine, finally received it and gave other wives to her husband. Subsequently she is said to have destroyed the original document of the revelation. She positively denied, after the Prophet's death, that he had ever practiced polygamy. The revelation, as published, is from an exact copy of the original, taken by

Joseph C. Kingsbury for Bishop Newel K. Whitney, the day after it was recorded by William Clayton, the Prophet's secretary.

Joseph Smith's mind was largely the mind of a statesman. He had meditated much upon the political problems of his period, and sincerely sorrowed over the corruptions and degeneracy of the times. He thought, moreover, that he saw a way of escape from many of the evils then threatening his country. One of these was the slavery question, his plan for the solution of which, had it been adopted, would have saved the nation a million lives, millions of treasure and the terrible hatreds and heart-burnings that have ever since divided, far more effectually than Mason and Dixon's line, the North from the South. Joseph Smith's plan for the settlement of slavery was for the general government to purchase from the South their negroes and then liberate them.

During the winter of 1843-4, the Prophet corresponded with several eminent statesmen, such as Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, Lewis Cass, Richard M. Johnson and Martin Van Buren, who were all known to be aspirants for the Presidency. Each was asked this question: "What will be your rule of action relative to us as a people, should fortune favor your ascension to the Chief Magistracy?" Clay and Calhoun were the only ones who replied. Their answers being politic and evasive, the Prophet administered to each a stinging reproof for what he deemed cowardice and lack of candor.

He also took to task, about this time, James Arlington Bennett, of New York, who in a rather bombastic letter to the "American Mohamet," had intimated his desire to become his "right-hand man;" at the same time making known his desire to run for high office in Illinois, and use the Mormon vote to lift himself into power. Said the Prophet to Bennett: "Shall I who have witnessed the visions of eternity, * * * who have heard the voice of God, and communed with angels, * * * shall I worm myself into a political hypocrite? Shall I who hold the keys of the last Kingdom * * * stoop from the sublime authority of Almighty God to be handled as a monkey's

catspaw, and pettify myself into a clown to act the farce of political demagoguery? No, verily no. * * * I combat the errors of ages, I meet the violence of mobs, I cope with illegal proceedings from executive authority, I cut the Gordian knot of powers; and I solve mathematical problems of universities with *truth—diamond truth*; and God is my ‘right-hand man.’”

The next announcement from Nauvoo was to the political world somewhat startling. It was the nomination of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet, as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. The nomination was made January 29th, 1844, and was duly sustained at a State convention held at Nauvoo on the 17th of May. This was followed by the public enunciation of Joseph Smith’s views upon the powers and policy of the Federal Government. Therein he announced himself as favoring:

(1) The abolition of slavery, but upon the basis of a just remuneration of all slave-holders by the general government.

(2) The reduction of the numbers and pay of Congressmen; the money thus saved, together with the proceeds from the sale of public lands, to be used in reimbursing slave-holders for the negroes freed.

(3) The abolition of imprisonment for debt, and of imprisonment for every crime excepting murder; work upon public improvements to be made the penalty for larceny, burglary and like felonies. “Let the penitentiaries,” said he, “be turned into seminaries of learning.”

(4) The abolition of the practice, in army or navy, of court-martialing men for desertion. “If a soldier or marine runs away, send him his wages, with this instruction, that his country will never trust him again. * * * Make honor the standard with all men.”

(5) The investment of power in the President to send armies to suppress mobs.

(6) The extension of the Union, with the consent of the red man, from sea to sea.

(7) The annexation of Texas, if she petitioned for it, and of Canada and Mexico, whenever they should desire to enter the Union.

Said the Prophet: "We have had Democratic presidents, Whig presidents, a pseudo-Democratic-Whig president, and now it is time to have a President of the United States." Such were the principal planks of the platform upon which Joseph Smith as a candidate for the Chief Magistracy went into the campaign of 1844. Henry Clay was the Whig candidate, and James K. Polk the Democratic candidate for President at the same time.

To promulgate these views through the eastern states and act as the Prophet's electioneers in the campaign, went forth from Nauvoo, in April and May of that memorable year, Apostles Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, Lyman Wight and many other Elders. Joseph kept with him his brother Hyrum and Apostles John Taylor and Willard Richards; Elder Taylor having succeeded the Prophet as editor of the *Times and Seasons*, and Willard Richards being Church historian. Sidney Rigdon, at this time, was living at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, having lost faith in Mormonism, or at least in Joseph Smith, and retired from the troubles and turmoils of Nauvoo. William and Wilson Law with several other Elders had lately been severed from the Church and were now at the head of a local opposition movement designed for the Prophet's overthrow.

It may well be doubted that Joseph Smith, on entering the political arena as a presidential candidate, anticipated a successful issue of the campaign. Though his views in some places became very popular,—which we presume was his main object in running for the Presidency,—his thoughts at that time, judging from his acts and expressions, were dwelling upon another subject entirely. That subject was the exodus of the Saints to the west,—an event he had predicted in August, 1842, and a project which various notable personages, friendly to him and his people, had since advised him to carry into effect. Undoubtedly he would have done so had he lived,

in which event Joseph Smith, in lieu of Brigham Young, would have been the founder of Utah.

In February, 1844, soon after his nomination for President, the Prophet had directed the organization of an exploring expedition to seek out a home for the Saints beyond the Rocky Mountains,—in California or Oregon. Among the men selected for this enterprise were Jonathan Dunham, Phineas H. Young, David D. Yearsley, David Fullmer, Alphonso Young, James Emmett, George D. Watt and Daniel Spencer. These formed the nucleus of the proposed expedition, to which volunteers were subsequently added. Says Samuel W. Richards, one of these volunteers: "The outfit for each man was to consist of a rifle and ammunition, a saddle-horse, a pack-horse, with a few provisions and cooking utensils, and for the rest of our support we were to kill game on the way. Each man was to have in his pocket five hundred dollars, to purchase lands for our people a home whenever we should find a place suitable. Our party was thoroughly organized, but never started from Nauvoo."

In March, Joseph Smith memorialized Congress and the President—John Tyler—relative to the passage of an act, drafted by himself, providing for the protection of American citizens "wishing to settle Oregon and other portions of the territory of the United States; also for the protection of the people of Texas against Mexico. He asked for the privilege of raising one hundred thousand men for these purposes.

Oregon at that time, it must be remembered, though rightfully possessed by the United States, was also claimed by Great Britain, and was jointly occupied by American settlers and British fur traders, pending final diplomatic settlement between the two countries. Oregon then included Washington, Idaho and portions of Montana and Wyoming. To the south were the Mexican provinces of California and New Mexico; California comprising Utah, Nevada and portions of Wyoming and Colorado, while New Mexico took in Arizona. Texas, formerly a part of Mexico, but now independent, was soon to be annexed to the United States,—the Democrats, who

were about returning to power, having made that the issue of the presidential campaign. The annexation was much against Mexico's wish, and she threatened to regard it as equivalent to a declaration of war.

Such was the situation at the time that Joseph Smith sent his memorials to Washington: Orson Hyde and Orson Pratt being the bearers of the same to the nation's capital. From Apostle Hyde's reports to the Prophet in April, we excerpt the following:

"Judge Douglas has been quite ill, but is just recovered. He will help all he can; Mr. Hardin likewise. But Major Semple says he does not believe anything will be done about Texas or Oregon this session. * * * Congress * * * is afraid of England, afraid of Mexico, afraid the Presidential election will be twisted by it. * * * The most of the settlers in Oregon and Texas are our old enemies, the mobocrats of Missouri. * * * Your superior wisdom must determine whether to go to Oregon, to Texas, or to remain in these United States."

Later: "We have this day (April 26th) had a long conversation with Judge Douglas. He is ripe for Oregon and California. He said he would resign his seat in Congress if he could command the force that Mr. Smith could, and would be on the march to that country in a month. 'In five years,' said he, 'a noble state might be formed, and then if they would not receive us into the Union, we would have a government of our own.'"

Thus we see that while the campaign for the Presidency gave the Prophet an excellent opportunity to present his political views to the nation, it was the contemplated exodus of his people to the Rocky Mountains that mostly occupied his thoughts. Said he, soon after the departure of the Apostles on their political mission: "I care but little about the presidential chair. I would not give half as much for the office of President of the United States, as I would for the one I now hold as Lieutenant-General of the Nauvoo Legion."

That Legion he doubtless designed as the nucleus of his army of one hundred thousand. At its head Joseph Smith, had he lived,

would have moved westward to maintain the rights of his country against Great Britain and Mexico, and found another State for the Union in the midst of the Rocky Mountains. Fate, however, interposed at this juncture, not to defeat the design, which was eventually executed, but to change, as in the case of Moses and Joshua, the personality of the executor.

We come now to the last act in the drama, preceding the fulfillment of the Prophet's design. The winter of 1843-4 had witnessed the defection from Mormonism of several persons who for some years had been more or less prominent in its history. Among these, were William and Wilson Law, already mentioned. This twain were brothers. They were of Irish descent and natives of Mercer County, Pennsylvania. Francis M. and Chauncey L. Higbee, sons of Judge Elias Higbee, were numbered with the seceders, as were also Robert D. and Charles A. Foster. All or most of these had been excommunicated from the Church for dishonesty and immorality. They set up a church of their own, with William Law as its head, denounced Joseph Smith as "a fallen prophet," and proceeded to inaugurate another crusade against him. In secret sympathy with these men were Sidney Rigdon, William Marks and Austin A. Cowles.

Upon the testimony of William Law and others, Joseph Smith was indicted at Carthage for polygamy, in the latter part of May. He surrendered himself for trial, but the prosecution not being ready to proceed, the case was continued for the term. Charles Foster, temporarily friendly, disclosed to Joseph a plot of the seceders to murder him while at Carthage, which kindly service enabled him to baffle the conspirators and return to Nauvoo in safety.

But the design of the opposition was not merely to assail the Prophet. Nauvoo and its citizens generally were to be the objects of attack. To this end a paper was established there called the *Nauvoo Expositor*, of which the Laws, Fosters and Higbees with one Charles Ivins were the publishers, and Sylvester Emmons the editor. Emmons was a non-Mormon member of the City Council. One of the purposes of the *Expositor*, as announced in its prospectus issued

May 10th, 1844, was to advocate "the unconditional repeal of the Nauvoo City charter," efforts to which end had already been made in the Illinois Legislature. Its further design, as appeared later, was to libel and defame the leading Mormon citizens of Nauvoo,—possibly to incite mobocratic assaults upon the city. At all events such was the view taken by many citizens as to its purpose and policy.

The first and final number of the *Nauvoo Expositor*, reeking with filthy scandals, was issued on the 7th of June. Public indignation was at once aroused. Decency was shocked. Modesty had been made to blush. Potent to the people of Nauvoo as were such considerations, they were but secondary compared with the deep and deadly injury that was sought to be done the city. Mobs, incited by anti-Mormon politicians,—more than ever incensed at what they deemed the towering presumption of the Mormon leader in running for the Presidency,—were already threatening Nauvoo, and such scandalous reports, if accepted as true, might precipitate at any hour an attack upon the town. Such a fear was far from groundless to men and women upon whose minds were indelibly stamped the terrible memories of Far West and Haun's Mill. Besides, the charter of the city, the bulwark of their rights and liberties, was assailed. That swept away, and what evils might not follow, what vices flourish unchecked, in the midst of their peaceable, temperate and, for all that was said to the contrary, moral and virtuous community.

Such was the Mormon view of the situation. Yet not the Saints alone, but respectable people of all parties felt outraged. There were those who longed to take the law into their own hands, and raze the *Expositor* building to the ground.

The Mormon leaders, however, would not sanction mobocracy. They had suffered too much from it themselves to countenance it in their followers. Legal measures, in lieu of lawless force, were therefore employed against the *Expositor*. The City Council of Nauvoo convened in regular session on Saturday the 8th of June,

Mayor Joseph Smith presiding, and an adjourned session was held on Monday, the 10th. The character, aims and objects of the libelous sheet and its publishers were fully ventilated. Among those who spoke to the question were the Mayor, Aldermen George W. Harris, Samuel Bennett, Elias Smith, Stephen Markham, Orson Spencer, and Councilors Hyrum Smith, John Taylor, William W. Phelps, Edward Hunter, Levi and Phinehas Richards and Benjamin Warrington. Willard Richards was clerk of the Council. By an almost unanimous vote,—Councilor Warrington, a non-Mormon, alone dissenting,—the *Nauvoo Expositor* was declared a public nuisance, and the Mayor instructed to have it abated without delay. Councilor Warrington, it should be added, only opposed summary action. He considered the paper libelous, and was in favor of heavily fining its publishers. On the night of June 10th, by order of the Mayor, City Marshal John P. Greene and a force of police destroyed the printing press, pried the type, and burned the published sheets of the *Expositor* found upon its premises, in the streets of Nauvoo. The leaders of the opposition party immediately left the city.

On the 12th of June Constable David Bettisworth came from Carthage to Nauvoo and arrested on a charge of riot the following named persons: Joseph Smith, Samuel Bennett, John Taylor, William W. Phelps, Hyrum Smith, John P. Greene, Stephen Perry, Dimick B. Huntington, Jonathan Dunham, Stephen Markham, William Edwards, Jonathan Harmon, Jesse P. Harmon, John Lytle, Joseph W. Coolidge, Harvey D. Redfield, O. P. Rockwell and Levi Richards. The complaint was sworn to by Francis M. Higbee, and referred to the abatement of the *Nauvoo Expositor*.

The warrant required that the accused be brought before Justice Thomas Morrison, at Carthage, "or some other justice of the peace" in Hancock County. Taking advantage of this wording of the warrant they requested the privilege of going before one of the justices of Nauvoo. The constable, however, insisted on taking them to Carthage. They thereupon sued out writs of *habeas corpus* and were discharged, after a hearing, by the Municipal Court of Nauvoo.

Subsequently, at the advice of Judge Jesse B. Thomas, who was visiting the city, Mayor Smith and his friends went before Justice Daniel H. Wells, who was still a non-Mormon, and were again examined and discharged; it appearing that their course in relation to the *Expositor*, while summary, was strictly legal under the charter and ordinances of Nauvoo.

The same day—June 16th—Mayor Smith issued a proclamation, stating why the act of abatement had been deemed necessary and declaring that the city authorities were willing to appear, whenever the Governor should require it, before any high court in the State and answer for the correctness of their conduct. He also warned the lawless element, now reported to be gathering against Nauvoo, not to be precipitate in interfering with the affairs of that city. Governor Ford had previously been informed of the situation in detail, but no reply had been received from him.

The excitement caused by the abatement of the *Expositor* and the unwillingness of the Mormon leaders to be tried at Carthage, was intense. Armed men were now taking the field in deadly earnest. Carthage and Warsaw, the neighboring towns to Nauvoo, wore the aspect of military camps. Troops were training daily for the pending conflict. Fifteen hundred Missourians were reported to have joined the Warsaw forces, and five pieces of cannon and a supply of small arms had been forwarded to that point from Quincy and other places. The Warsaw *Signal*, edited by Thomas C. Sharp, was active in stirring up the spirit of mobocracy. It even advocated the massacre of the whole Mormon community.* The following is a sample of the mobocratic resolutions passed at Warsaw, published in the *Signal*, and afterwards adopted at Carthage by acclamation :

* Says Gregg's History of Hancock County : "There were at this time and even afterward while the Mormons remained, four classes of citizens in the county: 1. The Mormons themselves. 2. A class called Jack-Mormons. * * * 3. Old citizens who were anti-Mormons at heart, but who refused to countenance any but lawful measures for redress of grievances; and 4. Anti-Mormons who, now that the crisis had come, advocated 'war and extermination.'"

Resolved that the time, in our opinion, has arrived, when the adherents of Smith, as a body, should be driven from the surrounding settlements into Nauvoo. That the Prophet and his miscreant adherents should then be demanded at their hands, and if not surrendered a war of extermination should be waged to their entire destruction, if necessary for our protection.

The situation at Nauvoo was fast becoming serious. It was now the 18th of June, and no word had yet come from the Governor. Mobocratic threats were daily growing louder. 'Seeing no alternative, unless it were to quietly submit to the threatened assault and massacre, the Prophet, in his capacity of Mayor, now called out the Legion to defend the city, and proclaimed Nauvoo under martial law.*

"Will you stand by me," said he, as clothed in full uniform of Lieutenant-General of the Legion, he addressed his soldiers and fellow-citizens for the last time,—“Will you stand by me to the death, and sustain at the peril of your lives the laws of our country, and the liberties and privileges which our fathers have transmitted to us, sealed with their sacred blood? (“Aye,” shouted thousands.) It is well. If you had not done it, I would have gone out there (pointing to the West) and would have raised up a mightier people. * * * (Drawing his sword and presenting it to heaven) “I call God and angels to witness that I have unsheathed my sword with a firm and unalterable determination that this people shall have their legal rights, and be protected from mob violence, or my blood shall be spilt upon the ground like water, and my body consigned to the silent tomb. While I live I will never tamely submit to the dominion of cursed mobocracy. * * * I do not regard my own life. I am ready to be offered a sacrifice for this people. * * * God has

* Governor Ford, in after years, wrote as follows regarding the designs of the mob upon Nauvoo: “I gradually learned, to my entire satisfaction, that there was a plan to get the troops into Nauvoo and then begin the war, probably by some of our own party, or some of the seceding Mormons, taking advantage of the night to fire on our own force and then laying it on the Mormons. I was satisfied there were those among us fully capable of such an act, hoping that in the alarm, bustle and confusion of a militia camp the truth could not be discovered, and that it might lead to the desired collision.”

tried you. You are a good people ; therefore I love you with all my heart. * * * You have stood by me in the hour of trouble, and I am willing to sacrifice my life for your preservation."

This was not the first time that the Prophet had predicted his own death. He felt that his enemies were thirsting for his blood, and that if once he fell into their power his days on earth were numbered. Neither, as seen, was it the first time that he had indicated the great West as the future home of his people. On the 20th of June he wrote for the immediate return of the absent Apostles.

Next day Governor Ford arrived at Carthage. Placing himself at the head of the troops there concentrated,—hitherto an armed mob, but now, by his act, transformed into regular militia, the Governor demanded that martial law at Nauvoo be abolished, and that the Mayor, the City Council and all persons concerned in the destruction of the *Expositor* press come to Carthage to be tried for riot.

The Governor's orders were obeyed. For a few hours only the Prophet hesitated. Life was still dear to him ; if not for himself for the sake of his friends and family. On the night of the 22nd he crossed the Mississippi, and in company with his brother Hyrum, Apostles Richards, Taylor and a few other friends, started for the Rocky Mountains. Messages from home intercepted him, inducing him to reconsider his design, and he returned to meet his doom. "We are going back to be butchered," said he, and resigned himself to his fate.

Having delivered up, at the Governor's demand, the arms of the Nauvoo Legion, the Prophet and his friends, seventeen in number, on the evening of the 24th set out for Carthage.

It was about midnight when they arrived there. Though so late, the town was alive and stirring, in anticipation of their arrival. They were immediately surrounded with troops, who yelled their exultation at having them in their power. Some of the soldiers—notably the Carthage Greys—were very abusive and threatened to

shoot the Prophet and his party, who were thus voluntarily surrendering themselves. Governor Ford pacified the would-be murderers and the threatened massacre was postponed.

Next day the Governor paraded the prisoners before the troops upon the public square, where the two principals were introduced as "Generals Joseph and Hyrum Smith." At this the Carthage Greys again became angry and violent, deeming too much honor was being done "the d——d Mormons" by bestowing upon them such titles. Soon afterward the Greys revolted against their commander, General Miner R. Deming, who, fearing his own assassination, left Carthage.* Again the Governor placated the hostiles by assuring them that they should have "full satisfaction," while to the prisoners he pledged his honor and the faith of the State of Illinois that they should be protected from violence and given a fair trial.

Before Justice Robert F. Smith, a captain in the Carthage Greys, the Prophet and his party were brought that afternoon and admitted to bail. Meanwhile Joseph and Hyrum Smith had been arrested for treason. This charge was based upon the calling out of the Legion and the placing of Nauvoo under martial law, proceedings construed into armed resistance to legal process. Nothing was done in this case until nightfall, when the accused, without a hearing, were thrust into Carthage jail by Justice Smith, now acting arbitrarily in his capacity of Captain of the Greys. Governor Ford sanctioned this illegal act, claiming afterwards that it was necessary for the safety of the prisoners, though the latter at the time protested against the incarceration. John Taylor, Willard Richards and a few other friends accompanied Joseph and Hyrum to prison.

It was the beginning of the end. The plot was fast consummating. Once more, and only once, did the two brothers emerge from that jail alive. Their doom was sealed. "The law cannot reach them," said their plotting murderers, "but powder and ball shall."

* General Deming is said to have suspected the murderous plot against the Mormon leaders, and being powerless to prevent its execution, determined to have nothing to do with the bloody deed.

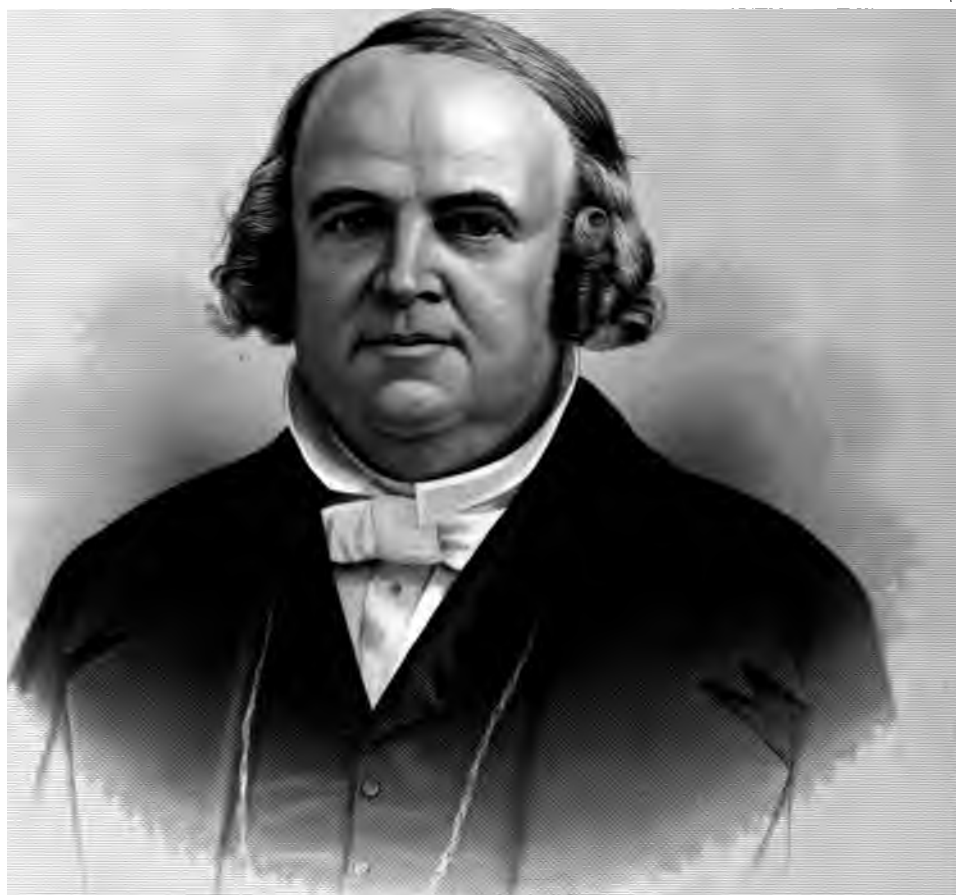
Governor Ford, next morning, granted an interview to the Prophet, coming to the prison for that purpose. Colonel Geddes and others accompanied him. During their conversation the Prophet charged the Governor with knowing positively that he and his brother were innocent of treason, and that their enemies had begun the troubles which had culminated in the present situation.* He also claimed that Ford had advised him to use the Legion in the way that he had, in the event of a threatened mobocratic assault upon Nauvoo. As to the *Expositor* affair, the Prophet said that he was willing to be tried again, and if found guilty to make suitable reparation. That was a matter, he maintained, for courts to decide, and not for mobs to settle. Such was the main substance of the interview. The Governor, at parting, renewed his promise that the prisoners should be protected, and pledged his word that if he went to Nauvoo—as he contemplated doing—he would take Joseph with him. Both promises were unkept.†

In the afternoon the two brothers were arraigned before Justice Smith at the Court House on the charge of treason. They asked for time to obtain witnesses. The request was reluctantly granted, and the court was adjourned until noon next day, to enable the prisoners to send to Nauvoo—eighteen miles distant—for their witnesses. Subsequently the military justice, without notifying the prisoners, postponed the trial until the 29th of June.

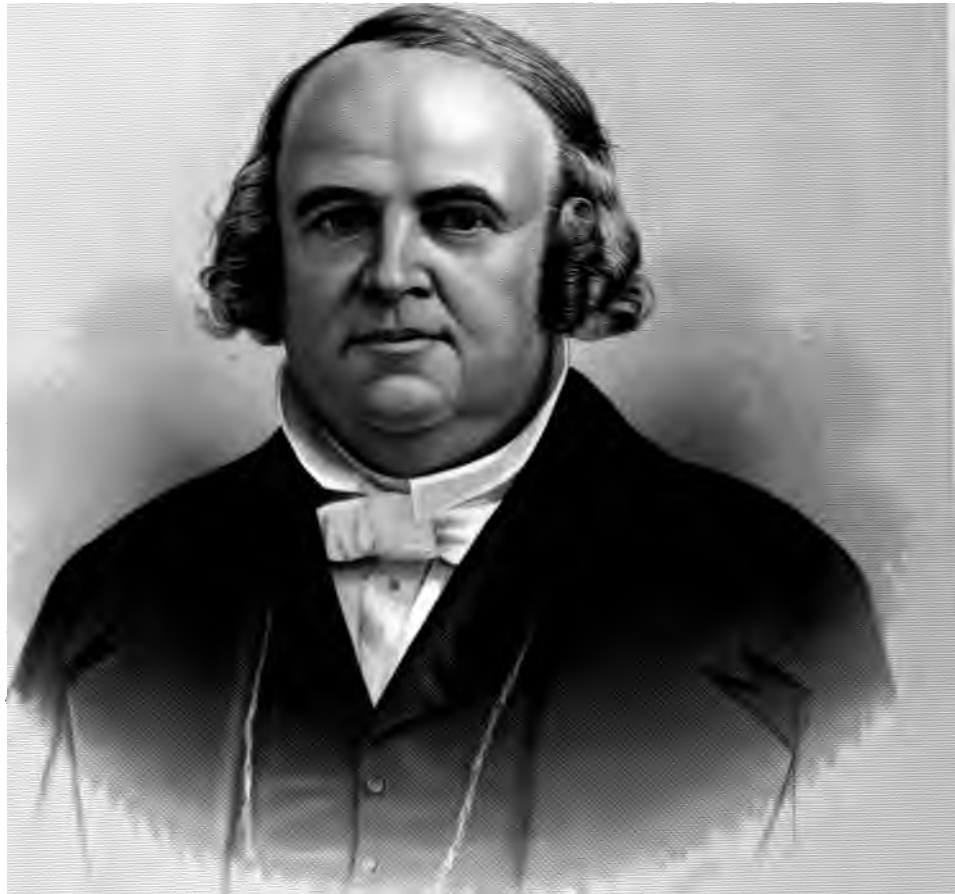
The last night of the brothers Joseph and Hyrum on earth was

* Ford in his history thus disposes of this question of the alleged treason of the Mormon leaders: "Their actual guiltiness of the charge would depend upon circumstances. If their opponents had been seeking to put the law in force in good faith, and nothing more, then an array of military force in open resistance to the *posse comitatus* and the militia of the state, most probably would have amounted to treason. But if those opponents merely intended to use the powers of the law, the militia of the state, and the *posse comitatus* as cats'-paws to compass the possession of their persons for the purpose of murdering them afterwards, as the sequel demonstrated the fact to be, it might well be doubted whether they were guilty of treason."

† Governor Ford, who seems to have deferred utterly to his subordinates and the anti-Mormons at that time, failed to take the Prophet to Nauvoo because a council of his officers convinced him that it "would be highly inexpedient and dangerous."



Willard Richards,
A. H.



Willard Richards.

leaders." Captain Robert F. Smith, in the absence of General Deming, now commanded the Greys, who were encamped upon the public square, while Sergeant Frank A. Worrell, with eight men, had immediate charge of the prison.

Had the Governor connived at murder, or was he but the weak and pliant tool of men who undoubtedly had conspired against the lives of the prisoners? Let the Final Judgment answer. Suffice it that late in the afternoon of that day—June 27th, 1844—while the Governor was at Nauvoo, haranguing the Mormons on the enormity of the crimes committed in destroying the *Expositor* press and placing the city under martial law, a portion of the disbanded Warsaw troops, one or two hundred strong, led by Levi Williams, a Baptist priest and Colonel of militia, returned to Carthage, stormed the jail, and with the connivance of the guards shot to death Joseph and Hyrum Smith, and all but fatally wounded John Taylor. Of the four captives, Willard Richards alone escaped unhurt. The prisoners heroically defended themselves, the Prophet using his revolver and wounding several of the assassins, while Willard Richards and John Taylor beat up and down with their walking sticks the guns thrust in at the prison door-way, diverting as best they could the direction of the deadly missiles. But the unequal fight could not long be maintained. Hyrum Smith fell first, John Taylor next, and the Prophet last. Attempting to leap from the window, Joseph was fired upon, and fell to the ground outside, dead. His murderers, who had blackened their faces to prevent recognition, only paused long enough to pour a final volley into the lifeless body of their chief victim, and then broke and fled in every direction.

A horror of fear fell upon all the inhabitants of Carthage after the bloody deed was done. Dreading the vengeance of Nauvoo, when the news should reach that city, they fled pell-mell, panic-stricken, pursued by naught save the phantoms of their own fears.

The news did reach Nauvoo, that night,—the Governor and his escort having previously left the city,—and great beyond description was the grief of the betrayed and stricken people. But no retaliation

was attempted. Vengeance was left to heaven,—to heaven indeed; for of that band of murderers who committed the crime, and that other band, equally guilty, who set them on, not one was ever brought to justice.

The day after the tragedy the bodies of the murdered brothers, accompanied by Willard Richards and Samuel H. Smith, were taken to Nauvoo for burial. John Taylor remained several days at Carthage, —too seriously wounded to admit of his immediate removal.

Of the absent Apostles, Parley P. Pratt was the first to return to Nauvoo. George A. Smith came next. Sidney Rigdon arrived a little later from Pittsburg. Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, Orson Pratt, Wilford Woodruff and Lyman Wight, who were in the Eastern States when the terrible tidings reached them, returned to Nauvoo on the 6th of August, forty days after the massacre.

CHAPTER XIV.

1844-1845.

BRIGHAM YOUNG SUCCEEDS JOSEPH SMITH—THE MAN FOR THE HOUR—SIDNEY RIGDON REJECTED AND EXCOMMUNICATED—FACTIONS AND FOLLOWINGS—THE PROPHET'S MURDER PROVES AN IMPETUS TO MORMONISM—THE CRUSADE RENEWED—THE APOSTLES DRIVEN INTO RETIREMENT—THE "BOGUS BRIGHAM" ARREST—REPEAL OF THE NAUVOO CHARTER—JOSIAH LAMBORN'S OPINION OF THE REPEAL—GOVERNOR FORD ADVISES A MORMON EXODUS—THE PROPHET'S MURDERERS ACQUITTED—THE ANTI-MORMONS CHANGE THEIR TACTICS—THE TORCH OF THE INCENDIARY IN LIEU OF THE WRIT OF ARREST—SHERIFF BACKENSTOS—THE MOBOCRATS WORSTED AND PUT TO FLIGHT—GOVERNOR FORD INTERPOSES TO RESTORE ORDER—GENERAL HARDIN AND THE COMMISSIONERS—THE MORMONS AGREE TO LEAVE ILLINOIS.

BRIGHAM YOUNG succeeded Joseph Smith as leader of the Latter-day Saints. Sidney Rigdon claimed the leadership. It was to secure it that he came from Pittsburg on learning of the Prophet's death. Being his first counselor in the Presidency,—though Joseph, distrusting his fidelity, had long since virtually cast him off,—Elder Rigdon believed, or affected to believe, that this entitled him to the succession. A small faction of the Saints felt likewise.

But the hearts of the people, as a rule, were not with Sidney. Though an eloquent orator, he was not a leader,—at least not such a leader as the Saints now required; a man to grapple with great emergencies. He had shown too plainly of late years the white feather, to insure him the full confidence of his people at this critical point in their history. Besides, Sidney's claim, though plausible, was not valid according to Church polity. The First Presidency to which he had belonged was no more. Death had dissolved that council. The Prophet in life had taught that "where he was not there was no First Presidency over the Twelve." Next in order stood the Twelve—the

Apostles—with Brigham Young as their President. Instinctively the people turned to Brigham, for they loved and trusted him, and by that "right divine," no less than of seniority and succession in the Priesthood, he became their President and spiritual guide.

Sidney Rigdon, after his rejection by the Saints, returned to Pittsburg. Soon afterward he was excommunicated. William Marks, William Smith, James J. Strang and others followed, being severed from the Church, some for immorality, others for refusing like Elder Rigdon to recognize the authority of the Apostles. Each prominent seceder had a limited following. There were Rigdonites, Smithites, Strangites, and later, Cutlerites, Millerites and Josephites. The last-named were followers of the Prophet's son "young Joseph." This sect, which still exists, and calls itself the "Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," did not spring into existence until many years later, and was then organized out of the remnants of the earlier factions. But the main body of the Nauvoo Saints adhered to Brigham and the Twelve.

The chief Apostle was now in his forty-fourth year,—in the full, ripe vigor of his mental and physical powers. Though his life, like those of most of his brethren, had been one of toil and trial, and sickness, resulting from hardship and exposure, had more than once preyed upon his matured and well-knit frame, still he was a man of iron mould, and of no less iron will, whose practical wisdom and temperate habits had perpetuated in him the strength and vitality of youth, and carried forward a reserve fund of energy into his prime. His mind, a master mind, far-sighted, keen, profound, born to direct, to counsel and command, was therefore fittingly enshrined. Nature had made him great. Experience had educated that greatness. Trials and afflictions to which weaker men had succumbed, had but developed this son of destiny and brought him to his plane and place.

He was unquestionably the man for the hour,—an hour big with events, whose birth would yet astonish the world. His colleagues, the Apostles, and the Saints in general regarded him as their divinely

appointed leader,—quite as much so as the martyred Joseph before him. The exodus from Missouri, which he personally directed, and his subsequent management of the affairs of the British Mission, had shown something of his capacity and executive ability, but it remained for the exodus of his people to the Rocky Mountains, and the colonization of the great interior Basin, to fully demonstrate his rare genius as a leader and an organizer. A notable character in life's grand tragedy, one bloody scene of which had so lately closed, waiting at the wing he had caught his cue, and the stirring stage of Time was now ready for his advent.

The special meeting of the Saints, at which the claim of the Apostles to lead the Church had been recognized, and that of Elder Rigdon rejected, was held on the 8th of August, 1844. The same month witnessed the election of Brigham Young as Lieutenant-General of the Nauvoo Legion. Charles C. Rich was chosen Major-General. Amasa M. Lyman, previously ordained an Apostle, was admitted into the council of the Twelve, and that body then addressed an epistle to the Latter-day Saints in all the world, giving such advice and instruction as their situation and the times demanded. Wilford Woodruff was sent to Great Britain to preside over that important mission. With him went Elder Dan Jones, destined to head a very successful missionary movement in Wales. Parley P. Pratt was given charge of Church affairs in the Eastern States, and other Elders, besides many already in the field, were going forth to various parts of the Union. Among those now rising to prominence was Franklin D. Richards, the present Apostle and Church Historian.

Mormonism, its opponents discovered, was not dead, though the Church had sustained a heavy shock in the death of its Prophet and Patriarch. "The blood of the martyrs" is proverbially "the seed of the Church." The present case proved no exception. The murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith undoubtedly gave a strong impetus to Mormonism. Short-sighted indeed the wisdom (?) which thought it would do otherwise.

Immigration continued arriving at Nauvoo, where the Saints,

under the direction of the Apostles, now hurried on the completion of the Temple. The exodus predicted and in a measure prepared for by their Prophet, was foreseen to be imminent, and it was their desire to finish this edifice,—another monument of religious zeal and self-sacrificing industry,—before taking up the cross of another painful pilgrimage and journeying toward the setting sun.

The anti-Mormons, their ranks now augmented by apostates, seemed bent upon compelling an early exodus. To this end they continued their former policy of trumping up charges against the chiefs of the Church. A murder, a theft, or any other crime,—and such things were frequent in that all but frontier region,—committed at or in the vicinity of Nauvoo, was at once laid to the Mormon leaders as principals or accessories, and forthwith the town would be inundated with sheriffs, constables and their *posses*, armed with writs of arrest, searching for the suspects. That some of these crimes were committed by citizens of Nauvoo is quite probable. But that all the stealing and killing in that region, or even the greater part of it was done by them, cannot be reasonably supposed, in spite of the awful examples set them.

Brigham and his brethren, with the memory of the murdered Joseph and Hyrum ever before them,—their Prophet and Patriarch, butchered in cold blood while in prison under the pledged protection of the State of Illinois,—determined not to be similarly ensnared. Instead of surrendering to the officers, therefore, they secreted themselves whenever apprised of their approach, only to reappear when they had departed and all danger was over. The celebrated “bogus Brigham” arrest occurred during this period. The Apostles and other Elders were at the Temple, then nearing completion, when some officers came to the door with a warrant for the arrest of Brigham Young. William Miller, who resembled the President, throwing on Heber C. Kimball’s cloak—similar in size and color to Brigham’s—crossed the threshold and mutely surrendered to the officers, who, thinking they had secured their man, drove away with him to Carthage. The *ruse* was not discovered until they reached



Wm. Miller

Wm. Miller

their journey's end, where "Bill Miller" was recognized, and it is safe to say anathematized. Meantime the real Brigham had got well out of the way and was laughing at the chagrin of his outwitted pursuers.

The lives of the Mormon leaders, no less than their liberties, were in constant jeopardy, and their houses and places of concealment were carefully guarded to prevent assassination. Foremost among their foes were men and women who had once been their brethren and sisters in the Church. Emma Smith, the Prophet's widow, was one of these. She refused to follow Brigham, whom she hated and regarded as a usurper. She taught her children that he, and not their father, introduced polygamy into the Church, and that the Prophet had never practiced it. Yet there are women still living in Utah who solemnly aver that they were Joseph Smith's plural wives, and they with others testify that Emma, to their personal knowledge, gave those wives to her husband in the sealing covenant.

In January, 1845, the Legislature of Illinois, yielding to long continued popular pressure, repealed the Nauvoo charter. Josiah Lamborn, Esq., Attorney-General of Illinois writing of this event to Brigham Young, said: "I have always considered that your enemies have been prompted by political and religious prejudices, and by a desire for plunder and blood, more than for the common good. By the repeal of your charter, and by refusing all amendments and modifications, our legislature has given a kind of sanction to the barbarous manner in which you have been treated. * * *

It is truly a melancholy spectacle to witness the law-makers of a sovereign State condescending to pander to the vices, ignorance and malevolence of a class of people who are at all times ready for riot, murder and rebellion.

* * * * *

"Your Senator, Jacob C. Davis, has done much to poison the minds of the members against anything in your favor. He walks at large in defiance of law, an indicted murderer. If a Mormon was in

his position the Senate would afford no protection, but he would be dragged forth to gaol or the gallows, or be shot down by a cowardly and brutal mob."

In April following, the Saints in general conference, attended by many thousands of people, voted to change the name Nauvoo to the City of Joseph, in honor of their martyred Prophet. A small portion of the city was afterwards incorporated as the town of Nauvoo.

Governor Ford, on the 8th of April, wrote to President Young, advising him to migrate with his people to California. In this letter the following passages occur:

If you can get off by yourselves you may enjoy peace; but, surrounded by such neighbors, I confess that I do not see the time when you will be permitted to enjoy quiet. I was informed by General Joseph Smith last summer that he contemplated a removal west; and from what I learned from him and others at that time, I think, if he had lived, he would have begun to move in the matter before this time. I would be willing to exert all my feeble abilities and influence to further your views in this respect if it was the wish of your people.

I would suggest a matter in confidence. California now offers a field for the prettiest enterprise that has been undertaken in modern times. It is but sparsely inhabited, and by none but the Indians or imbecile Mexican Spaniards. I have not enquired enough to know how strong it is in men and means. But this we know, that if conquered from Mexico, that country is so physically weak and morally distracted that she could never send a force there to reconquer it. Why should it not be a pretty operation for your people to go out there, take possession of and conquer a portion of that vacant country, and establish an independent Government of your own, subject only to the laws of nations? You would remain there a long time before you would be disturbed by the proximity of other settlements. If you conclude to do this, your design ought not to be known, or otherwise it would become the duty of the United States to prevent your emigration. If once you cross the line of the United States Territories, you would be in no danger of being interfered with."

Brigham Young, however, had already decided upon his course. It was in this, as in all else pertaining to the general conduct of Mormonism, to follow in the footsteps and build upon the foundation of his predecessor. Never, it is believed, during his entire administration did the President knowingly deviate from this fixed rule. It was one of the secrets of his great influence with the Saints. Let not lack of originality be imputed to him, however, because of this deference to the designs of the Prophet. Brigham believed Joseph to

be inspired. He recognized the worth and wisdom of his plans, and his own genius and originality found ample play in their execution. As a designer Joseph Smith was without a peer among his fellows; as an executor Brigham Young without a parallel. Each was the other's complement, and neither career alone, in the eternal fitness of things would have been complete.

The Rocky Mountains was the place of refuge that Joseph had foretold. California, Texas, Oregon were but after-thoughts, vague and undetermined. To the Rocky Mountains, therefore, the Saints would go,—possibly pass beyond,—but precisely how far into that *terra incognita*, that unknown wilderness they might penetrate, they knew not, not even their leaders knew. It is a fact, however, that the region of the Great Basin, of which they had read in Colonel Fremont's reports, was in their thoughts, though not as a definite destination, when contemplating a removal from Illinois.*

It was not their destiny to colonize and people the Pacific coast; though undoubtedly they did much to hasten that great achievement. If not the first American settlers of California, they were the first to establish there a newspaper, among the first to turn up gold with their shovels at Sutter's Mill, and set agog the excitement which rolled, a mighty billow, over the civilized world, and staid not nor subsided till it had revolutionized the commerce of two hemispheres. If not the very point, therefore, they certainly were, as we shall see, a very important part of the entering wedge of western civilization.

Nor was it their design, in moving westward, to set up an independent government,—at least not in the sense that Governor Ford and Senator Douglas had suggested. Not knowing where they were going or what awaited them, whether the Union spreading

* The following is an extract from Heber C. Kimball's journal: "Nauvoo Temple, December 31st, 1845. Prest. Young and myself are superintending the operations of the day, examining maps with reference to selecting a location for the Saints west of the Rocky Mountains, and reading the various works which have been written and published by travelers in those regions."

Vancouver's Island was suggested to the Mormons about this time as a suitable place for them to settle.

westward would overtake them, or Mexican or British rule be their portion, how could they have formed any such definite design? It was certainly not their purpose to alienate themselves from that government which their forefathers had fought and bled to establish, whose starry standard they revered, whose glorious Constitution they believed to have been God-inspired. No; they were Mormons, hated, despised, defamed, but still Americans, loyal to their country and her cause: though that country now, they could not help but feel, was acting the part of a cold step-mother rather than of a tender parent to them. Some day, perchance, their countrymen would know them better, and for past contempt and cruelty would make amends. Perhaps they felt, as felt the poet,—“pilgrim of eternity.”*

“ But I have lived, and have not lived in vain :
My mind may lose its force, my blood its fire,
And my frame perish even in conquering pain ;
But there is that within me which shall tire
Torture and time, and breathe when I expire ;
Something unearthly, which they deem not of,
Like the remembered tone of a mute lyre,
Shall on their softened spirits sink, and move
In hearts all rocky now the late remorse of love.”

Till then, as pilgrims too—pilgrims of time and of eternity—they would retire into the wilderness, taking with them the starry flag, the traditions of Bunker Hill and Yorktown, and seeking some isolated spot behind the rocky ramparts of the Everlasting Hills, found a new state for the Union, foreseen to be spreading from sea to sea, and patiently wait the fulfillment of what had been predicted,—that the Saints should become a mighty people in the midst of the Rocky Mountains.

Before expatriating themselves, they resolved to make a last appeal to the country which they felt was casting them forth. To this end they addressed a memorial to the President of the United States—James K. Polk—and sent copies of the same to the Governors

* The poet Shelley so styled Lord Byron.

of all the States, excepting Missouri and Illinois. This memorial ran as follows :

NAUVOO, April, 24th, 1845.

His Excellency James K. Polk, President of the United States.

HON. SIR: Suffer us, in behalf of a disfranchised and long afflicted people, to prefer a few suggestions for your serious consideration, in hope of a friendly and unequivocal response, at as early a period as may suit your convenience, and the extreme urgency of the case seems to demand.

It is not our present design to detail the multiplied and aggravated wrongs that we have received in the midst of a nation that gave us birth. Most of us have long been loyal citizens of some one of these United States, over which you have the honor to preside, while a few only claim the privilege of peaceable and lawful emigrants, designing to make the Union our permanent residence.

We say we are a disfranchised people. We are privately told by the highest authorities of the State that it is neither prudent nor safe for us to vote at the polls ; still we have continued to maintain our right to vote, until the blood of our best men has been shed, both in Missouri and Illinois, with impunity.

You are doubtless somewhat familiar with the history of our expulsion from the State of Missouri, wherein scores of our brethren were massacred. Hundreds died through want and sickness, occasioned by their unparalleled sufferings. Some millions worth of our property was destroyed, and some fifteen thousand souls fled for their lives to the then hospitable and peaceful shores of Illinois ; and that the State of Illinois granted to us a liberal charter, for the term of perpetual succession, under whose provision private rights have become invested, and the largest city in the State has grown up, numbering about twenty thousand inhabitants.

But, sir, the startling attitude recently assumed by the State of Illinois, forbids us to think that her designs are any less vindictive than those of Missouri. She has already used the military of the State, with the executive at their head, to coerce and surrender up our best men to unparalleled murder, and that too under the most sacred pledges of protection and safety. As a salve for such unearthly perfidy and guilt, she told us, through her highest executive officers, that the laws should be magnified and the murderers brought to justice ; but the blood of her innocent victims had not been wholly wiped from the floor of the awful arena, ere the Senate of that State rescued one of the indicted actors in that mournful tragedy from the sheriff of Hancock County, and gave him a seat in her hall of legislation ; and all who were indicted by the grand jury of Hancock County for the murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, are suffered to roam at large, watching for further prey.

To crown the climax of those bloody deeds, the State has repealed those chartered rights, by which we might have lawfully defended ourselves against aggressors. If we defend ourselves hereafter against violence, whether it comes under the shadow of law or otherwise (for we have reason to expect it in both ways), we shall then be charged with treason and suffer the penalty ; and if we continue passive and non-resistant, we must certainly expect to perish, for our enemies have sworn it.

And here, sir, permit us to state that General Joseph Smith, during his short life, was arraigned at the bar of his country about fifty times, charged with criminal offences, but

was acquitted every time by his country ; his enemies, or rather his religious opponents, almost invariably being his judges. And we further testify that, as a people, we are law-abiding, peaceable and without crime ; and we challenge the world to prove to the contrary ; and while other less cities in Illinois have had special courts instituted to try their criminals, we have been stript of every source of arraigning marauders and murderers who are prowling around to destroy us, except the common magistracy.

With these facts before you, sir, will you write to us without delay as a father and a friend, and advise us what to do. We are members of the same great confederacy. Our fathers, yea some of us, have fought and bled for our country, and we love her constitution dearly.

In the name of Israel's God, and by virtue of multiplied ties of country and kindred, we ask your friendly interposition in our favor. Will it be too much for us to ask you to convene a special session of Congress, and furnish us an asylum, where we can enjoy our rights of conscience and religion unmolested ? Or will you, in a special message to that body, when convened, recommend a remonstrance against such unhallowed acts of oppression and expatriation as this people have continued to receive from the States of Missouri and Illinois ? Or will you favor us by your personal influence and by your official rank ? Or will you express your views concerning what is called the "Great Western Measure" of colonizing the Latter-day Saints in Oregon, the north-western Territory, or some location remote from the States, where the hand of oppression shall not crush every noble principle and extinguish every patriotic feeling ?

And now, honored sir, having reached out our imploring hands to you, with deep solemnity, we would importune you as a father, a friend, a patriot and the head of a mighty nation, by the constitution of American liberty, by the blood of our fathers who have fought for the independence of this republic, by the blood of the martyrs which has been shed in our midst, by the wailings of the widows and orphans, by our murdered fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, wives and children, by the dread of immediate destruction from secret combinations, now forming for our overthrow, and by every endearing tie that binds man to man and renders life bearable, and that too, for aught we know, for the last time,—that you will lend your immediate aid to quell the violence of mobocracy, and exert your influence to establish us as a people in our civil and religious rights, where we now are, or in some part of the United States, or in some place remote therefrom, where we may colonize in peace and safety as soon as circumstances will permit.

We sincerely hope that your future prompt measures toward us will be dictated by the best feelings that dwell in the bosom of humanity, and the blessings of a grateful people, and many ready to perish, shall come upon you.

We are, sir, with great respect, your obedient servants,

BRIGHAM YOUNG,	}	Committee.
WILLARD RICHARDS,		
ORSON SPENCER,		
ORSON PRATT,		
W. W. PHELPS,		
A. W. BABBITT,		
J. M. BERNHISEL,		

In behalf of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints at Nauvoo, Illinois.

P. S.—As many of our communications, post marked at Nauvoo, have failed of their destination, and the mails around us have been intercepted by our enemies, we shall send this to some distant office by the hand of a special messenger.

The appeals were unanswered save in a single instance, that of the Governor of Arkansas, who replied in a respectful and sympathetic epistle.

On the 19th of May, 1845, began the trial, at Carthage, of certain men who had been indicted for the murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. Sixty names had been presented to the Grand Jury of the Hancock Circuit Court in October, 1844, as being implicated in the assassination. Only nine, however, had been indicted. They were Levi Williams, Jacob C. Davis, Mark Aldrich, Thomas C. Sharp, William Voras, John Wills, William N. Grover, — Gallagher, and — Allen.

Of these, Levi Williams, as stated, was a Baptist preacher; Jacob C. Davis a State Senator, and Thomas C. Sharp the editor of the *Warsaw Signal*. Judge Richard M. Young presided at the trial, and James H. Ralston and Josiah Lamborn conducted the prosecution. The defense was represented by William A. Richardson, O. H. Browning, Calvin A. Warren, Archibald Williams, O. C. Skinner and Thomas Morrison. The panel of the trial jury was as follows: Jesse Griffiths, Joseph Jones, William Robertson, William Smith, Joseph Massey, Silas Griffiths, Jonathan Foy, Solomon J. Hill, James Gittings, F. M. Walton, Jabez A. Beebe and Gilmore Callison.

The trial lasted until May 30th.* During its progress, Calvin A. Warren, Esq, of counsel for the defense, in the course of his plea is said to have argued that if the prisoners were guilty of murder, then he himself was guilty; that it was the public opinion that the Smiths ought to be killed, and public opinion made the laws, consequently it was not murder to kill them. Evidently this logic had

* "The Judge," says Governor Ford, "was compelled to admit the presence of armed bands to browbeat and overawe the administration of justice. * * * The Judge himself was in duress, and informed me that he did not consider his life secure any part of the time. The consequence was that the crowd had everything their own way."

its weight with the jury, for they promptly returned a verdict of not guilty.*

Emboldened by the outcome of the trial, the tactics of the anti-Mormons now underwent a radical range. Trumping up charges against the Mormon leaders it was found would not effect the desired purpose. Extreme measures only would avail, and these the unconscionable crusaders were now prepared to execute, regardless of every consideration of right. Their own writers admit as much. Thomas Gregg, the historian of Hancock County, Illinois, whom none familiar with his work will accuse of partiality to the Mormons, is constrained to allow that the acts of their opponents now in question were absolutely unjustifiable. "Acts," says he, "which had no warrant in law or order, and which cannot be reconciled with any correct principles of reasoning, and which we then thought, and still think, were condemned by every consideration looking to good government; acts which had for their object, and which finally resulted in the forcible expulsion of the Mormon people from the county."

At a Mormon settlement called Morley, a few miles from Nauvoo, a band of incendiaries, on the night of September 10th, began operations. Deliberately setting fire to the house of Edmund Durfee they turned the inmates out of doors and threatened them with death if they did not at once leave the settlement. Durfee they subsequently killed. The mob continued its nefarious work until Morley was in ashes, and its people homeless. Green Plains and Bear Creek, localities also settled by the Saints, were next visited by the house-burners, and in like manner devastated.† Such scenes continued for

* Colonel John Hay, of the State Department at Washington, in the *Atlantic Monthly* for December, 1869, in an article reminiscent of the Prophet's murder and the trial of his assassins, says; "The case was closed. There was not a man on the jury, in the court, in the county, that did not know the defendants had done the murder. But it was not proven, and the verdict of Not Guilty was right in law."

† "At Lima and Green Plains," says Governor Ford, "the anti-Mormons appointed persons to fire a few harmless shots at their own meeting-house where services were in progress, whereupon the conspirators and their dupes rode all over the country and spread

a week, during which nearly two hundred houses, shops and sheds were destroyed and the people driven away. A hundred and thirty-five teams went out from Nauvoo to bring in the homeless refugees, with what grain had been saved from the flames.

Intense excitement now reigned, not only at Nauvoo, and the out-lying Mormon settlements that nightly anticipated attack, but throughout Hancock County. Non-Mormons not of the radical class disapproved of these deeds of vandalism,* and Sheriff Backenstos, of Carthage—to his honor be it said—did everything in his power to quell the riots and punish the guilty parties. He first issued a proclamation, demanding that they desist. This order they ignored. He then called upon the *posse comitatus*—the power of the County—to assist him in dispersing the rioters. But there was no response. Finally he applied to the Mormons for a *posse*, which was furnished him, and he proceeded at once against the house-burners.

In the encounters that ensued two mobocrats were killed. One of these was Frank A. Worrell, the same who, as sergeant of the Carthage Greys, had charge of the Jail when Joseph and Hyrum Smith were murdered. Worrell was shot by Porter Rockwell at the order of Sheriff Backenstos. Worrell at the time was approaching the Sheriff who, fearing for his own life, ordered Rockwell to fire. The two were tried for murder in this case, but were acquitted. The other man killed was Samuel McBratney, who was among the house-burners on Bear Creek. The Sheriff and his *posse*, after scattering the mob, surrounded Carthage and made several arrests. But most of

dire alarm. As a result a mob arose and burnt one hundred and seventy-five houses and huts belonging to Mormons, who fled for their lives in utter destitution, in the middle of the sickly season."

* The Quincy *Whig*, edited by a Mr. Bartlett, said: "Seriously, these outrages should be put a stop to at once; if the Mormons have been guilty of crime, why punish them, but do not visit their sins upon defenseless women and children. This is as bad as the savages. * * * It is feared that this rising against the Mormons is not confined to the Morley settlement, but that there is an understanding among the anties in the northern part of this and Hancock counties to make a general sweep, burning and destroying the property of the Mormons wherever it can be found."

the rioters had fled. The Mormon settlements around Nauvoo were now evacuated, the people, fearing pillage and massacre, gathering into the city for protection.

At this juncture Governor Ford put forth his hand to restore order. General John J. Hardin, with troops, was sent into Hancock County for that purpose. Accompanying him were J. A. McDougal, Attorney-General of Illinois; Senator Stephen A. Douglas, and Major W. B. Warren. Having issued a proclamation to the people of the county, enjoining peace, good order, and obedience to law and authority, General Hardin and his associates next held a consultation with the Mormon leaders at Nauvoo. The result was an agreement by the Latter-day Saints to leave Illinois; the exodus to begin in the spring. This demand came from a meeting of representatives of nine counties of the State, assembled at Carthage. The following correspondence, in relation to the proposed exodus, passed between General Hardin and his friends—representing Governor Ford and the anti-Mormons—and the Church leaders at Nauvoo:

NAUVOO, Oct. 1, 1845.

To the First President and Council of the Church at Nauvoo:

Having had a free and full conversation with you this day, in reference to your proposed removal from this county, together with the members of your Church, we have to request you to submit the facts and intentions stated to us in said conversation to writing, in order that we may lay them before the Governor and people of the State. We hope that by so doing it will have a tendency to allay the excitement at present existing in the public mind.

We have the honor to subscribe ourselves, respectfully yours, etc.,

JOHN J. HARDIN,
S. A. DOUGLAS,
W. B. WARREN,
J. A. McDOUGAL.

NAUVOO, October 1, 1845.

To Gen. John J. Hardin, W. B. Warren, S. A. Douglas, and J. A. McDougal:

MESSRS:—In reply to your letter of this date, requesting us to “submit the facts and intentions stated by us to writing, in order that you may lay them before the Governor and people of the State,” we would refer you to our communication of the 24th ultimo, to the “Quincy Committee,” etc, a copy of which is herewith inclosed.

In addition to this, we would say, that we had commenced making arrangements to

remove from this county previous to the recent disturbances ; that we now have four companies organized, of one hundred families each, and six more companies now organizing of the same number each, preparatory to removal. That one thousand families, including the Twelve, the High Council, the Trustees and general authorities of the Church, are fully determined to remove in the spring, independent of the contingency of selling our property, and that this company will comprise from five to six thousand souls.

That the Church, as a body, desires to remove with us, and will, if sales can be effected, so as to raise the necessary means.

That the organization of the Church we represent is such, that there never can exist but one head or presidency at any one time, and all good members wish to be with the organization ; and all are determined to remove to some distant point where we shall neither infringe nor be infringed upon, so soon as time and means will permit.

That we have some hundreds of farms and some two thousand or more houses for sale in this city and county, and we request all good citizens to assist in the disposal of our property.

That we do not expect to find purchasers for our Temple and other public buildings ; but we are willing to rent them to a respectable community who may inhabit the city.

That we wish it distinctly understood, that, although we may not find purchasers for our property, we will not sacrifice or give it away, or suffer it illegally to be wrested from us.

That we do not intend to sow any wheat this fall, and should we all sell we shall not put in any more crops of any description.

That as soon as practicable we will appoint committees for this city, La Harpe, Macedonia, Bear Creek, and all necessary places in the county, to give information to purchasers.

That if these testimonies are not sufficient to satisfy any people that we are in earnest, we will soon give them a sign that cannot be mistaken—*we will leave them !*

In behalf of the Council, respectfully yours, etc.,

BRIGHAM YOUNG, President.

WILLARD RICHARDS, Clerk.

CHAPTER XV.

1845-1847.

THE EXODUS—BRIGHAM YOUNG LEADS HIS PEOPLE WESTWARD—SUGAR CREEK—SAMUEL BRANNAN AND THE SHIP "BROOKLYN"—GARDEN GROVE AND MOUNT PISGAH—THE SAINTS REACH THE MISSOURI RIVER—THE MEXICAN WAR AND THE MORMON BATTALION—ELDER LITTLE AND PRESIDENT POLK—COLONEL KANE—MORE ANTI-MORMON DEMONSTRATIONS—THE BATTLE OF NAUVOO—EXPULSION OF THE MORMON REMNANT FROM THE CITY—COLONEL KANE'S DESCRIPTION OF NAUVOO—THE CHURCH IN THE WILDERNESS—WINTER QUARTERS.

PURSUANT to the terms of the agreement, which satisfied General Hardin and his associate commissioners, and appeased for a time the anti-Mormons, preparations went forward all during the fall and winter for the spring exodus. Houses and lands in and around Nauvoo were sold, leased or abandoned. Wagons by hundreds were purchased or manufactured, and horses, mules, oxen, riding, draft and pack animals in general, procured in large numbers. Clothing, bedding, provisions, tents, tools, household goods, family relics and camp equipage composed the lading, wherewith animals and vehicles were packed and loaded until little or no room remained.

At length, all being ready for a start, on the 4th of February, 1846, the exodus of the Mormons from Illinois began. Charles Shumway, afterwards one of the original Utah pioneers, was the first to cross the Mississippi. Colonel Hosea Stout with a strong force of police had charge of the ferries, which were kept busy night and day until the river froze over. The companies then crossed on the ice. By the middle of February a thousand souls, with their wagons, teams and effects had been landed on the Iowa shore.

Sugar Creek, nine miles westward, was made the rendezvous and starting-point of the great overland pilgrimage. Here the advance companies pitched their tents, and awaited the coming of their leaders. The weather was bitter cold, the ground snow-covered and frozen, and the general prospect before the pilgrims so cheerless and desolate as to have dismayed souls less trustful in Providence, less inured to hardship and suffering than they. It was February 5th that the first camp formed on Sugar Creek. That night—a bitter night—nine wives became mothers; nine children were born in tents and wagons in that wintry camp. How these tender babes, these sick and delicate women were cared for under such conditions, is left to the imagination of the sensitive reader. How these Mormon exiles, outcasts of civilization, carrying their aged, infirm and helpless across the desolate plains and prairies, were tracked and trailed thereafter by the nameless graves of their dead, is a tale which, though often attempted, has never been and never will be fully told.*

On the 15th of February, Brigham Young, the leading spirit of the exodus, arrived at the camps on Sugar Creek. He was accompanied by Willard Richards and George A. Smith, with their families. Two days later Heber C. Kimball and Bishop Whitney joined them. Parley P. Pratt, who had returned from the east, was already there, but encamped at some distance from the main body. Other leading men, such as had not preceded these, soon followed. After the final departure of the Apostles from Nauvoo, Church affairs at that place

* "There is no parallel in the world's history to this migration from Nauvoo. The exodus from Egypt was from a heathen land, a land of idolaters, to a fertile region designated by the Lord for His chosen people, the land of Canaan. The pilgrim fathers in fleeing to America came from a bigoted and despotic people—a people making few pretensions to civil or religious liberty. It was from these same people who had fled from old-world persecutions that they might enjoy liberty of conscience in the wilds of America, from their descendants and associates, that other of their descendants, who claimed the right to differ from them in opinion and practice, were now fleeing. * * * Before this the Mormons had been driven to the outskirts of civilization, where they had built themselves a city; this they must now abandon, and throw themselves upon the mercy of savages."—Bancroft's History of Utah, page 217.

were left in charge of a committee consisting of Almon W. Babbitt, Joseph L. Heywood and John S. Fullmer.

Two days after Brigham's arrival on Sugar Creek,—during which interim he was busy with his brethren in organizing the camps for traveling,—he called together the Apostles who were with him and held a council. There were present Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, Orson Pratt, John Taylor, George A. Smith and Willard Richards. The subject considered by these leaders was as follows: It seems that about the time of the beginning of the exodus from Nauvoo, there had sailed from New York on the ship *Brooklyn* a company of Latter-day Saints bound for the Bay of San Francisco. They numbered two hundred and thirty-five souls, and were in charge of Elder Samuel Brannan. The company were well supplied with farming implements, and all tools necessary for the formation of a new settlement, which they proposed founding somewhere on the Californian coast. Elder Brannan believed that that would be the ultimate destination of the main body of his people. These Mormon colonists, who were probably the first American emigrants to land on the coast of California, carried with them a printing press, type, paper and other materials, with which was afterwards published the *California Star*, the pioneer newspaper of the Golden State. Elder Brannan, in New York, had edited a paper called *The Prophet*, published in the interests of the Latter-day Saints. He was a man of considerable energy and ability, but of speculative tendencies, and bent more to worldly ends than to spiritual aims.

Prior to sailing for San Francisco—then Yerba Buena—Brannan had entered into a peculiar compact with one A. G. Benson, representing certain politicians and financial sharpers at Washington, who, being aware of the contemplated Mormon exodus, proposed if possible to profit by it. This compact, which Brannan had sent to Nauvoo for the Church leaders to sign and then return to Mr. Benson, required that the Mormons transfer to A. G. Benson and Company, and to their heirs and assigns, the odd numbers of all the



Geo. Smith

lands and town lots they might acquire in the country where they settled. It was represented that ex-Postmaster Amos Kendall was one of the parties represented by Benson, and that no less a personage than the President of the United States was a "silent partner" in the scheme. If the Mormon leaders refused to sign the agreement, President Polk, it was stated, would forthwith proclaim that it was their intention to take sides with Great Britain or Mexico in the international controversies then pending between those countries and the United States, and send troops to intercept their flight, disarm and disperse them. In case they did sign, they and their people were to be protected and allowed to proceed on their journey unmolested. Such was the substance of Elder Brannan's letter, which, with a copy of this precious agreement, Brigham Young laid before his brethren, the Apostles, at their council on Sugar Creek, February 17th, 1846.

The proposition was treated with the contempt that it merited. Not only was it promptly rejected, but to Messrs. A. G. Benson and Company not even an answer was deigned. "Our trust is in God; we look to Him for protection," said Brigham and his brethren, too much inured to danger and deeds of violence to be frightened or tempted to thus dishonor themselves, even by threats of Federal bayonets.

That President Polk had really lent himself to the furtherance of such a rascally scheme, the general reader will be much inclined to doubt. We would prefer believing that the use of his name in this unsavory connection was without his consent and merely a shrewd trick of the sharpers, parties to the proposed land-grab, to give weight and cogency to their proposition.

A farewell visit to Nauvoo, where parting services were held in the all but completed Temple, and President Young and the Apostles again joined the camps on Sugar Creek. The temporary organization of the companies was now perfected. They comprised about four hundred wagons, all heavily loaded, with not more than half the number of teams necessary for a rapid journey. Most of the fam-

ilies were supplied with provisions for several months, but some were quite destitute, or had only sufficient to last for a few days. None, however, were permitted to lack food. The "share and share alike" principle and practice of the Mormon community prevented this. But the weather continuing very cold, some suffering was experienced on that score.

The "Camp of Israel" being organized, and the Governor of Iowa having been petitioned by the Saints for protection while passing through that Territory, President Young, on Sunday, March 1st, gave the order for a general advance. It was not the design, nor the subsequent practice of the Mormons to travel on Sundays. In all their migrations, except when necessity compelled, they were careful to keep the Sabbath day holy. But to get farther away from Nauvoo, which parties from the camps were frequently visiting, thus causing the anti-Mormons to suspect, or at least assert, that the exodus was not genuine, the President, on the opening day of spring, ordered the companies to move forward. Bishop George Miller's wagons had already departed. By noon all tents had been struck and the Camp began to move. In the van went Colonel Stephen Markham, with a hundred pioneers, to prepare the road before the main body. Colonel Hosea Stout with a company of riflemen—mounted police—guarded the wagons, and Colonel John Scott, with another hundred men, accompanied the artillery. William Clayton had been appointed clerk of the Camp, and Willard Richards, a graphic and ready writer, its historian.

Traveling five miles in a north-westerly direction, the Camp halted for the night,—still on Sugar Creek. Scraping away the snow, pitching their tents and corralling their wagons, quite a primitive little city soon sprang up, as if by magic, from the frozen earth. Large fires were built to dispel the gathering darkness, thaw out cold-benumbed fingers and features, and cook the evening meal. Despite the dreary situation and forbidding surroundings, a spirit of remarkable cheerfulness reigned throughout the Camp. Everybody seemed happy and determined to "make the best of it." In so

doing, no people, under such circumstances, ever succeed better than the Mormons. Were it not the Sabbath, the merriest of songs would be sung, the jolliest of jokes cracked, the funniest of stories told, *ad infinitum*. Captain Pitts' Brass Band would tune their instruments, and awaken with soul-stirring, heart-cheering strains the prairie solitudes. At all events such was their custom during that long and dreary journey to the Missouri River and beyond. But at a seasonable hour all merriment would be hushed; heads and hearts bowed in reverent prayer, thanks returned to heaven for mercies already bestowed, and God's blessing invoked upon Israel,—these whose habitation was to be for many months the houseless plain and prairie, and the remnant left behind in the doomed city of Nauvoo.

Thus, from day to day, slowly and wearily traveling, went the exiled Saints across the undulating surface of snow-covered Iowa. The roads were very bad, the weather cold and stormy, and the streams, now frozen, now swollen by spring freshets, almost and at times quite impassable. Again and again they were obliged to double teams on the heavily loaded wagons, to drag them through deep streams and miry marshes on their line of travel. Some days three or four miles would be the extent of their journey. Many a halt was made, at times for weeks. Their able-bodied men often found employment at the nearest settlements, even crossing over the line into Missouri to obtain work, exchanging their labor with their old enemies for needed provisions and supplies. -

On the 27th of March, on Shoal Creek, in the Chariton River region, where for three weeks they were delayed by the freshets, the Camp was more thoroughly organized. Companies of "hundreds," "fifties," and "tens" were formed, and captains appointed over them. Each company had its commissary, and there was a Commissary General. Henry G. Sherwood was that officer. David D. Yearsley, W. H. Edwards, Peter Haws, Samuel Gulley and Joseph Warburton were contracting commissaries. There were still others whose duty it was to distribute equitably among the various companies, grain, provisions and other commodities furnished for their use. The

Apostles, who had hitherto been acting as captains of companies were relieved of those commands and made presidents of divisions. The Camp consisted of two grand divisions, presided over by Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball; the former as President and General-in-chief, directing the whole.

The laws of the Camp were strict without being oppressive. The President had said, while on Sugar Creek: "We will have no laws we cannot keep, but we will have order in the camp. If any want to live in peace when we have left this place, they must toe the mark." Honesty and morality were strictly enjoined; decency and decorum likewise. Thieving was not tolerated, either by Mormons or non-Mormons. In one or two instances where stolen property was found in camp,—some wayside trapper or farmer being the victim,—the thief was compelled to return it in person, and make due reparation. Profanity and irreverence were forbidden. Amusement and recreation, to a proper extent, were encouraged, as tending to divert the minds of the people from their past troubles and lighten their present toils, but excess of mirth and loud laughter were discountenanced.

At various points between the Mississippi and the Missouri the Mormons founded temporary settlements, or, as they called them, "traveling stakes of Zion," fencing the land, building log cabins, and putting in crops for their own use or for the benefit of their people who came after them. Two of these "stakes" were named Garden Grove and Mount Pisgah; the former on the east fork of Grand River, one hundred and forty-five miles from Nauvoo, and the latter near the middle fork of the Grand, twenty-seven miles farther west. Mount Pisgah was on the Pottawatomie Indian lands.

A thousand west-bound wagons of the Saints were now rolling over the prairies of Iowa. Amos Fielding, traveling back to Nauvoo, counted over nine hundred of their vehicles in three days. Many more were preparing to follow. Winter was past; the snow had disappeared, the icy streams had melted, the grass was growing, flowers blooming and birds singing. Summer had come, and all nature

smiled in welcome. The vanguard of the migrating trains, under Brigham Young, reached the Missouri River about the middle of June. They were cordially welcomed by the Pottawatomie and Omaha Indians, upon whose lands the Saints temporarily settled.

Before reaching the Missouri the Mormon leaders had planned to leave the main body of their people there, and at the various settlements founded along the way, and while the remnants in the rear were gathering to those places, to push on that season, with a picked band of pioneers, and explore the Rocky Mountains. Apostle Woodruff, who was back from Europe, and had arrived at Mount Pisgah, received word from the President at Council Bluffs * to furnish one hundred mounted men for the expedition. Sixty had volunteered, and the muster was still in progress, when an event occurred to materially change the program, and delay the departure of the pioneers until the following spring. It was the call for the Mormon Battalion.

In April, 1846, war had broken out between the United States and Mexico. The original cause was the annexation of Texas in 1845, but the immediate *casus belli* was the occupation by United States troops, in March, 1846, of disputed territory on the Texan frontier, an act regarded by Mexico as a virtual declaration of war. She resented it as such, and in April began hostilities. The victories of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, won by General Zachary Taylor on the 8th and 9th of May, drove the Mexicans across the Rio Grande, and here the war, in the opinion of many Americans, should have ended. But the majority of the nation, especially the South—bent upon extending slavery and preserving her balance of power—wished the strife continued, having set their hearts upon more. Nothing now would suffice but the extension of the boundaries of the Union to the Pacific Coast of California. This meant, in plain terms, the wresting from Mexico of her two provinces of New Mexico and

* So called from the fact that the Indian tribes of that region were in the habit of holding their councils there.

California, lying directly in the path of the Republic in its proposed march to the sea. Great Britain, still claiming Oregon, also coveted California, and it was to checkmate that power in her ambitious designs, as well as to acquire more territory for future states, that the war with Mexico was continued.

President Polk, having announced to Congress that war with Mexico existed by her own act, was authorized to issue a call for fifty thousand volunteers. At the same time ten million dollars were voted for war purposes. The plan was to strike Mexico in three places. General Stephen F. Kearney was to invade New Mexico and California, General Taylor to continue operations along the Rio Grande, and General Winfield Scott, commander-in-chief, to invade Mexico from the Gulf coast, carrying the war into the heart of the enemy's country. So much for the subject in general. The call for the Mormon Battalion was a portion of the plan matured at Washington for the invasion by General Kearney of the northern provinces of Mexico.

Let us now go back a little further. Shortly before the war broke out, and soon after the beginning of the exodus from Nauvoo, Elder Jesse C. Little, at the suggestion of President Young, visited Washington for the purpose of soliciting governmental aid for his people in their exodus. No gift of money or of other means was asked, but it was thought that the national authorities might wish to employ the Saints in freighting provisions and naval stores to Oregon or other points on the Pacific coast. Elder Little, who was in the east when he received his instructions from Nauvoo, carried with him to the capital letters of introduction from Governor Steele, of New Hampshire, and Colonel Thomas L. Kane, of Philadelphia; the former an old acquaintance of Elder Little's, and the latter—Colonel Kane—one of those brave and chivalric souls, too rarely met with in this world, ever ready to espouse, from a pure sense of justice and knightly valor, the cause of the oppressed. Such a class he believed the Mormons to be. Colonel Kane was brother to Dr. Kane, the famous Arctic explorer. Governor Steele's letter was addressed to

Secretary Bancroft, of the U. S. Navy; that of Colonel Kane to Vice-President George M. Dallas.

Through ex-Postmaster-General Amos Kendall, Elder Little obtained an introduction to President Polk and other distinguished personages, with whom he had several interviews, laying before them the situation and prospects of his people and their application for governmental aid. He was kindly received by the President, who referred to the Saints in favorable terms. He stated that he had no prejudice against them, but believed them to be good citizens and loyal Americans; as such he was "willing to do them all the good in his power, consistently." Elder Little, after his first interview with the President, addressed to him a petition which closed as follows :

From twelve to fifteen thousand Mormons have already left Nauvoo for California, and many others are making ready to go ; some have gone around Cape Horn, and I trust, before this time, have landed at the Bay of San Francisco. We have about forty thousand in the British Isles, all determined to gather to this land, and thousands will sail this Fall. There are also many thousands scattered through the States, besides the great number in and around Nauvoo, who will go to California as soon as possible, but many are destitute of money to pay their passage either by sea or land.

We are true-hearted Americans, true to our native country, true to its laws, true to its glorious institutions ; and we have a desire to go under the outstretched wings of the American Eagle ; we would disdain to receive assistance from a foreign power, although it should be proffered, unless our Government shall turn us off in this great crisis, and compel us to be foreigners.

If you will assist us in this crisis, I hereby pledge my honor, as the representative of this people, that the whole body will stand ready at your call, and act as one man in the land to which we are going ; and should our territory be invaded, we will hold ourselves ready to enter the field of battle, and then like our patriotic fathers, make the battle-field our grave, or gain our liberty.

Just at this juncture the news reached Washington that the conflict for some time pending between the United States and Mexico had begun, General Taylor having fought his first two battles with the Mexicans. This news, which set all Washington aflame, determined President Polk upon the project of taking immediate possession of California, and of using the migrating Mormons for that purpose. His plan, as laid before his cabinet, was to send Elder Little direct to the Mormon-camps in Iowa, to raise a thousand picked men "to make

a dash into California and take possession of it in the name of the United States." This battalion was to be officered by its own men, with the exception of the commander, who was to be appointed by the President. They were to be armed and equipped by the government, and furnished with cannon and everything necessary to defend the country they conquered. A thousand more Mormons from the eastern states were to be sent via Cape Horn in a U. S. transport for the same purpose. The plan was fully matured, and about to be executed, when it was changed through the influence of Senator Thomas Benton, of Missouri. Then came the adoption of the general plan of operations, involving a call for five hundred Mormon volunteers to form a portion of General Kearney's force to invade New Mexico and California.

About the middle of June Elder Little left Washington for the west. He was accompanied by Colonel Thomas L. Kane, who had been commissioned by the President to carry special dispatches to General Kearney, at Fort Leavenworth, relative to the Mormon Battalion.

The commander of the Army of the West, who was about to start for Santa Fe, on receiving these dispatches, at once detailed Captain James Allen to proceed to the camps of the Saints, muster the battalion, and march them to Fort Leavenworth, where they would be armed and prepared for the field. Thence he was to lead them to Santa Fe, in the trail of General Kearney and the main army. Captain Allen, accompanied by three dragoons, reached Mount Pisgah on the 26th of June. Elder Little and Colonel Kane, who were on the way thither, had not yet arrived. Here we touch the point in our narrative from which digression was made in order to explain more fully the call for the Mormon Battalion.

At sight of the recruiting officer and his men, the Mormons at Mount Pisgah were at first somewhat alarmed, supposing them to be the vanguard of a United States army sent to intercept them. The threat of Messrs. Benson and Company, conveyed in Elder Brannan's letter, relative to disarming and dispersing the Saints if their leaders

refused to sign away their rights, was probably known at Mount Pisgah, and its fulfillment now seemed imminent. But Captain Allen soon explained his errand to Apostle Woodruff and the High Council of the Stake,* and the first thrill of excitement subsided. The following "Circular to the Mormons" set forth more in detail the import of the officer's visit:

CIRCULAR TO THE MORMONS.

I have come among you, instructed by Col. S. F. Kearney of the U. S. army, now commanding the Army of the West, to visit the Mormon camp, and to accept the service for twelve months of four or five companies of Mormon men who may be willing to serve their country for that period in our present war with Mexico; this force to unite with the Army of the West at Santa Fe, and be marched thence to California, where they will be discharged.

They will receive pay and rations, and other allowances, such as other volunteers or regular soldiers receive, from the day they shall be mustered into the service, and will be entitled to all comforts and benefits of regular soldiers of the army, and when discharged, as contemplated, at California, they will be given gratis their arms and accoutrements, with which they will be fully equipped at Fort Leavenworth. This is offered to the Mormon people now. This year an opportunity of sending a portion of their young and intelligent men to the ultimate destination of their whole people, and entirely at the expense of the United States, and this advanced party can thus pave the way and look out the land for their brethren to come after them.

Those of the Mormons who are desirous of serving their country, on the conditions here enumerated, are requested to meet me without delay at their principal camp at the Council Bluffs, whither I am going to consult with their principal men, and to receive and organize the force contemplated to be raised.

I will receive all healthy, able-bodied men of from eighteen to forty-five years of age.

J. ALLEN, Captain 1st Dragoons.

Camp of the Mormons, at Mount Pisgah, one hundred and thirty-eight miles east of Council Bluffs, June 26th, 1846.

NOTE.—I hope to complete the organization of this battalion in six days after my reaching Council Bluffs, or within nine days from this time.

Carrying letters of introduction from the authorities at Mount Pisgah to the leaders at Council Bluffs, Captain Allen hurried on to the Missouri, whither he was preceded by a special messenger, sent by Apostle Woodruff to inform the President of his coming.

* These "traveling Stakes of Zion," like other stakes, had their High Councils and all needful equipment, spiritual and temporal.

The surprise, almost dismay, with which the main body of the Mormons received the startling news—startling indeed to them—that the United States government had demanded five hundred of their best men, to march to California and take part in the war against Mexico, may well be imagined. What! the nation which, according to their view, had virtually thrust them from its borders, permitted mobs to plunder them, rob them of their homes, murder their prophets, and drive them into the wilderness, now calling upon them for aid? Had that nation ever helped them in their extremity? Had not their appeals for succor and protection, addressed to Governors, Judges and Presidents invariably been ignored or denied? Five hundred able-bodied men, the pick and flower of the camp, wanted. And that, too, in an Indian country, in the midst of an exodus unparalleled for dangers and hardships, when every active man was needed as a bulwark of defense and a staff for the aged and feeble. Even delicate women, thus far, in some instances had been driving teams and tending stock, owing to the limited number of men available. And had they not already buried, in lonely prairie graves, many of their sick and helpless ones, who had perished from sheer lack of needed care impossible to bestow? Such was the subject as it presented itself to them. Such were among their thoughts and reflections at that hour.

And yet it was their country calling; that country to which their pilgrim ancestors had fled; for which their patriot sires had fought and suffered, whose deeds of heroism were among their highest and holiest traditions. America, land of liberty, land of Zion, the place for the Holy City which they or their children must yet uprear upon her chosen and consecrated soil! Such also were among their reflections.

What was to be done? What would their leaders decide to do? Queries, these, that flew like lightning, as the news of the coming of the government's agent sped from place to place, and from tent to tent, through all the "Camps of Israel." Not long were they left unanswered.

1



Levi Richards

1840-1890

"You shall have your battalion, Captain Allen," said Brigham Young; that officer having arrived at the Bluffs, met the Mormon leaders, and made known to them his errand in person. It was the 1st of July. There were present, besides the Captain and the President, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, Orson Pratt, Willard Richards, George A. Smith, John Taylor, John Smith and Levi Richards. "You shall have your battalion," said Brigham determinedly, "and if there are not young men enough, we will take the old men, and if they are not enough, we will take the women," he added, a touch of grim humor tempering the sternness of his resolve. There not being enough able-bodied men on the Missouri to meet the requisition, back went three of the Apostles—Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball and Willard Richards—to Mount Pisgah, in the role of recruiting sergeants. There they met Colonel Kane and Elder Little, the former, chaperoned by the latter, having come to visit the camps. From them they learned more fully of the avowed purpose of the government in calling for the Mormon volunteers.

The leaders were not convinced, however, that the call was not designed as a test of Mormon loyalty; nor were they converted from that view on hearing later, from a source esteemed reliable, that their inveterate foe, Senator Benton, of Missouri, had obtained from President Polk after the call was issued, a pledge that if the Mormons refused to respond, United States troops should be sent to cut off their route, disarm and disperse them. Of this they were yet unaware. Still they regarded the demand for the troops—"demand" they styled it—as designed to test their loyalty, and the opportunity to prove their fealty and stultify their traducers, who were insisting that they were traitors and aliens to their country, was one not to be lost.

Volunteers were enrolled at Mount Pisgah, and messengers sent to Garden Grove and other places, as far back as Nauvoo, to summon to head-quarters young men, old men and boys, to fill up the gaps in camp created by the enlistment of the Battalion. Men were

detailed especially to look after the families of the volunteers in their absence. The President and his party then returned to Council Bluffs, Colonel Kane going also, and on the arrival there of the Pisgah volunteers the muster was completed. Colonel Kane thus speaks of the event: "A central mass meeting for council, some harangues at the more remotely scattered camps, an American flag brought out from the store-house of things rescued and hoisted to the top of a tree-mast, and in three days the force was reported, mustered, organized and ready to march."

What were the Mormons doing with that "American flag?" What use had they for the Stars and Stripes, and why were they bringing with them into the wilderness—into Mexico—the sacred banner of their sires, if they were indeed traitors and aliens, as their enemies so persistently asserted? Was it all a trick, a political and hypocritical master-stroke? Had they foreseen this test of their fealty, and prepared that banner as a proof of their patriotism beforehand, as calcium light and red-fire are prepared and held in readiness for a theatrical tableau? If as much were to be asserted in relation to that event, it would be no more than the Mormons have had to meet ever since that hour from their accusers. Such of these as are honest and sincere in their assertions have never understood the Mormons aright.

"I want to say to every man," said Brigham Young, in his farewell address to the Battalion,—“the Constitution of the United States, as framed by our fathers, was dictated, was revealed, was put into their hearts by the Almighty, * * * and I tell you in the name of Jesus Christ it is as good as ever I could ask for. I say unto you, magnify the laws. There is no law in the United States, or in the Constitution, but I am ready to make honorable.” He had before remarked to Colonel Kane—re-uttering an idea formerly advanced by Joseph Smith—that the time would come when the Saints would “have to save the Government of the United States, or it would crumble to atoms.” A people who cherish such sentiments may seem fanatical, but they certainly are not disloyal.

After a farewell ball in Father Taylor's "bowery,"* where to the music of violin, horn, triangle, bells and tamborine, the glowing hours of a midsummer afternoon were cheerily, merrily chased and consumed, the advance companies of the Battalion set out for Fort Leavenworth. The date of the enlistment was the 16th of July. In all, the Battalion numbered five hundred and forty-nine souls. As many of these volunteers had much to do with the early settlement of Utah and were virtually among the pioneers of the Territory, we deem it but proper to here preserve the record of their names. The various companies and the personnel of each were as follows:

LIST OF NAMES IN THE MORMON BATTALION.

COMPANY A.

Officers.

Jefferson Hunt, Captain.	Alexander McCord, 4th Sergeant.
George W. Oman, 1st Lieutenant.	Gilbert Hunt, 1st Corporal.
Lorenzo Clark, 2nd Lieutenant.	Lafayette N. Frost, 2nd Corporal.
William W. Willis, 3rd Lieutenant, (1st Sergeant at Muster In.)	Thomas Weir, 3rd Corporal (Private at M. O.)
James Ferguson, Sergeant Major.	William S. Muir, 4th Corporal (Private at M. I., 1st Sergeant at Muster Out.)
Phineas R. Wright, 1st Sergeant (Private at Muster Out.)	Elisha Everett, Musician.
Ebenezer Brown, 2nd Sergeant.	Joseph W. Richards, Musician, (Died at Pueblo.)
Reddick N. Allred, 3rd Sergeant.	

* Says Colonel Kane: "It was the custom, whenever the larger camps rested for a few days together, to make great arbors, or boweries, as they called them, of poles, and brush, and wattling, as places of shelter for their meetings of devotion or conference. In one of these, * * * was gathered now the mirth and beauty of the Mormon Israel.

"If anything told that the Mormons had been bred to other lives, it was the appearance of the women as they assembled here. Before their flight they had sold their watches and trinkets as the most available recourse for raising ready money; and hence like their partners, who wore waistcoats cut with useless watch pockets, they, although their ears were pierced and bore the marks of rejected pendants, were without earrings, chains or broaches. Except such ornaments, however, they lacked nothing most becoming the attire of decorous maidens. The neatly darned white stockings, and clean white petticoat, the clear-starched collar and chemisette, the something faded, only because too-well washed lawn or gingham gown, that fitted modishly to the waist of its pretty wearer—these, if any of them spoke of poverty, spoke of a poverty that had known better days."

Privates.

1 Allen, Rufus C.	33 Egbert, Robert C.	62 Oyler, Melcher
2 Allred, James R.	34 Fairbanks, Henry	63 Packard, Henry, (M. C. as Corporal.)
3 Allred, James T. S.	35 Frederick, David	64 Persons, Ebenezer
4 Allred, Reuben W.	36 Glines, James H. (Q. M. Sergeant at M. I., Pri- vate at M. O.)	65 Roe, Cariatat C.
5 Allen, Albern	37 Garner, David	66 Riter, John
6 Brown, John	38 Gordon, Gilman	67 Steele, George E.
7 Butterfield, Jacob K.	39 Goodwin, Andrew	68 Steele, Isaiah C.
8 Bailey, James	40 Hulett, Schuyler	69 Sessions, Richard
9 Brunson, Clinton D.	41 Holden, Elijah E.	70 Shepherd, Lafayette, (M. O. as Corporal.)
10 Brass, Benjamin	42 Hampton, James (died at camp on Rio Grande.)	71 Swartout Hamilton
11 Blanchard, Mervin S.	43 Hawkins, Benjamin	72 Sexton, George
12 Beckstead, Gordon S.	44 Hickenlooper, William F.	73 Sessions, John
13 Beckstead, Orin M.	45 Hunt, Martial	74 Sessions, William B.
14 Bickmore, Gilbert	46 Hewett, Eli B.	75 Taylor, Joseph
15 Brown, William W.	47 Hudson, Wilford	76 Thompson, John
16 Beran, James	48 Hoyt, Timothy S.	77 Vrandenburg Adna
17 Bryant, John S.	49 Hoyt, Henry P.	78 Weaver, Miles
18 Curtis, Josiah	50 Ivy, Richard A.	79 Wriston, John P.
19 Cox, Henderson	51 Jackson, Charles A.	80 Wriston, Isaac N.
20 Chase, Hiram B.	52 Johnson, Henry	81 Weaver, Franklin
21 Calkins, Alva C.	53 Kelly, William	82 Wilson, Alfred G.
22 Casper, William W.	54 Kelley, Nicholas	83 Wheeler, Merrill W.
23 Calkins, James W.	55 Kibley, James	84 White, Samuel S. (Sam- uel F. in original)
24 Calkins, Sylvanus	56 Lemon, James W.	85 Webb, Charles Y.
25 Calkins, Edwin R.	57 Lake, Barnabas	86 Winn, Dennis
26 Colman, George	58 Moss, David	87 Woodworth, Lysander
27 Clark, Joseph	59 Maxwell, Maxie	88 White, Joseph
28 Clark, Riley G.	60 Mayfield, Benjamin F.	89 Willey, Jeremiah
29 Decker, Zechariah B.	61 Naile, Conrad	
30 Dobson, Joseph		
31 Dodson, Eli		
32 Earl, James C.		

COMPANY B.

Officers.

Jesse D. Hunter, Captain.	David P. Rainey, 1st Corporal.
Elam Luddington, 1st Lieutenant.	Thomas Dunn, 2nd Corporal.
Ruel Barrus, 2nd Lieutenant.	John D. Chase, 3rd Corporal.
Philemon C. Merrill, 3rd Lieutenant.	William Hunter, Musician.
William Coray, 1st Orderly Sergeant.	George W. Taggart, Musician.
William Hyde, 2nd Orderly Sergeant.	Albert Smith, 3rd Orderly Sergeant.

Privates.

1 Allen, George	31 Evans, William	61 Noler, Christian
2 Allen, Elijah	32 Eastman, Marcus N.	62 Owens, Robert
3 Alexander, Horace M.	33 Freeman, Elijah N.	63 Pearson, Ephraim
4 Allen, Franklin	34 Follett, William A.	64 Persons, Harmon D.
5 Bush, Richard	35 Fife, Peter	65 Prouse, William
6 Bird, William	36 Green, Ephraim	66 Park, James 1st
7 Bingham, Thomas	37 Garner, William A.	67 Park, James 2nd
8 Bingham, Erastus	38 Garner, Phillip	68 Richards, Peter F.
9 Billings, Orson	39 Hawk, Nathan	69 Rogers, Samuel H.
10 Bigler, Henry W.	40 Huntsman, Isaiah	70 Study, David
11 Boley, Samuel (died on Missouri River)	41 Hoffheins, Jacob	71 Smith, Azariah
12 Barrowman, John	42 Hanks, Ephraim R.	72 Stevens, Lyman
13 Brackenberry, Benj. B.	43 Hawk, William	73 Stoddard, Rufus
14 Brown, Francis	44 Hinkley, Arza E. (Ezra on original)	74 Simmons, William A.
15 Bliss, Robert S.	45 Hunter, Edward	75 Sly, James C.
16 Bybee, John	46 Haskell, George	76 Steers, Andrew J.
17 Clark, George S.	47 Harris, Silas	77 Stillman, Dexter
18 Colton, Philander	48 Jones, David H.	78 Workman, Andrew J.
19 Cheney, Zacheus	49 Keyser, Guy M.	79 Walker, William
20 Callahan, Thomas W.	50 King, John M.	80 Willis, Ira
21 Church, Haden W.	51 Kirk, Thomas	81 Workman, Oliver G.
22 Camp, J. G.	52 Lawson, John	82 Willis, W. S. S.
23 Carter, P. J.	53 Morris, Thomas	83 Watts, John
24 Curtis, Dorr P.	54 McCarty, Nelson	84 Whitney, Francis T.
25 Carter, R.	55 Mount, Hiram B.	85 Wright, Charles
26 Dayton, William J.	56 Martin, Jesse B.	86 Wilcox, Edward
27 Dutcher, Thomas P.	57 Murdock, John R.	87 Wilcox, Henry
28 Dolton, Henry S.	58 Murdock, Price	88 Wheeler, John L.
29 Dunham, Albert	59 Myers, Samuel	89 Winters, Jacob
30 Evans, Israel	60 Miles, Samuel	90 Zabriskie, Jerome

COMPANY C.

Officers.

James Brown, Captain.	Joel J. Terrill, 3rd Sergeant, (Private at M.O.)
George W. Rosecrans, 1st Lieutenant.	David Wilken, 4th Sergeant; (Private at M. O.)
Samuel Thompson, 2nd Lieutenant,	Jabez Nowlin, 1st Corporal; (Private at M. O.)
Robert Clift, (Promoted from Orderly Ser- geant to 3rd Lieutenant.)	Alexander Brown, 2nd Corporal.
Orson B. Adams, 1st Sergeant at M. I., 2nd Sergeant at M. O.	Edward Martin, 3rd Corporal; (2nd Ser- geant at M. O.
Elijah Elmer, 2nd Sergeant at M. I., 1st Sergeant at M. O.	Daniel Tyler, 4th Corporal; (3rd Sergt. at M.O.)
	Richard D. Sprague, Musician.
	Russell G. Brownell, Musician; (Corp'l at M.O.)

Privates.

1 Adair, Wesley	31 Gould, Samuel	62 Peck, Thorit, (Corporal at M. O.)
2 Boyle, Henry G. (Henry B. Miller on original)	32 Gibson, Thomas	63 Peck, Isaac
3 Burt, William	33 Green, John	64 Pulsipher, David
4 Barney, Walter	34 Hatch, Meltiah	65 Persons, Judson
5 Babcock, Lorenzo	35 Hatch, Orin	66 Richie, Benjamin
6 Brown, Jesse J.	36 Holt, William	67 Rust, William W.
7 Bailey, Addison	37 Harmon, Ebenezer	68 Richmond, Benjamin
8 Bailey, Jefferson	38 Harmon, Lorenzo F.	69 Reynolds, William
9 Beckstead, William E.	39 Holdaway, Shadrach	70 Riser, John J.
10 Brimhall, John	40 Hendrickson, James	71 Smith, Milton
11 Blackburn, Abner	41 Hancock, Charles	72 Smith, Richard
12 Bybee, Henry G.	42 Hancock, George W.	73 Shupe, James
13 Clift, James	43 Ivie, Thomas C.	74 Shupe, Andrew J.
14 Covil, John Q. A.	44 Johnston, William J.	75 Shipley, Joseph
15 Condit, Jephtha	45 Johnston, Jesse W.	76 Squires, William, (Corporal at M. O.)
16 Carpenter, Isaac	46 Johnson, Jarvis	77 Shumway, Aurora
17 Carpenter, William H.	47 Layton, Christopher	78 Thompson, James L.
18 Calvert, John	48 Larson, Thurston	79 Thomas, Nathan T.
19 Catlin, George W.	49 Landers, Ebenezer	80 Thomas, Elijah
20 Donald, Neal	50 Lewis, Samuel	81 Tuttle, Elanson
21 Dunn, James	51 Myler, James	82 Truman, Jacob M.
22 Dalton, Harry	52 McCullough, Levi H.	83 Tindell, Solomon
23 Dalton, Edward	53 Morey, Harley	84 Wade, Edward W.
24 Durphy, Francillo	54 Maggard, Benjamin	85 Wade, Moses
25 Dodge, Augustus E.	55 Mowrey, John T.	86 Wood, William
26 Forbush, Lorin	56 Mead, Orlando F.	87 White, John J.
27 Fellows, Hiram W.	57 More, Calvin W.	88 Wilcox, Matthew
28 Fife, John	58 Olmstead, Hiram	89 Welsh, Madison
29 Fifield, Levi	59 Perkins, David	90 Wheeler, Henry
30 Gould, John C.	60 Perkins, John	
	61 Pickup, George	

COMPANY D.

Officers.

Nelson Higgins, Captain.	Alpheus P. Haws, 4th Sergeant.
George P. Dykes, 1st Lieutenant.	Arnold Stephens, 1st Corporal.
Sylvester Hulett, 2nd Lieutenant.	John Buchanan, 2nd Corporal.
Cyrus C. Canfield, 3rd Lieutenant.	William Coon, 3rd Corporal.
Nathaniel V. Jones, 1st Sergeant; (Private at M. O.)	Lewis Lane, 4th Corporal; (Private at M. O.)
Thomas Williams, 2nd Sergeant.	Willard Smith, Musician.
Luther T. Tuttle, 3rd Sergeant.	Henry W. Jackson, (Henry J. on original.) Musician.

Privates.

1 Abbott, Joshua	32 Gribble, William	61 Richmond, William
2 Averett, Juthan	33 Hoagland, Lucas	62 Robinson, William
3 Brown, James 1st	34 Henry, Daniel	63 Raymond, Almon P.
4 Brown, James S	35 Hirons James	64 Smith, John G.
5 Badlam, Samuel	36 Huntington, Dimick B.	65 Stephens, Alexander
6 Button, Montgomery	37 Hendricks, Wm. D.	66 Spencer, William W. ,
7 Brizzee, Henry W.	38 Holmes, Jonathan	67 Stewart, Benjamin
8 Boyd, George W.	39 Higgins, Alfred	68 Stewart, James
9 Boyd, William	40 Hunsaker, Abraham, (1st	69 Stewart, Robert B.
10 Barger, William W.	Sergt. at M. O.)	70 Sargent, Abel M.
11 Compton, Allen	41 Jacobs, Sanford, (Corporal	71 Savage, Levi
12 Cole, James B.	at M. O.)	72 Stillman, Clark
13 Casto, William	42 Kenny, Loren E.	73 Swarthout, Nathan
14 Casto, James	43 Lamb, Lisbon	74 Sharp, Albert .
15 Curtis Foster	44 Laughlin, David S.	75 Sharp, Norman
16 Clawson, John R.	45 Maxwell, William	76 Shelton, Sebert C.
17 Cox, Amos	46 Meeseck, Peter J.	77 Sanderson, Henry W.
18 Collins, Robert H.	47 Meacham, Erastus	78 Steele, John
19 Chase, Abner	48 Bingham, Erastus	79 Thompson, Henry
20 Davis, Sterling	49 Merrill, Ferdinand	80 Thompson, Miles
21 Davis, Eleazer	50 McArthur, Henry	81 Tanner, Myron
22 Davis, James	51 Oakley, James	82 Twitchel, Anciel
23 Douglas, Ralph	52 Owen, James	83 Tubbs, William
24 Douglas, James	53 Peck, Edwin M.	84 Treat, Thomas
25 Flechter, Philander	54 Perrin, Charles	85 Hayward, Thomas
26 Frazier, Thomas	55 Pettegrew, James P.	86 Tippetts, John
27 Fatoute, Ezra	56 Rollins, John	87 Walker, Edwin
28 Forsgreen John	57 Rawson, Daniel B.	88 Woodward, Francis
29 Finlay, Thomas	58 Roberts, Benjamin	89 Whiting, Almon
30 Gilbert, John	59 Runyan, Levi	90 Whiting, Edmond
31 Gifford, William W.	60 Rowe, William	

COMPANY E.

Officers.

Daniel C. Davis, Captain.
 James Pace, 1st. Lieut.
 Andrew Lytle, 2d. Lieut.
 Samuel L. Gully, 3rd. Lieut.
 Samuel L. Brown, 1st. Sergt.
 Richard Brazier, 2nd. Sergt.

Ebenezer Hanks, 3rd. Sergt.
 Daniel Browett, 4th. Sergt.
 James A. Scott, Corp. (died at Pueblo)
 Levi W. Hancock, Musician.
 Jesse Earl.

Privates.

1 Allen John, (drummed out of service, non-"Mormon ")	28 Harmon, Oliver N.	56 Pugmire, Jonathan, jun.
2 Allen, George	29 Harris, Robert	57 Rollins ———
3 Bentley, John	30 Harrison, Isaac	58 Richardson, Thomas
4 Beers, William	31 Hart, James S.	59 Richards, L.
5 Brown, Daniel	32 Harrison, Israel	60 Roberts, L.
6 Buckley, Newman	33 Hess, John W.	61 Sanders, Richard T.
7 Bunker, Edward	34 Hickmot, John	62 Scott, Leonard M.
8 Caldwell, Matthew	35 Hopkins, Charles	63 Scott, James R.
9 Campbell, Samuel	36 Hoskins, Henry	64 Skein, Joseph
10 Campbell, Jonathan	37 Howell, T. C. D.	65 Spidle, John
11 Cazier, James	38 Howell, William	66 Slater, Richard
12 Cazier, John	39 Jacobs, Bailey	67 Snyder, John
13 Clark, Samuel	40 Judd, Hiram	68 Smith, Lot
14 Clark, Albert	41 Judd, Zadock K.	69 Smith, David
15 Chapin, Samuel	42 Jimmerson, Charles	70 Smith, Elisha
16 Cox, John	43 Knapp, Albert	71 Smith, John
17 Cummings, George	44 Kelley, George	72 St. John, Stephen M.
18 Day, Abraham	45 Karren, Thomas	73 Stephens, Roswell
19 Dyke, Simon	46 Lance, William	74 Standage, Henry
20 Dennett, Daniel Q.	47 McLelland, Wm. C.	75 Strong, William
21 Earl, Jacob	48 Miller, Daniel	76 Tanner, Albert
22 Ewell, Wm.	49 McBride, Haslam	77 West, Benj.
23 Ewell, Martin F.	50 Miller, Miles	78 Wilson, George
24 Earl, Justice C.	51 Park, Wm. A.	79 Woolsey, Thomas
25 Findlay, John	52 Pettegrew, David	80 Williams, James V.
26 Follett, William T.	53 Pixton, Robert	81 Whitworth, Wm.
27 Glazier, Luther W.	54 Phelps, Alva, (died on the Arkansas)	
	55 Porter, Sanford	

Several families of women and children accompanied their husbands and fathers in the Battalion, and these, with the officers' servants, brought the full number up to five hundred and forty-nine.

Captain James Allen, whose brave and generous spirit had from the first endeared him to every soul in the Battalion, to the great grief of all fell sick and died at Fort Leavenworth on the 23rd of August. Lieutenant A. J. Smith, an officer not so highly esteemed by them, then took command of the Battalion and marched them to Santa Fe, which town had already been captured by General Kearney.

On October 13th, by order of the General, Colonel Philip St. George Cooke, a brusque and eccentric though brave and manly officer, assumed command of the Mormon Battalion. Then began their arduous and heroic march across the burning plains and rugged mountains of New Mexico to southern California. In all, the Battalion marched, from the Missouri to the Pacific, a distance of over two thousand miles, pioneering much of the way through an untrodden wilderness, braving dangers and enduring hardships compared with which fighting would have been mere sport. Said Colonel Cooke, their commander: "History may be searched in vain for an equal march of infantry."

Short rations, lack of water, excessive toil in road-making, well-digging and over-marching, caused much suffering, sickness and some deaths among the Battalion. Even before reaching Santa Fe their sufferings were severe, and many were disabled and prevented from proceeding farther. These disabled detachments, with most of the women of the Battalion, were placed in charge of Captain James Brown and ordered to Pueblo on the head-waters of the Arkansas River, while their comrades, the main body, including four women* who accompanied their husbands, pushed on to the Pacific coast. They arrived near San Diego late in January, 1847.

General Kearney had reached California some time before, but with only a few men, having disbanded most of his force on being informed en route that California was already in the possession of the United States. Colonel John C. Fremont, who with sixty men was exploring west of the Sierras when the war broke out, had rallied the American settlers of Sacramento Valley—a few hundred strong—and with the co-operation of Commodores Sloat and Stockton, all but subdued the country before Kearney came. A few skirmishes then took place, and the conquest was complete. The war in California being virtually over before Colonel Cooke's command

* These four women were Mrs. Melissa Burton Coray, wife of Sergeant Coray; Mrs. Captain Davis, Mrs. Captain Hunter (who died in California) and Mrs. Ebenezer Brown.

could reach the coast, the Mormon Battalion did not take part in any engagement. Fort-building and garrison service were about all that was required of them. Nevertheless they did much work as mechanics and laborers. They performed their duties in such a manner as to elicit the commendation of their military superiors, and win the sincere esteem of the native Californians.* Fremont and some of his men were their foes.† But General Kearney, Governor Mason and others in authority spoke in high praise of the patience, subordination and general good conduct of the Mormon soldiers.‡

Prior to Kearney's arrival Colonel Fremont—authorized, it is said, by Commodore Stockton—had made himself military governor of California. As such he refused to recognize Kearney's authority. Thereupon the latter, backed by Colonel Cooke and the Mormon Battalion—the principal force then at his command—had Fremont arrested for insubordination and taken to Washington, where he was court-martialed.

While some of these events were taking place on the Pacific coast, other scenes of a military character were being enacted on the distant shores of the Mississippi. After the departure of the Mormon leaders from Nauvoo in February, 1846, the exodus of their people

* Says Henry G. Boyle, one of the Battalion: "I think I whitewashed all San Diego. We did their blacksmithing, put up a bakery, made and repaired carts, and, in fine, did all we could to benefit ourselves as well as the citizens. We never had any trouble with the Californians or Indians, nor they with us. The citizens became so attached to us that before our term of service expired they got up a petition to the Governor to use his influence to keep us in the service. The petition was signed by every citizen in the town."

† Fremont was son-in-law to Senator Benton of Missouri.

‡ Governor R. B. Mason, General Kearney's successor as military commandant of California, in his report to the Adjutant-General September 18th, 1847, wrote: "Of the services of the Battalion, of their patience, subordination and general good conduct you have already heard, and I take great pleasure in adding that as a body of men they have religiously respected the rights and feelings of this conquered people, and not a syllable of complaint has reached my ear of a single insult offered or outrage done by a Mormon volunteer. So high an opinion did I entertain of the Battalion and of their special fitness for the duties now performed by the garrisons in this country, that I made strenuous efforts to engage their services for another year."

continued without cessation. The Saints were anxious that their enemies should have no ground upon which to base an accusation of bad faith, and no excuse for committing further outrages upon them. Major W. B. Warren, who with a small force of militia remained in Hancock County to preserve order, and doubtless to help on the exodus, thus reported to the *Quincy Whig* on May 20th: "The Mormons are leaving the city with all possible dispatch. During the week four hundred teams have crossed at three points, or about 1,350 souls. The demonstrations made by the Mormon population are unequivocal. They are leaving the State, and preparing to leave, with every means God and nature have placed in their hands. This ought to be satisfactory." The *Warsaw Signal*, the anti-Mormon organ, published similar reports from Major Warren.

As the Major says, this ought to have been satisfactory, but it was not. Men who were not sated at having imbrued their hands in blood to gratify political and religious animosities, are hard to satisfy. There was too good plundering at Nauvoo to permit the Mormons to dispose of their property and depart in peace, as they desired. Major Warren's reports, confirmed by events that were taking place daily, should have convinced reasonable men that the Mormons were in earnest in their exodus. But if convinced, the anti-Mormons failed to act upon their convictions. On the contrary, they continued to assert the falsehood that the Mormons did not intend to leave the State, and even raised troops at Carthage to march against Nauvoo. Governor Ford in his writings refers to these early settlers of Hancock County as "hard cases."* No fair-minded person, cognizant of the facts, will dispute the correctness of his estimate. A meeting between the leaders of the military mob and a committee of "new citizens" of Nauvoo—persons who had purchased Mormon properties and moved into the city—averted, but only for a little season, the threatened assault.

* The Governor's comment is as follows: "I had a good opportunity to know the early settlers of Hancock County, and to my certain knowledge the early settlers, with some honorable exceptions, were, in popular language, hard cases."

In July a party of Mormons from Nauvoo, ignoring a mobocratic edict ordering all of their faith to remain in the city except when leaving for the west, went into the country near a place called Pontoosuc, to help some of their brethren harvest a field of grain. While there they were set upon by a larger party of anti-Mormons, severely whipped and driven away. The last act in the drama of Mormonism in Illinois was thus begun. Several persons were arrested for this assault and taken to Nauvoo. The anti-Mormons retaliated by taking several of the Saints prisoners and holding them as hostages. The men held at Nauvoo, regaining their liberty, sued out writs against their captors for false imprisonment, which writs were placed in the hands of a deputy sheriff, one John Carlin of Carthage, to serve. Meeting some difficulty in executing these processes, he called out the *posse comitatus*, and having raised two regiments of troops started for Nauvoo.

Governor Ford, being apprised of this movement, ordered Major John R. Parker to muster a force of volunteers and defend the city. Parker and Carlin were thus placed in direct antagonism. Each styled the other's force "a mob." A treaty of peace between Major Parker and Colonel Singleton—in immediate command of the *posse*—being rejected by the Colonel's men as too favorable to the Mormons, Singleton in disgust resigned, and Carlin appointed Colonel Brockman in his stead. Governor Ford describes Brockman as "a Campbellite preacher, nominally belonging to the Democratic party, a large, awkward, uncouth, ignorant, semi-barbarian, ambitious of officer, and bent upon acquiring notoriety." On assuming command, Brockman and his "regulators"—as the *posse* was styled—advanced upon Nauvoo, and on the 10th of September began to bombard the town.

The citizens, though such as bore arms were greatly outnumbered by the attacking force, banded together for defense, and hastily fortifying the approaches to the city, returned the enemy's fire with spirit. Having no artillery, while Brockman's force was well supplied with cannon, they converted some old steam-boat

shafts into guns, and placing them in position compelled the enemy to retire.

Major Parker for some reason had left Nauvoo, and Colonel Johnson was now in command of the citizen force, which numbered about four hundred men. Brockman is conceded by anti-Mormon estimates to have had twice that many. The main stay of the defense was a select body of riflemen called the "Spartan Band," of which William Anderson and Alexander McRae were first and second captains.

On the 12th of September occurred the battle of Nauvoo, a spirited action of an hour and a quarter's duration, between Brockman's force, which now renewed the attack with fury, and the overmatched but gallant defenders of the city. Colonel Johnson having fallen sick, Lieutenant-Colonel William E. Cutler directed the defense, with Daniel H. Wells as his aide. During the fight, which resulted in another repulse for the "regulators," Captain Anderson, his son Augustus and Isaac Morris were killed, and several others of the defenders wounded. On his side Brockman reported none killed, but twelve wounded. The siege lasted for several days. Finally, through the mediation of a citizen's committee from Quincy, a treaty was agreed upon between the forces militant. This treaty was as follows:

1. The City of Nauvoo will surrender. The force of Colonel Brockman to enter and take possession of the city tomorrow, the 17th of September, at 3 o'clock p. m.
2. The arms to be delivered to the Quincy Committee, to be returned on the crossing of the river.
3. The Quincy Committee pledge themselves to use their influence for the protection of persons and property from all violence; and the officers of the camp and the men pledge themselves to protect all persons and property from violence.
4. The sick and helpless to be protected and treated with humanity.
5. The Mormon population of the city to leave the State, or disperse, as soon as they can cross the river.
6. Five men, including the trustees of the Church, and five clerks, with their families (William Pickett* not one of the number) to be permitted to remain in the city for the disposition of property, free from all molestation and personal violence.

* Pickett's offense consisted in taking from one of the mob party— Major McCalla—a gun stolen from one of the Mormons who had been whipped and robbed at Pontoosuc.

7. Hostilities to cease immediately, and ten men of the Quincy Committee to enter the city in the execution of their duty as soon as they think proper.

We, the undersigned, subscribe to, ratify and confirm the foregoing articles of accommodation, treaty and agreement, the day and year first above written.

Signed by: Almon W. Babbitt, Joseph L. Heywood, John S. Fullmer, Trustees in Trust for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; Andrew Johnson, Chairman of the Committee of Quincy; Thomas S. Brockman, commanding *posse*; John Carlin, Special Constable.

The terms of the treaty were outrageously violated by Brockman and his regulators, as soon as they found themselves in full possession of the city. "A grim and unawed tyrant," says Ford of the mob leader; "a self-constituted and irresponsible power," he styles the so-called *posse*, who, now that Nauvoo was prostrate at their feet, proceeded to work their will upon the helpless inhabitants. Mormons and non-Mormons, all who had defended the city or otherwise incurred the displeasure of the lawless horde, were treated with every indignity. Some of the "new citizens" were mockingly baptized in the river in the name of Brockman and other leaders of the mob, and then driven out of town. Houses were plundered, and the aged and infirm abused and threatened. Finally, all the Mormons, such as had not already fled, were forced from their homes at the point of the bayonet, and thrown, men, women and children, sick, dying and shelterless, upon the western shore of the Mississippi. And this—shades of the patriots!—while their brethren of the Mormon Battalion were marching to fight their country's battles on the plains of Mexico.

Colonel Thomas L. Kane, who was now returning east from his visit to the Mormon camps on the Missouri, touched at Nauvoo just after this final expulsion. What he saw there he graphically and eloquently told in a lecture delivered a few years later before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. An extract from his lecture is here inserted:

A few years ago, ascending the Upper Mississippi, in the autumn, when its waters were low, I was compelled to travel by land past the region of the rapids. My road lay through the half-breed tract, a fine section of Iowa which the unsettled state of its land-titles had appropriated as a sanctuary for coiners, horse thieves, and other outlaws. I had

left my steamer at Keokuk, at the foot of the lower fall, to hire a carriage, and to contend for some fragment of a dirty meal with the swarming flies, the only scavengers of the locality. From this place to where the deep waters of the river return, my eye wearied to see everywhere sordid vagabonds and idle settlers; and a country marred, without being improved, by their careless hands.

I was descending the last hill-side upon my journey, when a landscape in delightful contrast broke upon my view. Half-encircled by the bend of the river, a beautiful city lay glittering in the fresh morning sun; its bright new dwellings, set in cool, green gardens, ranging up around a stately dome-shaped hill which was crowned by a noble marble edifice whose high tapering spire was radiant with white and gold. The city appeared to cover several miles; and beyond it, in the back-ground, there rolled off a fair country, chequered by the careful lines of fruitful husbandry. The unmistakeable marks of industry, enterprise and educated wealth everywhere, made the scene one of singular and most striking beauty.

It was a natural impulse to visit this inviting region. I procured a skiff, and rowing across the river, landed at the chief wharf of the city. No one met me there. I looked and saw no one. I could hear no one move, though the quiet everywhere was such that I heard the flies buzz, and the water-ripples break against the shallow of the beach. I walked through the solitary streets. The town lay as in a dream, under some deadening spell of loneliness, from which I almost feared to wake it; for plainly it had not slept long. There was no grass growing up in the paved ways; rains had not entirely washed away the prints of dusty footsteps.

Yet I went about unchecked. I went into empty workshops, ropewalks and smithies. The spinner's wheel was idle; the carpenter had gone from his work-bench and shavings, his unfinished sash and casing. Fresh bark was in the tanner's vat, and the fresh-chopped lightwood stood piled against the baker's oven. The blacksmith's shop was cold; but his coal heap, and ladling pool, and crooked water-horn were all there as if he had just gone off for a holiday. No work people anywhere looked to know my errand. If I went into the gardens, clinking the wicket-latch after me, to pull the marigolds, heart's-ease and lady slippers, and draw a drink with the water-sodden water bucket and its noisy chain, or knocking off with my stick the tall, heavy-headed dahlias and sun-flowers, hunting over the beds for cucumbers and love-apples; no one called out to me from any open window, or dog sprang forward to bark an alarm. I could have supposed the people hidden in their houses, but the doors were unfastened; and when at last I timidly entered them, I found dead ashes white upon the hearths, and had to tread a-tip-toe, as if walking down the aisle of a country church, to avoid rousing irreverent echoes from the naked floors.

On the outskirts of the town was the city graveyard; but there was no record of plague there; nor did it in anywise differ much from other Protestant American cemeteries. Some of the mounds were not long sodded; some of the stones were newly set, their dates recent, and their black inscriptions glossy in the mason's hardly dried letter-ink. Beyond the graveyards, out in the fields, I saw on a spot hard by where the fruited boughs of a young orchard had been roughly torn down, the still smouldering remains of a barbecue fire, that had been constructed of rails from the fencing round it. It was the

latest sign of life there. Fields upon fields of heavy headed yellow grain lay rotting ungathered upon the ground. No one was at hand to take in their rich harvest. As far as the eye could reach, they stretched away—they sleeping, too, in the hazy air of autumn.

Only two portions of the city seemed to suggest the import of this mysterious solitude. On the southern suburb, the houses looking out upon the country showed, by their splintered woodwork, and walls battered to the foundation, that they had lately been the mark of a destructive cannonade. And in and around the splendid temple which had been the chief object of my admiration, armed men were barracked, surrounded by their stacks of musketry and pieces of heavy ordnance. These challenged me to render an account of myself, and why I had had the temerity to cross the water without a written permit from a leader of their band.

Though these men were generally more or less under the influence of ardent spirits, after I had explained myself as a passing stranger, they seemed anxious to gain my good opinion. They told the story of the dead city; that it had been a notable manufacturing and commercial mart, sheltering over 20,000 persons; that they had waged war with its inhabitants for several years, and been finally successful only a few days before my visit, in an action brought in front of the ruined suburb, after which they had driven them forth at the point of the sword. The defence, they said, was obstinate, but gave way on the third day's bombardment. They boasted greatly of their prowess, especially in this battle as they called it; but I discovered that they were not of one mind as to certain of the exploits that had distinguished it; one of which, as I remember, was, that they had slain a father and his son, a boy of fifteen, not long residents of the fated city, whom they admitted had borne a character without reproach.

They also conducted me inside the massive sculptured walls of the curious temple, in which they said the banished inhabitants were accustomed to celebrate the mystic rites of an unhallowed worship. They particularly pointed out to me certain features of the building, which having been the peculiar objects of a former superstitious regard, they had, as a matter of duty, sedulously defiled and defaced. The reputed sites of certain shrines they had thus particularly noticed; and various sheltered chambers, in one of which was a deep well, constructed, they believed, with a dreadful design. Besides these, they led me to see a large and deep chiseled marble vase or basin, supported by twelve oxen, also of marble, and of the size of life, of which they told some romantic stories. They said the deluded persons, most of whom were emigrants from a great distance, believed their deity countenanced their reception here of a baptism of regeneration, as proxies for whomsoever they held in warm affection in the countries from which they had come. That here parents went into the water for their spouses, and young persons for their lovers. That thus the great vase came to be for them associated with all dear and distant memories, and was, therefore, the object of all others in the building to which they attached the greatest degree of idolatrous affection. On this account the victors had so diligently desecrated it, as to render the apartment in which it was contained too noisome to abide in.

They permitted me also to ascend into the steeple to see where it had been lightning-struck on the Sabbath before, and to look out east and south, on wasted farms like those I

had seen near the city, extending till they were lost in the distance. There, in the face of the pure day, close by the scar of divine wrath left by the thunderbolt, were fragments of food, cruises of liquor, and broken drinking vessels, with a brass drum and a steamboat signal-bell, of which I afterwards learned with pain.

It was after nightfall when I was ready to cross the river on my return. The wind had freshened since the sunset, and the water beating roughly into my little boat, I hedged higher up the stream than the point I had left in the morning, and landed where a faint glimmering light invited me to steer.

There, among the dock and rushes, sheltered only by the darkness, without roof between them and sky, I came upon a crowd of several hundred human creatures, whom my movements roused from uneasy slumber upon the ground.

Passing these on my way to the light, I found it came from a tallow candle in a paper funnel shade, such as is used by street venders of apples and peanuts, and which, flaming and guttering away in the bleak air off the water, shone flickeringly on the emaciated features of a man in the last stage of a bilious remittent fever. They had done their best for him. Over his head was something like a tent, made of a sheet or two, and he rested on a partially ripped open old straw mattress, with a hair sofa cushion under his head for a pillow. His gaping jaw and glaring eye told how short a time he would monopolize these luxuries; though a seemingly bewildered and excited person, who might have been his wife, seemed to find hope in occasionally forcing him to swallow awkwardly sips of the tepid river water, from a burned and battered, bitter-smelling tin coffee-pot. Those who knew better had furnished the apothecary he needed; a toothless old bald-head, whose manner had the repulsive dullness of a man familiar with death scenes. He, so long as I remained, mumbled in his patient's ear a monotonous and melancholy prayer, between the pauses of which I heard the hiccup and sobbing of two little girls who were sitting upon a piece of driftwood outside.

Dreadful, indeed, was the suffering of these forsaken beings, bowed and cramped by cold and sunburn, alternating as each weary day and night dragged on. They were, almost all of them, the crippled victims of disease. They were there because they had no homes, nor hospital, nor poor house, nor friends to offer them any. They could not satisfy the feeble cravings of their sick; they had not bread to quiet the fractious hunger-cries of their children. Mothers and babes, daughters and grandparents, all of them alike, were bivouacked in tatters, wanting even covering to comfort those whom the sick shiver of fever was searching to the marrow.

These were Mormons in Lee County, Iowa, in the fourth week of the month of September, in the year of our Lord 1846. The city—it was Nauvoo, Illinois. The Mormons were the owners of that city, and the smiling country around. And those who had stopped their plows, who had silenced their hammers, their axes, their shuttles, and their workshop wheels; those who had put out their fires, who had eaten their food, spoiled their orchards, and trampled under foot their thousands of acres of unharvested bread—these were the keepers of their dwellings, the carousers in their temple, whose drunken riot insulted the ears of the dying.

I think it was as I turned from the wretched night watch of which I have spoken, that I first listened to the sounds of revel of a party of the guard within the city. Above

the distant hum of the voices of many, occasionally rose distinct the loud oath-tainted exclamation, and the falsely intonated scrap of vulgar song; but lest this requiem should go unheeded, every now and then, when their boisterous orgies strove to attain a sort of ecstatic climax, a cruel spirit of insulting frolic carried some of them up into the high belfry of the Temple steeple, and there, with the wicked childishness of inebriates, they whooped, and shrieked, and beat the drum that I had seen, and rang, in charivariic unison, their loud-tongued steamboat bell.

There were, all told, not more than six hundred and forty persons who were thus lying upon the river flats. But the Mormons in Nauvoo and its dependencies had been numbered the year before at over twenty thousand. Where were they? They had last been seen, carrying in mournful train their sick and wounded, halt and blind, to disappear behind the western horizon, pursuing the phantom of another home. Hardly anything else was known of them; and people asked with curiosity, what had been their fate—what their fortune.

Returning now to the Mormons on the Missouri. With the departure of the Battalion in the summer of 1846, went every prospect, for that season, of the pioneer journey to the Rocky Mountains. The "Camp of Israel" now prepared to go into winter quarters. Apostles Orson Hyde, Parley P. Pratt, John Taylor, Elder Franklin D. Richards and others had been sent to England, the first three to set in order the affairs of the British Mission, now greatly demoralized through certain financial operations of Elder Reuben Hedlock and others. They had inaugurated a Joint Stock Company, the chief object of which was to assist in emigrating the Saints to America. Through mismanagement the scheme, originally a good one, had become a sad failure.* The residue of the Twelve—Ezra T. Benson now being one of their number—remained with their people in the wilderness. During the sojourn upon the Missouri, Alpheus Cutler and Bishop George Miller fell away from the Church, each being followed by a small faction, thenceforth known as Cutlerites and Millerites.

Some of the Mormons had early crossed to the west side of the river, constructing a ferry-boat for that purpose, and settled, by permission of the Indians—Omahas—upon the lands set apart for

* The original project was devised by Joseph Smith, in conjunction with Brigham Young and Newel K. Whitney, at Nauvoo, early in 1842.

their use by the Federal Government. These lands, which are now included in the State of Nebraska, were a portion of the vast tract once known as the Province of Louisiana, ceded by France to the United States in 1803. A very friendly feeling existed between the Pottawatomie and Omaha Indians and their Mormon "brothers"—probably from the fact that both felt aggrieved at the treatment they had received from their white neighbors farther east. The Indians complained bitterly of being removed from their pleasant lands beyond the Mississippi to the damp and unhealthy bottoms of the Missouri. In return for permission from the Omahas—who were west, while the Pottawatomies were east of the river—to temporarily settle upon their lands and use what timber they required, the Mormons assisted the Indians to harvest and build, besides trading with them to mutual advantage. Major Harvey, the Indian Superintendent, did not approve of this arrangement, and tried to have the Mormons ejected; but President Polk, being appealed to through Colonel Kane, gave full permission for them to remain. Out of gratitude to Colonel Kane, the Saints afterwards named a settlement which they established on the east side of the river, Kanesville.

As the season advanced the settlers on the west side were instructed to congregate in one place, and a site being chosen for that purpose they there founded their celebrated Winter Quarters. This place is now Florence, Nebraska, five miles above the city of Omaha. It then consisted of seven hundred houses of log, turf, and other primitive materials, neatly arranged and laid out with streets and byways, with workshops, mills, etc., and a tabernacle of worship in the midst; the whole arising from a pretty plateau overlooking the river, and well fortified with breast-work, stockade and block-houses, after the fashion of the frontier. Such was Winter Quarters. The settlement was divided into twenty-two wards, with a Bishop over each. There was also a High Council. The population of the place was about four thousand. A ward east of the river contained a little

* Several Pottawatomie chiefs, and delegations from the Sacs and Foxes had visited Joseph Smith at Nauvoo.

over two hundred souls. Garden Grove and Mount Pisgah were also still inhabited; their numbers now swelled by the refugees from Nauvoo. Here in these humble prairie settlements, surrounded by Indians, hopeful and even happy, though enduring much sickness and privation, which resulted in many deaths, the pilgrim Mormons passed the winter of 1846-7.

CHAPTER XVI.

1540-1847.

THE BEGINNING OF UTAH HISTORY—WHY THE MORMONS DID NOT COLONIZE THE PACIFIC COAST—THE GREAT BASIN—UTAH'S PHYSICAL FEATURES—DANIEL WEBSTER ON THE "WORTHLESS WEST"—EARLY SPANISH EXPLORATIONS—ESCALANTE IN UTAH VALLEY—LA HONTAN'S HEARSAYS—AMERICAN TRAPPERS ON THE SHORES OF THE GREAT SALT LAKE—COLONEL BRIDGER—CAPTAIN BONNEVILLE—COLONEL FREMONT—EARLY EMIGRATIONS FROM THE MISSOURI TO THE PACIFIC—THE DONNER DISASTER.

WE HAVE now traced the history of the Mormon people from the birth of their Prophet and the inception of their religious organization down to that point where their record as founders of Utah is about to begin. These preliminary chapters, dealing with early Mormonism, have been deemed indispensable to the proper understanding of a subject at once so unique and complex, so interesting and important as the history of our Territory. As premised at the opening, one cannot completely describe a lake or large body of water without giving some account of the origin, course and character of the streams flowing into and forming it; nor fully and faithfully narrate the history of a country and its inhabitants, if ignoring utterly their antecedents.

This is the author's explanation,—and he feels assured that the thoughtful reader will appreciate his motive and labors in this connection,—for entering more or less into detail with early Mormon annals. From this point begins the history of Utah proper; the narrative of early explorations in this region, and the settlement and formation of the Territory.

The opening of the year 1847 at the camps of the Saints east and west of the Missouri, saw preparations in progress for the contemplated pioneer journey to the mountains. And not only for this,

but for the continued exodus of the entire Church, so soon as a place of refuge suitable for their reception could be found.

It was pretty well decided in the minds of the Mormon leaders, by this time, that the Pacific coast,—to which it was generally supposed they were migrating,—in spite of its many natural advantages, was no place for the main body of their people to settle. It might do for a colony, such as that of the ship *Brooklyn*, to make its way to California and there found a settlement,—as Elder Brannan and his company were now doing,—and other Mormon towns might spring up on the Pacific slope. But for the headquarters of the Church, and a permanent abiding place for the majority of the Saints, California proper or any part of the coast was exceedingly undesirable.

The reasons were these: that toward that favored land, that *El Dorado*,—though gold in California had not yet been discovered,—large numbers of emigrants, from Missouri and other border states, were now wending their way. Many had gone and were still going to Oregon, which Great Britain had finally relinquished, while others, as early as 1841, had bent their course to the future land of gold. Colonel Fremont, as seen, at the out-break of the Mexican war, had found enough American settlers in the Sacramento Valley to form, with his exploring party, a small army. And now that California, like Oregon and Texas, was a part of the American domain,—only awaiting the formality of its cession to the great Republic,—emigration thither was bound to increase manifold.

For the Mormons to have mingled with or settled any where near their old enemies, the Missourians, or people holding similar prejudices against their religious views and social customs, would simply have been to invite a repetition, sooner or later, of the very evils which had caused them so much suffering, and from which they were then fleeing. So thought Brigham Young. So thought his fellow chiefs of the migrating Church. Who, from their standpoint, can question the wisdom of their decision?—a decision to halt midway, if possible, between the Missouri and the Pacific, in some spot undesired, uncoveted by others, where they might be free to

worship God in their own way, and work out their religious and social problems unmolested.

It was not for gold and silver, broad acres and teeming fields that these Latter-day Saints had left their homes, in this or in foreign lands. "After such things do the Gentiles seek," and the Saints, according to their faith, were no longer Gentiles, but of Israel. The children of Japheth perhaps had a mission in temporal things. If so, let them work it out, as best they might, before Him to whom all men are accountable. But as for Israel—for Ephraim—his mission was in spiritual things; comprehending indeed the temporal, but not to be absorbed and swallowed up by it. Religious liberty, freedom to worship God and prepare themselves for their future work of building up Zion,—these were the prime objects the migrating Mormons had in view. Gold and silver, houses and lands, flocks, herds, orchards, vineyards—though to all mortals more or less desirable—were but as dust beneath their feet by comparison.

Nor is this an exaggeration. The Mormons were essentially a religious people, deeply, earnestly religious, as much so as were the Albegois of France, the Covenanters of Scotland or the Pilgrims of New England. Unquestionably such were the motives and feelings of the vast majority of the Saints in their exodus. They had proved it by that exodus, in which many had forsaken, not for the first, but for the fourth and fifth times, for conscience' sake, their earthly possessions.

Zion, not Babylon, was in their thoughts. They had not relinquished their hopes concerning Jackson County. Many, perhaps most of those who had lived upon that land had sacredly kept the deeds to the homes from which they had been driven; while the few who had disposed of their possessions "in Zion," were believed by the others to have practically denied the faith.*

They were but going into the wilderness for a season, where, free from contact with those who understood them not, or persisted

* See remarks of Lyman Wight at a conference in Far West, February 5th, 1838, in relation to selling lands in Jackson County.

in misinterpreting their motives, they might peaceably prepare themselves for the time when, unless Joseph Smith was a false prophet and Brigham Young a blind leader of the blind, they or their children must needs return and build up Zion. Isolation, therefore, was what they sought, was what they must have, if they were to have peace, and fit and prepare themselves for what they believed was in their destiny.

True, there was the alternative, ever open, of relinquishing their religious faith, and becoming in every respect homogeneous with the Gentiles. But this was utterly out of the question. Friendly with the Gentiles they would gladly have been, mingling with them, so far as need be, in society, in business and in politics. But to relinquish their religion for the sake of peace,—the very thought were treason. It would have made of their high professions a mockery, of their past experience, written in blood and tears, a farce. The life-stream of their martyred Prophet would have smoked to heaven in vain. No; come what would, they must cling to their principles, however unpopular, and stand or fall with them.

Such were their thoughts and feelings. Such were the motives that impelled them westward. Such were their reasons for not settling, as a people, on the Pacific coast, and for isolating themselves, instead, in the tops of the Rocky Mountains, a thousand miles from civilization.

While the Saints are preparing to prosecute their journey, and their vanguard is making ready for its memorable march across the vast prairies and desolate plains lying west of the Missouri River, will be an appropriate time to pioneer the way before them into the region they are about to enter.

Beyond the Rocky Mountains, the so-called “back-bone of the American continent,”—the great water-shed dividing the streams flowing toward the Pacific from those which seek the Atlantic through the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico,—lies the region known in topographical parlance as the “Great Basin.” It is a vast inter-mountain plateau, extending four or five hundred miles from east to west, and about the same distance from north to south. Its eastern

edge does not touch the Rocky Mountains proper, but is rimmed by a smaller and almost parallel range called the Wasatch, between which and the great spinal column—the Rockies—is the region through which flow the Green and Grand Rivers. These, uniting with other streams, form the Colorado. The western rim of the Basin is the Sierra Nevada range, nearly parallel with, but much longer than the Wasatch, and separating the great plateau from the Pacific coast.

The Basin on the north converges toward the Blue Mountains of Oregon, and on the south in the direction of the Colorado plateau. It is traversed north and south by numerous mountain ranges, some of which are as high as those composing the rim. For this reason the term "Basin," bestowed by the famous explorer, Colonel Fremont, on a partial acquaintance with the region, is now deemed a misnomer. Instead of being one basin it is many, a group of basins, each containing a "sink," or lake, whose waters have no visible outlet to the sea. The more prominent of these are the basin of the Great Salt Lake, whose lowest point of altitude is 4,170 feet above the sea level; Sevier Lake basin, with an altitude of 4,690 feet; Humboldt River basin, 4,147 feet; Carson River basin, at Carson Lake, 3,840 feet; and the Walker River basin, the lowest point of which is 4,072 feet above the ocean.

It is supposed by many, and the supposition is confirmed by geological signs, such as ripple-marks on the mountain sides, shells on the slopes and summits, etc., that this great elevated plateau was once a broad inland sea communicating with the Pacific. At that time these mountain tops were so many islands, laved or lashed by its briny waves. These sinks, or some of them, are believed to be the remains of that pre-historic sea, which for some reason disappeared centuries before the foot of the European pressed the soil of the new world.

The great drawbacks to this otherwise rich and valuable region are scarcity of timber and fresh water. The former is only to be found in the mountains or along the water courses, and these, in this arid region, are few and far between. Though artesian wells and

irrigation have done much of late years to redeem the desert land, vast tracts of country still remain *in statu quo*, bare and unproductive. But the mountains are full of minerals, from the precious metals down, and the term "treasure house of the nation" has not been inaptly bestowed upon this portion of the public domain.

Among the remarkable features of the Great Basin, which comprises the western part of what is now Utah Territory, and nearly the entire State of Nevada, are the Great Salt Lake and its neighboring desert. The lake is wholly in Utah, and the desert lies along its western shore, stretching away to the south and west a hundred miles or more. This lake—the famous "Dead Sea of America"—is one of the most wonderful natural objects in all the West. Laving the base of the Wasatch range in northern Utah, it extends north and south for seventy-five miles, having a mean breadth of about thirty. Its extreme depth is sixty or seventy feet. Jutting up from its briny bosom are no less than eight mountain islands, lifting their craggy crests almost level with the rugged ranges surrounding them. Though constantly augmented by fresh rivers and streams, the waters of the lake remain ever intensely salt. As said, it has no outlet—at least none visible—its waters, far brinier than those of the ocean, and wonderfully buoyant withal, either evaporating to the clouds, sinking mysteriously in subterranean depths, or solidifying under the sun's rays and banking up in bright crystals and glittering incrustations along its shores. These waters were once supposed to be absolutely lifeless, but of late years some species of *animalculæ* have been discovered therein. Fish cannot live in the Great Salt Lake, but several varieties abound in the fresh lakes and streams of this region. One of the main affluents of the Salt Lake is the river Jordan, the outlet of Lake Utah, forty miles southward.

As stated, the Wasatch Mountains are the eastern rim of the Great Basin,*—at least they form the main portion of that rim.

* Specifically the Coal Range, a portion of the Wasatch system twenty or thirty miles east of Salt Lake Valley, is the eastern rim.

Traversing Utah from north-east to south-west, they divide the Territory into two unequal parts. Through the eastern section, which is not included in the Great Basin, run the Green and Grand Rivers and their tributaries. Eastward from and forming a spur of the Wasatch, near the Wyoming line, extends the Uintah range. West of the Wasatch, and running parallel therewith, are the Oquirrh hills, and west of them the Onaquis. To the south-east and through southern Utah generally are other ranges and broken ridges, diversified with valleys and plateaus.

Utah's lakes are mostly in the north, the principal one being the Great Salt Lake, previously mentioned. Of the fresh water lakes the Utah and the Bear—the last-named partly in Idaho—are the more notable. Sevier Lake is a shallow, brackish body fifty or sixty miles south of Lake Utah. Parowan Lake, formerly known as Little Salt Lake, is a small salt water sheet still farther south. The rivers feeding these lakes are formed principally of smaller streams, owing their origin to the snows of winter packed in the mountain tops and gradually melted by the rays of summer.

Along the bases of the mountains, wherever these streams descend,—often spilling from the brims of little lakes among the summits, tumbling over high cliffs, forming beautiful cascades, and emerging into the valleys through deep gorges called canyons,—the soil as a rule is fertile, and if irrigated, susceptible of high cultivation. In other parts, where not pure desert, hopelessly barren, it is so devoid of moisture and so strongly impregnated with salt and alkali, as to be all but irredeemable. Hot and warm sulphur springs, the waters of which are highly curative, also gush forth from the bases of these mighty hills.

The rainfall of Utah averages twenty inches for the year, four-tenths coming in the spring, one-tenth in summer, three-tenths in autumn, and the rest during the winter. Owing to its scarcity in summer, irrigation is resorted to for crop-raising. The ground, during the heated term, is fairly parched and blistered by the sun, and the climate, though ordinarily temperate and delightful—the atmos-

pheric rarity counteracting to a great extent the heat—is at times almost tropical. The climate of south-western Utah—the Santa Clara region—is well nigh tropical the whole year round.

In the canyons along the water-courses spring groves of quaking-asp, maple and pine, and in spring and early summer rich grasses and wild flowers cover the sides of the ravines. But the valleys, when Utah was first settled, save for the slight symptoms of verdure following the trail of winding streams in their weary pilgrimage across barren plains, had neither groves nor grass to hide their nakedness. Like the brown and sun-burnt hill-sides above them, they were either utterly bare, or clothed with sagebrush, sun-flowers and other wild and worthless growths springing prolifically on every hand.

Such is or was Utah, in the year 1847, a land of mountains, valleys, lakes, rivers and sandy wastes; directly in the path of early overland emigration from the Missouri to the Pacific, but shunned by all passers because of its sterile and forbidding aspect. The “Great American Desert,”—such was its name upon the maps and in the school books of that period.

Its only human dwellers at that time,—save here and there a few trappers or mountaineers, exiles of civilization, consorting with savages, and dwelling in some isolated fort or cave or hut among the hills,—were roving bands of Indians, some of them the most degraded of their race. These savages, who subsisted by fishing, hunting, root-digging and insect-eating, shared with wild beasts and venomous reptiles the then barren and desolate, but now fruitful and lovely land of Utah.

The popular estimate of this whole western region, including the Pacific Coast, at that early day, is expressed in the following words of a speech by Daniel Webster on the floor of the United States Senate. He was denouncing a proposition to establish a mail route from Independence, Missouri, to the mouth of the Columbia River. Says the great orator and statesman: “What do we want with this vast, worthless area? This region of savages and wild beasts, of

deserts, of shifting sands and whirlwinds of dust, of cactus and prairie dogs? To what use could we ever hope to put these great deserts, or those endless mountain ranges, impenetrable, and covered to their very base with eternal snow? What can we ever hope to do with the western coast, a coast of 3,000 miles, rock-bound, cheerless, uninviting, and not a harbor on it? Mr. President, I will never vote one cent from the public treasury to place the Pacific Coast one inch nearer to Boston than it now is."

Yet it was to the very heart of this inhospitable region, "a thousand miles from anywhere," that ~~Brigham Young, America's greatest~~ colonizer, led his exiled people; and by his genius and energy, and their united industry, under the blessing of divine providence, subdued the desert, made the wilderness to blossom, and became the founder of a hundred cities.

So far as known, the first white men, moderns, to approach and partly penetrate the Utah region, were a small band of Spaniards, a detachment of the army of Francisco Vazquez de Coronado, the famous explorer of New Mexico. Being at Zuni—then Cibola—in 1540, and having heard of a great river to the north-west, Coronado despatched Captain Garcia Lopez de Cardenas with twelve men to explore it. This party is supposed to have proceeded by way of the Moquis villages—previously captured by the Spaniards—to the banks of the Colorado, just within Utah's southern boundary. They did not cross the river, but returned soon to report to Coronado at Cibola.

In July, 1776,—that immortal month of an immortal year,—two Franciscan friars, Francisco Antanasio Dominguez and Silvester Velez de Escalante, Spanish officials of New Mexico, with seven men set out from Santa Fe in quest of a direct route to Monterey on the Californian sea-coast. Pursuing a devious, north-westerly course, Escalante and his comrades traversed what is now western Colorado and crossed White River, flowing west, near the Utah line. White River was called by them San Clemente. They then passed Green River—San Buenaventura—and following up the Uintah and crossing the

mountains came to a stream which they at first named Purisima, probably from the purity of its waters. This was no other than the Timpanogos or Provo River, which they followed down to Utah Lake.

The Spaniards were kindly received by the native Utahs—dwelling in willow huts in the valley—from whom they derived considerable information regarding that and adjacent parts. But they could learn nothing of a route to the sea, nor of Spanish settlers in all that region. Among other things they were told of a valley to the northward, in which there was a large salt lake, covering many leagues, with which their own fresh lake—Timpanogos—communicated. The waters of the larger lake were described as extremely salt and injurious,—a fact many times since proven by the hapless bather unfortunate enough to swallow much of the saline liquid. The Utahs, or, as Escalante styles them, “Timpanois” further said that he who wet any part of his body with this water immediately felt an itching in the wet part. Near this lake dwelt the Puaguampe, or Sorcerers, “a numerous and quiet nation,” speaking the language of, but not otherwise emulating the hostile Comanches, whom the Utahs greatly dreaded. The Puaguampe dwelt in “little houses of grass and earth” and drank from “various fountains or springs of good water” which were “about the lake.”

Escalante describes Utah Valley—north of which his party did not go—as extending from north-east to south-west sixteen Spanish leagues, and having a width of ten or twelve leagues. It was quite level, and, excepting the marshes on the lake-shore, arable. Provo River they renamed San Antonio. To the Jordan they gave the name of Santa Ana, and christened other streams in the vicinity. The Indians subsisted then, as later, by fishing and hunting. Bear, deer and buffalo ranged the region freely, and the bounding jack-rabbit, still so plentiful, was not lacking. The streams were filled with fish, and the marshes with wild fowl.

Late in September the Spaniards, accompanied by two native guides, resumed their journey, turning now to the south-west in the

direction of Monterey. Passing down the Sevier, which river they named Santa Isabel, they skirted the eastern shore of the lake and crossed Beaver River. They then visited the valley now bearing the name of Escalante. There, owing to the exhaustion of their food supplies, and the prospect of a long and arduous journey to the sea-coast—for still they could learn of no open route to the Pacific—they reluctantly abandoned the expedition. Turning eastward they traveled toward the Colorado, purchasing from the natives, as they went, seeds with which to make bread. Reaching the river, they found, after much difficulty, a ford in latitude 37° ,—near where Utah and Arizona now divide. Passing thence by way of the Moquis villages they reached Zuni and in due time Santa Fe. They arrived there January 2nd, 1777.

To establish beyond dispute the identity of the discoverer of the Great Salt Lake would prove a difficult if not an impossible task. The first to hear of it—if credence may be given to his very fanciful narrative—was Baron La Hontan, lord-lieutenant of the French colony at Placentia, Newfoundland. La Hontan, whose narrative was first published in English in 1735, tells how in 1689 he sailed for six weeks up a certain affluent of the Mississippi called Long River, passing through various savage tribes till he came near the nation of the Gnacsitaires. There he met four Mozeemlek slaves, captives of the Gnacsitaires, who gave him a description of the country from which they originally hailed. Their villages, they said, stood upon a river springing out of a ridge of mountains, whence Long River likewise derived its source. The Mozeemleks were numerous and powerful. The slaves informed La Hontan that at a distance of a hundred and fifty leagues from where he then stood their principal river emptied itself into a salt lake, three hundred leagues in circumference by thirty in breadth, the mouth of the river being two leagues broad. The lower part of the stream was adorned with “six noble cities,” and there were above a hundred towns, great and small, “round that sort of sea.” The lake was navigated with boats. The government of the land was despotic, and was “lodged

in the hands of one great head" to whom the rest paid "trembling submission," etc. So much for La Hontan and his hearsays.

Now, as to the actual discovery of the Great Salt Lake. Many are the rival claims and accounts concerning it. Some of these are easily disposed of in the negative. Others must stand for what they are worth until disproved or more thoroughly established. Colonel John C. Fremont claimed the honor of discovery as late as 1843; he having that year passed the Rocky Mountains on his second exploring expedition to the West. The year before he had gone only as far as South Pass, that great gateway of overland travel, which he elaborately described in his report to Congress. He now penetrated to the Great Basin, accompanied by the noted scout Kit Carson and other daring spirits, and on the 6th of September, from the crest of an elevated peninsula* a little north of Weber River, caught his first glimpse of America's Dead Sea.

Launching his rubber boat upon the briny waters, he explored the island now known as Fremont Island—so named by Captain Stansbury in 1849—but which Fremont himself called Disappointment Island, from failing to find there the fertile fields and abundant game he had anticipated. Fremont supposed himself to be the first white man, not only to embark upon, but to see the Great Salt Lake. In both conjectures he was in error. The lake had been discovered, and boats launched upon it by American trappers nearly twenty years before the advent of the "Pathfinder" into the Great Basin. As early as the "twenties," if not before, this whole region was overrun by American and British fur-hunters, trapping, exploring, building forts, trading and fighting with the Indians, from British America to Mexico. The celebrated Hudson's Bay Company and the scarcely less famous North American Fur Company, were among the earliest, if not the very earliest organizations to engage in these lucrative though perilous pursuits.

Bancroft, the Pacific States historian, is disposed to accord the

* This peninsula is known in Weber County as Little or Low Mountain.

honor of discovering the Lake to Colonel James Bridger, founder of the once celebrated fort, bearing his name, situated on Black's Fork of Green River. Bridger, it is said, who in 1825 was trapping in the Bear River region, in Cache or Willow Valley, in order to decide a wager among his men as to the probable course of the Bear, followed that stream through the mountains till he stood upon the shores and tasted of the briny waters of the great inland sea. In the spring of 1826 four men, it is said, explored the lake in skin boats, and reported that it had no outlet. So little was known of the great West at that time, even by the adventurous spirits who traversed it, that they thought it quite probable this lake was an arm of the Pacific ocean.

Other claims, not so well authenticated as Bridger's, place the time of probable discovery at about 1820. A trapper named Provost—for whom Provo River presumably was named—is said to have been in this vicinity during that year. By some, William N. Ashley is thought to have preceded Bridger. Mr. Ashley, in 1825-6, led a large company from St. Louis through South Pass and founded on Utah Lake, Fort Ashley*. He is said to have named the Sweetwater and Green rivers,—the latter after one of his party. His own name still clings to Ashley's Fork.

Among the notable characters traversing the Great Basin about this time was Peter Skeen Ogden, of the Hudson's Bay Company, who gave his name to the Ogden or Humboldt river.† Another was Jedediah S. Smith, of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, who, in 1826-7 penetrated with a party from the shores of the Great Salt Lake to California; thence recrossing the Sierras and returning to this region. Smith and his associates, William L. Sublette and David E. Jackson, are reputed to have taken the first wagons from the Missouri River to the Rocky Mountains. Their wagons, however, were left at Wind River, and did not pass the Rockies.

In 1832-3, came the renowned Captain Bonneville, whose

* Utah Lake was formerly called Lake Ashley.

† Weber River was also named for a trapper in that region.

adventures in this region were afterwards immortalized by Washington Irving. His name has been given to the great fossil lake or prehistoric sea supposed to have once existed in the Great Basin. Bonneville was by birth a Frenchman, but at that time a United States army officer on leave.* His wagons, twenty in number, laden with Indian goods, provisions and ammunition, are believed to have been the first to roll down the western slope of the Rockies. He is thought to have been the first also to use ox-teams upon this line of travel.

From 1834 to 1839 parties of missionaries, men and women, crossed the Rocky Mountains to the shores of the Pacific. Mrs. Narcissa Whiteman and a Mrs. Spalding are reputed to have been the first white women to perform this long and perilous pilgrimage.

And all this and more before Colonel Fremont stood upon these desolate, brine-washed shores, and imagined himself a second Balboa discovering another Pacific, in this already many times discovered inland sea.

Overland emigration from the Missouri to the Pacific began about the year 1841. It was small at first, but increased yearly, until at the close of 1844 two or three thousand men, women and children had settled on the Pacific coast. Most of these were in Oregon, but California from the first had her share. Among those who reached "the land of gold" via the Utah region in 1841, were John Bidwell and Josiah Belden. Some of Mr. Bidwell's pioneer reminiscences have recently appeared in the Century Magazine.

The usual route of travel from the Missouri at that time was up the Platte River, along the Sweetwater and through South Pass. Beyond that point, those going to Oregon would bend their course northward to Soda Springs and Fort Hall, one of the Hudson Bay Company's stations; while those for California would follow Bear River to within a few miles of the Great Salt Lake, and then turn westward, crossing the country to the Sierras. Later, a new

* Bonneville, promoted to the rank of Colonel, was in 1849 the commanding officer at Fort Kearney.

route to California, called the "Hastings Cut-Off," was planned. Of this, more anon.

Dr. Marcus Whitman, in 1842, made his celebrated ride from Oregon back to the States, passing through Utah by way of Uintah, and proceeding on to Santa Fe and St. Louis. He returned the following summer to Oregon, with a large body of emigrants.

Among the companies for Oregon in 1844 was one led by Cornelius Gilliam, of Clay County, Missouri, prominently connected with the Mormon troubles of 1838. Ex-Governor Boggs, the "exterminator," crossed over to California some time later.

In 1845, Colonel Fremont again visited the shores of the Great Salt Lake, passing thence into California, to be next heard from in connection with the Mexican war. That year the emigration westward was heavier than that of any previous season; five companies with two hundred and fifty wagons going to Oregon alone. In 1846 the emigration was not quite so large, though it was estimated at two thousand five hundred souls, mostly men; one thousand and seven hundred of whom went to Oregon and the remainder to California. The last company of the season was the ill-starred Donner party, whose tragic story, being virtually a portion of Utah's early history, we will briefly relate.

The Donner party consisted of George Donner, James F. Reed, and about eighty-five others, men, women and children. In company with others they left the frontier at Independence, Missouri, late in April or early in May, 1846. Separating west of South Pass, on the stream known as Little Sandy, from their friends who were going to Oregon, the Donner party, in the latter part of July set out for Fort Bridger.* There they tarried four days, prior to taking the "Hastings Cut-off" for California. This route, which was just beginning to be traveled, was by way of Bear River, Echo and Weber Canyons, around the south shore of Great Salt Lake, and across the

* Mr. Reed was the original leader of the party, but the day after separating from the Oregon emigrants George Donner was elected captain of the company, which was thenceforth known as the Donner party.

desert to the Humboldt and the Sierras. Its projector was Lansford W. Hastings, a mountaineer and guide, who, with the proprietors of Fort Bridger, being interested in the new route, were doing all in their power to induce emigration that way. Mr. Reed states that some friends of his, who had preceded him to California with pack animals, had left letters for him with Mr. Vasquez, Bridger's partner, advising the company to go by way of Fort Hall, and by no means to take the Hastings Cut-off; but that Vasquez, as he learned later, had kept these letters, thus preventing the party from being warned.

Near the mouth of Echo Canyon they found a letter sticking in a sage-brush. It proved to be from Hastings, who was then piloting a company through Weber Canyon. It stated that if the Donner party would send a messenger after him, he would return and guide them along a better way than the Weber, which was represented as being very difficult. Accordingly, Mr. Reed and two others—Messrs. McCutchen and Stanton—followed and overtook Hastings near Black Rock, at the south end of the Lake. He could not then return, but gave Mr. Reed some information concerning a "cut-off"—still another—from the mouth of Echo Canyon across the mountains into Salt Lake Valley. The latter then returned to camp.

The route now taken by his party was the one followed, next season, by the Mormon Pioneers,—up East Canyon, over the Big and Little Mountains and down Emigration Canyon into the Valley. The way was extremely difficult, and sixteen days were consumed by the Donner party in cutting a road through the canyons. Then came the crossing of the western desert, where many of their cattle gave out for want of grass and water, while others were lost or stolen by Indians, compelling them to abandon some of their wagons in the midst of the sandy waste. Delayed by these and other misfortunes, the ill-fated company did not strike the main trail on the Humboldt until late in September. By that time the last companies of the season had passed. Another month brought them to the foot of the Truckee Pass of the Sierras.

Early snows now came, completely blocking up the way. Some of the company killed their cattle and went into winter quarters near Truckee Lake, but others, hoping still to thread the pass, delayed building their cabins until heavier snows fell, burying cattle, cabins and all. It was now December, their provisions were well-nigh exhausted, and starvation stared the hapless emigrants in the face. An advance party on snow-shoes pushed ahead over the mountains, braving snow and ice and wintry blasts, to obtain relief for their suffering companions. Before reaching New Helvetia—now Sacramento—several of the party died from cold, hunger and exhaustion, and the others, freezing and starving, were compelled to eat their flesh.

Captain Sutter, of Sutter's Fort, near Sacramento, and others nearer the coast, on learning of the terrible fate impending over the snow-bound travelers, fitted out relief parties and sent them to the rescue. This timely action saved most of the sufferers, but out of the original eighty-seven, persuaded into taking this death-trail across the Basin, thirty-nine perished from cold and starvation. The survivors, when found, had been subsisting for weeks—horrible extremity!—upon the bodies of their dead companions. Such was the sad fate of the Donner Party. The last one rescued, a German, who had become a ferocious cannibal, was picked up in April, 1847.

CHAPTER XVII.

1847.

THE MORMON PIONEERS—THEIR JOURNEY ACROSS THE GREAT PLAINS—PAWNEES AND SIOUX—
 THE PIONEER BUFFALO HUNT—FORT LARAMIE—THE MISSISSIPPI MORMONS—SOUTH PASS—
 MAJOR HARRIS—COLONEL BRIDGER—"A THOUSAND DOLLARS FOR THE FIRST EAR OF
 CORN RAISED IN SALT LAKE VALLEY"—A DISCOURAGING PROSPECT—ELDER BRANNAN
 AGAIN—SOME OF THE BATTALION BOYS—FORT BRIDGER—MILES GOODYEAR—ECHO CANYON
 —THE VALLEY OF THE GREAT SALT LAKE.

LET us now bring forward into the Great Basin the vanguard of the migrating Mormons encamped upon the Missouri. "The word and will of the Lord concerning the Camp of Israel in their journeyings to the West," was issued by President Young at Winter Quarters on the 14th of January, 1847. A few paragraphs of this manifesto—the first of its kind penned by the Prophet's successor—will convey some idea of the nature of the preparations for the continued exodus:

Let all the people of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and those who journey with them, be organized into companies, with a covenant and promise to keep all the commandments and statutes of the Lord our God.

Let the companies be organized with captains of hundreds, captains of fifties, and captains of tens, with a president and his two counselors at their head, under the direction of the Twelve Apostles:

And this shall be our covenant, that we will walk in all the ordinances of the Lord.

Let each company provide themselves with all the teams, wagons, provisions, clothing, and other necessities for the journey that they can.

When the companies are organized, let them go to with their might, to prepare for those who are to tarry.

Let each company with their captains and presidents decide how many can go next spring; and then choose out a sufficient number of able-bodied and expert men, to take teams, seeds, and farming utensils, to go as pioneers to prepare for putting in spring crops.

Let each company bear an equal proportion, according to the dividend of their property, in taking the poor, the widows, the fatherless, and the families of those who have

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Wilford Woodruff



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gone into the army, that the cries of the widow and the fatherless come not up into the ears of the Lord against this people.

Let each company prepare houses, and fields for raising grain, for those who are to remain behind this season, and this is the will of the Lord concerning his people.

Let every man use all his influence and property to remove this people to the place where the Lord shall locate a Stake of Zion ;

And if ye do this with a pure heart, in all faithfulness, ye shall be blessed ; you shall be blessed in your flocks, and in your herds, and in your fields, and in your houses, and in your families.

* * * * *

Seek ye and keep all your pledges one with another, and covet not that which is thy brother's.

Keep yourselves from evil to take the name of the Lord in vain, for I am the Lord your God, even the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob.

I am he who led the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt, and my arm is stretched out in the last days to save my people Israel.

Cease to contend one with another, cease to speak evil one of another.

Cease drunkenness, and let your words tend to edifying one another.

If thou borrowest of thy neighbor, thou shalt return that which thou hast borrowed ; and if thou canst not repay, then go straightway and tell thy neighbor, lest he condemn thee.

If thou shalt find that which thy neighbor has lost, thou shalt make diligent search till thou shalt deliver it to him again.

Thou shalt be diligent in preserving what thou hast, that thou mayest be a wise steward ; for it is the free gift of the Lord thy God, and thou art his steward.

If thou art merry, praise the Lord with singing, with music, with dancing, and with a prayer of praise and thanksgiving.

If thou art sorrowful, call on the Lord thy God with supplication, that your souls may be joyful.

Fear not thine enemies, for they are in mine hands, and I will do my pleasure with them.

My people must be tried in all things, that they may be prepared to receive the glory that I have for them, even the glory of Zion, and he that will not bear chastisement, is not worthy of my kingdom.

Agreeable to these instructions the Saints went to work with a will, and as spring opened all was life, bustle and stir at their camps on the Missouri, and at their other settlements on the prairies of Iowa.

The personnel of the pioneer band, selected to precede the main body, was as follows. They are here given as divided into companies of "Tens :"

FIRST TEN.

Wilford Woodruff, Captain,	Orson Pratt,	Marcus B. Thorpe,
John S. Fowler,	Joseph Egbert,	Geo. A. Smith,
Jacob D. Burnham,	John M. Freeman,	Geo. Wardle.

SECOND TEN.

Ezra T. Benson, Captain,	Amasa M. Lyman,	George Brown,
Thomas B. Grover,	Starling Driggs,	Willard Richards,
Barnabas L. Adams,	Albert Carrington,	Jesse C. Little.
Roswell Stevens,	Thomas Bullock,	

THIRD TEN.

Phinehas H. Young, Captain,	Addison Everett,	Bryant Stringham,
John Y. Green,	Truman O. Angell,	Joseph S. Scofield,
Thomas Tanner,	Lorenzo D. Young,	Albert P. Rockwood.
Brigham Young,		

FOURTH TEN.

Luke S. Johnson, Captain,	George R. Grant,	Harry Pierce,
John Holman,	Millen Atwood,	Wm. Dykes,
Edmund Ellsworth,	Samuel B. Fox,	Jacob Weiler.
Alvarus Hanks,	Tunis Rappleyee,	

FIFTH TEN.

Stephen H. Goddard, Captain,	Sylvester H. Earl,	George Scholes,
Tarlton Lewis,	John Dixon,	Wm. Henrie,
Henry G. Sherwood,	Samuel H. Marble,	Wm. A. Empey.
Zebedee Coltrin,		

SIXTH TEN.

Charles Shumway, Captain,	Erastus Snow,	Wm. Vance,
Andrew Shumway,	James Craig,	Simeon Howd,
Thos. Woolsey,	Wm. Wordsworth,	Seeley Owen.
Chauncey Loveland,		

SEVENTH TEN.

James Case, Captain,	Wm. Carter,	Franklin B. Stewart,
Artemas Johnson,	Franklin G. Losee,	Monroe Frink,
Wm. C. A. Smoot,	Burr Frost,	Eric Glines,
Franklin B. Dewey,	Datus Ensign,	Ozro Eastman.

EIGHTH TEN.

Seth Taft, Captain,	Alma M. Williams,	Elijah Newman,
Horace Thornton,	Rufus Allen,	Levi N. Kendall,
Stephen Kelsey,	Robert T. Thomas,	Francis Boggs,
John S. Eldredge,	James W. Stewart,	David Grant.
Charles D. Barnum,		



Amasa M. Lyman.

ROHS MARCH 20TH 1813.



NINTH TEN.

Howard Egan, Captain,	Hosea Cushing,	Edson Whipple,
Heber C. Kimball,	Robert Byard,	Philo Johnson,
Wm. A. King,	George Billings,	Wm. Clayton.
Thomas Cloward,		

TENTH TEN.

Appleton M. Harmon, Captain,	Orrin P. Rockwell,	Francis Pomeroy,
Carlos Murray,	Nathaniel T. Brown,	Aaron Farr,
Horace K. Whitney,	R. Jackson Redding,	Nathaniel Fairbanks.
Orson K. Whitney,	John Pack,	

ELEVENTH TEN.

John S. Higbee, Captain,	Joseph Rooker,	James Davenport,
John Wheeler,	Perry Fitzgerald,	Henson Walker,
Solomon Chamberlain,	John H. Tippetts,	Benjamin Rolfe.
Conrad Klineman,		

TWELFTH TEN.

Norton Jacobs, Captain,	Stephen Markham,	Andrew Gibbons,
Charles A. Harper,	Lewis Barney,	Joseph Hancock,
George Woodard,	George Mills,	John W. Norton.

THIRTEENTH TEN.

John Brown, Captain,	Lyman Curtis,	David Powers,
Shadrach Roundy,	Hans C. Hansen,	Hark Lay (colored),
Levi Jackman,	Matthew Ivory,	Oscar Crosby (colored).

FOURTEENTH TEN.

Joseph Matthews, Captain,	Charles Burke,	Norman Taylor,
Gilbroid Summe,	Alexander P. Chessley,	Green Flake (colored),
John Gleason,	Rodney Badger,	Ellis Eames.

A few of these were non-Mormons, who had cast in their lot with the Saints. As seen, twelve times twelve men had been chosen—whether designedly or otherwise we know not—but one of their number, Ellis Eames, falling sick after the company left Winter Quarters, returned, leaving the pioneer roll at one hundred and forty-three.

Besides the men, there were three women and two children in the camp. The women were Harriet Page Wheeler Young, wife of Lorenzo D. Young; Clara Decker Young, wife of Brigham Young,

and Ellen Sanders Kimball, wife of Heber C. Kimball. The children were Isaac Perry Decker, stepson, and Lorenzo Sobieski, own son of Lorenzo D. Young.

According to that veteran, it was no part of the original plan to include women and children in the pioneer company. The hardships and dangers in prospect were foreseen to be such as would test the strength and endurance of the hardiest and healthiest men, who had consequently been chosen. The idea of taking delicate women and helpless children along, to hinder—as it was naturally presumed they would—the march to the mountains, if thought of, was not for a moment entertained. “Uncle Lorenzo,” still living to tell the story, claims to have made the suggestion which gave to the pioneer band its triad of heroines. His wife Harriet being in feeble health, which was further imperilled by the damp, malarial atmosphere of the Missouri bottoms, pleaded so earnestly for the privilege of accompanying her husband, that the President, his brother, yielding to their entreaties, finally consented. The children of course were permitted to go with their parents. The other women were then included as well. Clara D. Young and Isaac Perry Decker were brother and sister, children of Harriet Young by a former marriage. More than once during that rugged journey to the mountains did these heroic women, in their capacity of “ministering angels”—nurses to the sick—prove that no mistake was made when they were permitted to accompany the pioneers on their long pilgrimage.

Heber C. Kimball was the first of the leaders to move toward the mountains. On the 5th of April, taking six of his teams, he left Winter Quarters and formed a camp about four miles westward, beside a spring, at or near a place called Cutler's Park. This camp was the nucleus of the pioneer company.

The general conference of the Church convened at Winter Quarters on April 6th. On the 8th, such of the Apostles as had joined the camp returned to meet their confrere, Parley P. Pratt, who had just arrived from Europe. At a council held that evening in the office of Dr. Willard Richards, Parley reported the condition of affairs



Clara D. Young

abroad. Reuben Hedlock and others, promoters of the Joint Stock Company, had been severed from the Church and their speculative operations among the British Saints brought to an end. A final settlement had been made with the stock-holders. A general reform was in progress throughout the mission, and the spiritual was once more ascendant over the temporal. Such was the substance of Elder Pratt's report.

On the 9th another start was made for the mountains. The leaders, however, had no sooner rejoined the camp, now west of the Elk Horn, than they again started back to Winter Quarters, this time to greet Apostle John Taylor, who had also returned from Europe, bringing with him over two thousand dollars in gold, contributed to the Church by its British members. Apostles Pratt and Taylor had both come by way of New Orleans. Their associate, Orson Hyde, had landed at New York, and was on his way west. These three did not join the pioneer band, but remained to help organize some of the succeeding companies. Parley P. Pratt and John Taylor followed in the wake of the pioneers that season, but Orson Hyde tarried on the frontier.

Leaving general affairs on the Missouri in the hands of these Apostles, and having appointed a special committee, consisting of Isaac Morley and Newel K. Whitney, to superintend the emigration, President Young and the other leaders again joined their camp beyond the Elk Horn. They crossed that stream, one of the north tributaries of the Platte, on a raft constructed by some of their company who had gone before. It was now the 15th of April. They were twelve miles west of the Elk Horn, and forty-seven miles from Winter Quarters.

On April 16th, at about 2 p. m., the pioneers broke camp and traveled three miles. On the 17th they proceeded seven miles farther, camping that night near a cotton-wood grove. In order to save their corn they felled hundreds of these trees, and permitted their teams to browse on the foliage.

During the next few days the camp was thoroughly organized

under the direction of President Young. In addition to the captains of tens, already named, there were captains of hundreds and fifties appointed. The captains of hundreds were Stephen Markham and Albert P. Rockwood; of fifties, Addison Everett, Tarlton Lewis and James Case. There was also a military organization, the officers of which were as follows: Brigham Young, Lieutenant-General; Jesse C. Little, Adjutant; Stephen Markham, Colonel; John Pack and Shadrach Rounty, Majors; Thomas Tanner, captain of artillery. The artillery consisted of one cannon, carried at first in a wagon, but subsequently mounted on a separate pair of wheels. It was taken along to overawe hostile Indians, or perform more serious execution if found necessary. Captain Tanner had eight men to assist him in its management.

Thomas Tanner and Burr Frost were the blacksmiths of the camp. On them devolved the duty of repairing wagons, resetting wheel tires, etc.; a portable forge and tools having been provided for that purpose. Farmers with plows, mechanics with tools, builders and colonizers in general were all included in the company. Like Cæsar's legions in Gaul and Britain the pioneers went prepared, not only to fight if necessary, but to make roads, build bridges, construct boats and do all things necessary in the settlement of a new country.

Thomas Bullock was clerk of the camp, and Willard Richards and William Clayton its historians. Besides, many others kept daily journals of events, thus preserving a very complete record for the use of the historian in after years. Among the best of these may be mentioned those of Wilford Woodruff, Orson Pratt and Horace K. Whitney. From these records we learn that the pioneers had, at starting, seventy-two wagons, ninety-three horses, fifty-two mules, sixty-six oxen and nineteen cows. The census of the camp also comprised seventeen dogs and some chickens. In addition to the animals used in the teams, there were only eight or ten horses. Mounted men consequently were few. Most of the pioneers walked nearly all the way from the Missouri River to the Great Salt Lake, a distance of over a thousand miles. The same is true of the vast majority of Utah's early settlers who subsequently crossed the plains.

General Young instructed the camp as follows: The men were to travel in a compact body, each with his loaded gun in hand, or, if a teamster, in his wagon, ready for instant use. If the gun were a cap-lock, he was to take off the cap and put on a piece of leather to exclude moisture and dirt; if a flint-lock he must take out the filling and fill the pan with tow or cotton. Each man was to keep beside his wagon, and not leave it except by permission. The vehicles were to travel two abreast wherever practicable, and in case of hostile demonstrations by savages, four or five abreast. At five o'clock in the morning the bugle would sound the call to rise, assemble for prayers, feed teams, and get breakfast, and at seven give the signal for starting. At 8:30 p. m., at the sound of the bugle, each was to retire for prayers in his own wagon, and at 9 o'clock all but the sentries to bed.

The sentries were selected from a body of fifty men, with Stephen Markham as their captain; twelve guards were on duty at a time, and the night was divided into two watches. These guards were not to leave the vicinity of the wagons. Whenever it became necessary to stake out the horses and cattle to graze at a distance from the camp, an extra guard was provided. The stock, however, were generally kept inside the enclosure formed by corralling the wagons, according to the custom of the plains. In forming the corral, the tongues of the wagons were placed outside, with a fore-wheel of each vehicle locked in a hind wheel of the one ahead. At one or both ends of the circular or oblong enclosure thus formed, an opening would be left. These gateways were carefully guarded. Sometimes, near a lake or river, the camp would form a semi-circle, resting on the bank.

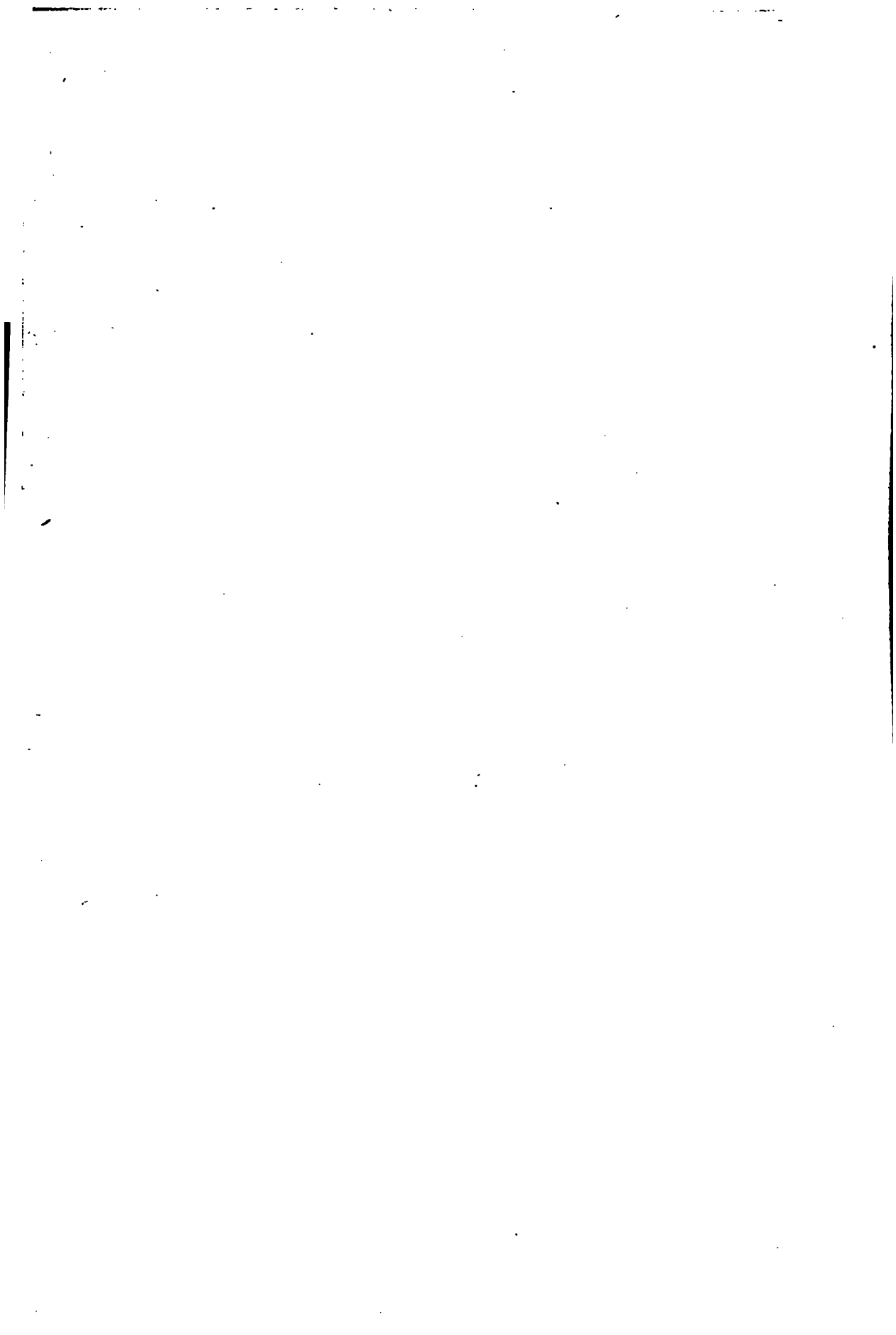
The pioneers sacredly observed the Sabbath; no unnecessary toil or travel being done on that day. Divine services were held regularly. As formerly, excessive levity was frowned upon by the leaders.

Thus organized, equipped and instructed, the pioneers proceeded on their way, slowly traveling up the north bank of the Platte. The regular route at that time was along the south bank, where grass was

more plentiful and the Indians less troublesome. Few if any travelers chose the north side, which was regarded as more difficult and dangerous. The pioneers preferred it for one reason: that their people who followed them would thus escape contact with the migrating Missourians, who sought every occasion to quarrel with the Mormons whenever they met them. For several hundred miles, therefore, they virtually broke a new road over the plains; a road subsequently traveled by tens of thousands of their people with ox-teams and hand-carts. It was known for many years as "the old Mormon trail." Much of it is now covered by the track of the Union Pacific Railway.

Pursuing their journey from the Elk Horn, the pioneers, in the latter part of April, found themselves in the heart of the Pawnee Indian country. These savages were still quite numerous, though their ranks had lately been decimated by the warlike Sioux, their implacable enemies. Thus far they had been very troublesome to the pioneers, stampeding and stealing their stock, and burning the prairie grass before and around them, destroying the feed upon which they mainly depended for their teams. But the Indians had offered no violence.

It was about one o'clock in the afternoon of April 21st that the pioneers halted on the bank of a long, narrow lake close by the river. They had scarcely formed their wagons in a semi-circle and placed their guards, when they were surrounded by swarms of savages, male and female, coming from all directions. Many had forded the river some distance below and followed the pioneers to their camp-ground. Among them was Shefmolun, chief of the Pawnee nation. Their manner was not hostile, and their motive, as soon appeared, purely mercenary. Presenting certificates, signed by various travelers, to the effect that the Pawnees were friendly and that it was the custom to make them small presents for the privilege of passing through their country, they intimated by a young Indian interpreter that similar gifts would be acceptable from the pioneers. The latter readily responded, imparting of their limited stores a few articles, such as powder, lead, salt, tobacco and flour, in quantities proportionate to the





Ellen S. Kimball.

amounts possessed. But the red men were not satisfied. Like Oliver Twist, they wanted "more." More the pioneers could not afford to give, and so informed them. The Pawnees professed the fear that their "white brothers" would scare away the buffalo in passing along, and hinted that from such a large company they expected bigger presents. Further parleying ensued, and finally the savages left, still unsatisfied, though not at all unfriendly. That night, which was cold and stormy, the cannon was limbered and placed outside the camp, while an extra guard stood armed and ready to repel any assault that might be made by the Indians. But the night wore away in peace, and the pioneers were not molested. Some of the guards, overpowered by the previous day's toil, fell asleep at their posts, and their guns and hats were removed by their waggish comrades. Their mortification on awaking served in lieu of a reprimand, and the sleeping act was not repeated.

Next came the difficult passage of the Loup Fork, another of the Platte's numerous tributaries, rolling like that majestic river over treacherous beds of quicksand. Some of the teams narrowly escaped drowning, and heavily laden vehicles came near capsizing. The water was only two feet deep, but the quicksands would nearly pull a wagon to pieces, making a sound like the rattling of wheels over a stony pavement. Fording with the loaded vehicles was finally discontinued, and rafts were constructed to carry the loads, leaving the empty wagons to be drawn across by teams. A boat of leather called the *Revenue Cutter*, which had been brought as a wagon-box from Winter Quarters, was also used in crossing this and other streams. This boat had formerly belonged to Ira Eldredge. The passage of the Loup Fork was finally effected without accident.

During the next few days several valuable horses were lost, two being killed by the accidental discharge of firearms and the others stolen by Indians. This loss was considered serious, as there were scarcely enough horses in camp to make traveling "at all comfortable." Several men were shot at by Indians while out hunting for the stolen animals.

Prior to crossing the Loup Fork, some of the pioneers had picked up a few plowshares and other pieces of iron lying around the site of a government station which had recently been burned to the ground during an incursion of the hostile Sioux. President Young would not permit this appropriation of property except upon the score of the government's indebtedness to James Case, one of the company, who had been employed as an Indian farmer. Those who took the iron were required to settle for it with Father Case, who was in turn directed to report to the proper authorities the amount he had thus collected on account.

The country through which they were passing, though monotonous in aspect, was nevertheless pleasing to the eye. Before and behind, on right and left, a vast level prairie, its waving grass, swept by gentle winds, limited on the right at a distance by a continuous range of majestic bluffs. On the left the muddy waters of the Platte, rolling ceaselessly over beds of quicksand; the river often hid from view by many handsome cottonwood groves fringing its sandy shores. The soil was everywhere of a sandy nature, promising little at that time to agriculture. Such was the general appearance of that region, where the iron-horse now thunders along the river's majestic course, and where flourish and wave the golden corn-fields of Nebraska.

Grand Island was reached about the 1st of May. Here the prairies swarmed with buffalo. A grand hunt was indulged in by the pioneers,—a dozen horsemen and as many footmen having previously been detailed for that purpose. After much exciting sport, ten of the animals were killed and brought to camp. Most of the company had never seen a buffalo before. Some of the hunters were verdant enough to attempt to kill one by shooting him full in the forehead, from which the bullets rebounded without making the least impression. The hide on the skull-piece of one of the dead bisons was found to be an inch thick, and covered with a coarse mat of hair—in itself a helmet of defense—which fully accounted for the pheno-

menon of rebounding balls.* The proceeds of this buffao hunt,—one bull, three cows and six calves,—were carried to camp in five wagons, temporarily unloaded for the purpose. The meat was equally distributed among the tens, each company receiving about one quarter.

After this day's sport the President instructed his men not to kill game wantonly, as was the custom with many who crossed the plains,—a custom which has done much to render the buffalo race extinct. "If we slay when we have no need," said he, "we will need when we cannot slay." Game continued more or less plentiful, the hunters supplying the camp with buffalo, deer, antelope, geese, ducks, etc., as often as necessary, and as they approached the mountains fine trout began to be taken from the streams. A grizzly bear and her cubs also became trophies of their skill.

Early in May a French trader named Charles Beaumont, returning with furs from Fort Laramie to the frontier, visited the pioneer camp, fording the Platte for that purpose, but leaving his wagons on the southern shore. Many embraced the opportunity thus afforded of sending letters back to Winter Quarters. Hitherto they had been content to improvise post-offices by the way, using the skull of a dead buffalo, or some other conspicuous and sheltering object, in which to deposit the missives left for their friends who were to follow. Fifty or sixty letters were now written, all of which Mr. Beaumont courteously undertook to deliver. The pioneers at this point were strongly tempted to cross the river and continue their journey along the regular route. There grass and game were abundant, and travelers were not so much molested, while on the north side the Indians kept up their prairie-burning tactics, and horses and cattle were at times almost famished for feed. The temptation, however, was resisted, for reasons already given, and up the north bank they proceeded.

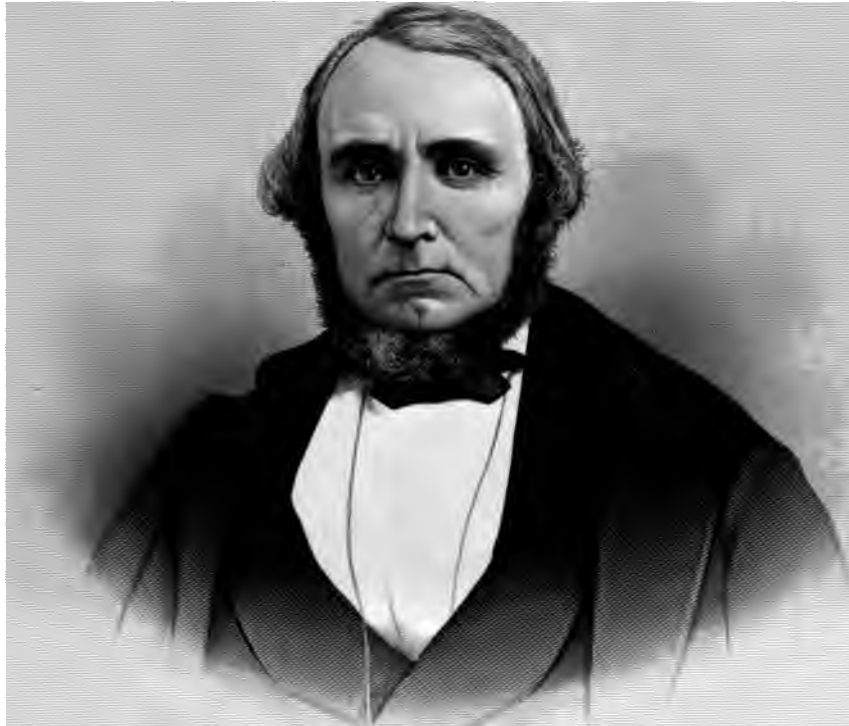
* A favorite method of the Indians for killing buffalo was to chase them until they were "winded," and then, riding up alongside, strike one with an arrow in the lower part of the spine. The beast, falling paralyzed, could then be hamstringed, and the chase continued *ad libitum*.

On May 21st they put up a guide-board, reading: "From Winter Quarters 409 miles; from the junction of the north and south forks (of the Platte) 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles. * * * According to Fremont, this place is 132 miles from Laramie." Similar guide-boards they had placed, and continued to place, at various points for the benefit of future emigration. Their method of measuring distances was by means of an ingenious machine invented by William Clayton and constructed by Appleton M. Harmon, a skillful mechanic. The machinery of the "roadometer" was so arranged that the revolutions of a wagon wheel, acting by screws and cogs upon smaller wheels, the whole attached to an axle-tree of one of the wagons, indicated from day to day the miles and parts of miles traveled.*

Near Chimney Rock, on the 24th of May, the pioneers encountered a band of mounted Sioux, about thirty-five in number, who forded the river and made friendly advances. These Indians were much better accoutred than the Pawnees and other tribes nearer the frontier. Many of them wore broadcloth, with fur caps, profusely decorated with beads and other ornaments, and were armed with bows, steel-pointed arrows and fire-arms. The chief sent his men to lodge some distance from the camp, but requested for himself the privilege of remaining with the pioneers over night. They granted his request, spreading a tent for his accommodation, and feeding him and his band that night and the next morning. These Sioux carried with them the American flag, and bore a recommendation

* The machine is thus described by its inventor :

"The whole machinery consists of a shaft about eighteen inches long, placed on gudgeons, one in the axle-tree of the wagon, near which are six arms placed at equal distances around it, and in which a cog works which is fastened on the hub of the wagon wheel, turning the shaft once around at every revolution of the wagon wheel. The upper gudgeon plays in a piece of wood nailed to the wagon box, and near this gudgeon, on the shaft, a screw is cut. The shaft lays at an angle of 45 degrees. In this screw a wheel works on an axle (fixed in the side of the wagon) of 60 cogs, and which makes one revolution for each mile traveled. In the shaft on which this wheel runs four cogs are cut on the forepart, which plays in another wheel of 40 cogs, which shows the miles and quarters of miles up to ten miles. The box incasing the whole is 18 inches long, 15 inches high and 3 inches thick."



Mr. Clayton

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written in French, from a Mr. Papan, agent of the American Fur Company.

About June 1st the pioneers arrived opposite Fort Laramie. According to their reckoning, they were now five hundred and forty-three miles from Winter Quarters. They had traveled this distance in about seven weeks. The first half of their westward journey was now over.

Before crossing the river—North Platte—they were visited by several men from the Fort, who announced themselves as Mormons from Mississippi, a portion of a company which, with Captain James Brown and the invalid detachments of the Mormon Battalion, had spent the winter at Pueblo. Of the Mississippians the Crow and Therlkill families and a few others—seventeen in all—had come on to Laramie to join the pioneers and accompany them over the mountains. They had been waiting at the Fort for two weeks.* They had five wagons, one cart, eleven horses, twenty-four oxen, twenty-two cows, and a few bulls and calves. Captain Brown's command, they said, expected soon to be ordered to California, by way of Fort Laramie and the South Pass.

From a party of traders who arrived from the west, the pioneers received rather discouraging reports regarding the route ahead. The snows, they were told, were so deep on the Sweetwater, and deeper still in the mountains, that no grass for feed could be found.

President Young and several of the Apostles now crossed the river in their leathern skiff and walked up to the Fort to confer with the resident authorities. Fort Laramie, at this time, was a trading post of the American Fur Company. It had been established in 1834, by William Sublette and Robert Campbell, with a view to monopolizing the trade as well as resisting the attacks of those warlike tribes, the

* Their names were as follows: Robert Crow, Elizabeth Crow, Benjamin R. Crow, Harriet Crow, Elizabeth Jane Crow, John McHenry Crow, Walter H. Crow, William Parker Crow, Isa Vinda Exene Crow, Ira Minda Almarene Crow, George W. Therlkill, Matilda Jane Therlkill, Milton Howard Therlkill, James William Therlkill, Archibald Little, James Chesney, Lewis B. Myers.

Arapahoes, Cheyennes and Sioux, roaming over the plains between the Missouri river and the Black Hills. It was situated upon Laramie River, a branch of the North Platte; Laramie being the name of a French trapper killed by the Arapahoes on that stream. Sold in 1835 to Milton Sublette, James Bridger and others, Fort Laramie had been rebuilt, and was now the chief trading post on the great overland route.

The principal man at the Fort was James Bordeaux, a Frenchman. He received President Young and his party very politely, and as they had decided to travel from that point on the south side of the river, owing to reports that the north side was no longer practicable, he hired to them his ferry-boat for the reasonable sum of fifteen dollars. He informed them that their old enemy, ex-Governor Boggs, of Missouri, had passed that way with a company some time before, and had warned him to look after his horses and cattle when the Mormons came along. According to Mr. Bordeaux, the ex-Governor did not succeed in prejudicing him to any great extent, for he had answered that let the Mormons be what they might, they could not be worse than Boggs and his party, who were quarreling and separating continually. "Mr. Bordeaux told us," says Wilford Woodruff, "that we were the best behaved company that had come that way." He said the Crow Indians were very troublesome in that region, having lately run off all the mules and horses belonging to the Fort.

The pioneers now crossed the Platte; the ferry averaging four wagons an hour. While thus engaged the rumor reached them that companies of emigrants, aggregating two thousand wagons, mostly from Missouri, Illinois, and Iowa, and bound for Oregon, were on the way west. Some of them expected to reach Fort Laramie next day. Many other trains were said to be forming on the frontier. Camping near the Fort, the pioneers set up their forges and repaired some of their wagons prior to resuming their journey.

Amasa M. Lyman, Thomas Woolsey, John H. Tippitts, and Roswell Stevens were now sent horse-back to Pueblo to take charge of the main body of the Mississippi Saints, and bring them over the

mountains in the trail of the pioneers. It was supposed that Captain Brown's detachment would come also. Indeed the Battalion men had already started, and were now marching toward Fort Laramie.

Friday, June 4th, the pioneers resumed their journey. Deducting Apostle Lyman's party, and adding the Mississippians who had already arrived, the company was now increased to one hundred and sixty-one. They started about noon, taking the regular emigrant trail toward the mountains. On the 5th, while resting to let their cattle graze, a small company of eleven wagons, bound for Oregon, rolled ahead of them. Next day—the Sabbath—another company, numbering twenty-one wagons, passed. A third company, with thirteen wagons, went ahead during the noon halt of the 7th. On the 8th a small company from the west was encountered. These wagons were from Fort Bridger, the first trading post beyond the mountains, and were laden with furs and peltries for Fort Laramie. The day following, three men with fifteen horses, mostly pack animals, overtook and passed the pioneers. They were from Santa Fe, and bound for the Bay of San Francisco, via the Great Salt Lake.

In the Black Hills region the pioneers consumed a week, recrossing the Platte. Here the river was usually fordable, but it was now the high water season and fording was impracticable. The stream was fifteen feet deep and a hundred yards wide. To this point the President had previously sent a detachment of men with their boat, the *Revenue Cutter*, to ferry over the Oregon companies. When the main body of the pioneers reached the river this work was in progress. The little skiff carried the loads and the empty wagons were floated. Some of them were whirled over several times by the swift current. For each wagon and load the ferrymen received \$1.50, and were glad to take their pay in flour, meal and bacon at Missouri prices. A little money was also realized. Other companies that soon arrived were carried over at the same rates. The proceeds of this labor, excepting a few extra dollars for the ferrymen, were equally divided among the members of the camp.

These supplies were as timely as they were totally unexpected. Their provisions were well-nigh exhausted, and to have their flour and meal bags replenished in this far-off region, and at the hands of their old enemies, the Missourians, was regarded by them as little less than a miracle. Apostle Woodruff compared it to the feeding of Israel with manna in the wilderness.

Besides their boat, two or three light rafts, constructed on the spot, were used by the pioneers at this ferry. It being demonstrated that "swimming" the wagons injured them, a heavier raft was built, strong enough to bear a loaded vehicle, and by means of this the rest of the wagons were taken over. This raft consisted of two large cottonwood canoes, placed parallel to each other, a few feet apart, firmly pinned with cross-pieces, and with nailed slabs running lengthwise. A rudder and oars were attached, with a little iron work, and the "boat" was complete. The only loss sustained during this crossing was one horse belonging to the Crow company, drowned while swimming the river.

It occurred to President Young that this was an eligible place to establish a ferry for the benefit of the companies that were to follow. Accordingly, nine men were detailed for that purpose. They were Thomas Grover, Captain; John S. Higbee, Luke S. Johnson, Appleton M. Harmon, Edmund Ellsworth, Francis M. Pomeroy, William Empey, James Davenport and Benjamin F. Stewart. They were instructed to remain at the ferry for about six weeks, or until the next company from Winter Quarters came along, by which time it was thought they would have earned enough to supply the needy with provisions. They were then to join that company and come on to the mountains. Eric Glines, against the President's wish, insisted on remaining at the ferry, but a few days later reconsidered his design and following, rejoined the main body.

On the 19th of June the camp continued its journey. The order of traveling was as follows: Each company of ten took its regular turn in the lead; the first ten one day, the second ten next day, and so on; every ten taking its turn in van and rear.

They reached Independence Rock* on the 21st of June. A mile or two beyond they forded the Sweetwater, and, contrary to report, found plenty of good grass along that river. But they had to beware of the poisonous alkaline waters of the vicinity, which proved so fatal to the cattle and horses of succeeding companies. Five days later they arrived at South Pass, the celebrated dividing ridge separating the waters here flowing east and west toward the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans. Now began the western descent of the Rockies.

At Pacific Springs, two miles west of the Pass, the pioneer vanguard met Major Moses Harris, a noted scout and trapper, who had accompanied to that point a party of travelers from Oregon, going east. He intended now to return, as guide to some of the emigrant companies bound for the north-west. From him the pioneers derived some information regarding the region of their destination,—the valley of the Great Salt Lake. His report, like Fremont's, was rather discouraging. He spoke of the country as sandy and destitute of timber and vegetation, excepting sagebrush. He gave a more favorable account of "a small region under the Bear River mountains, called Cache Valley," where trappers and traders were in the habit of "caching" their furs and other effects to hide them from the Indians. Cache Valley, Major Harris said, was "a fine place for wintering cattle." He presented for the perusal of the pioneers a file of Oregon papers beginning with the date of February 11th, 1847; also a number of the *California Star*, published by Samuel Brannan at Yerba Buena, and edited by E. P. Jones.

In this neighborhood also, according to Erastus Snow, they encountered another veteran mountaineer, Thomas L. Smith—surnamed "Pegleg"—who lived in the Bear River mountains, near Soda Springs. He advised them to direct their course toward Cache Valley, and plant their colony in that region.

In the forenoon of June 28th, the pioneers arrived at the point

* So named from the fact that a passing party had there celebrated the 4th of July.

where the Oregon and California roads diverged. Taking the latter or left-hand route, they crossed the Little Sandy, and that evening met Colonel James Bridger, of Bridger's Fort, accompanied by two of his men. They were on their way to Fort Laramie. In conversation with President Young and the other leaders, with whom he encamped that night, Bridger gave them in his peculiar way additional information regarding the route ahead, and the region toward which they were traveling. His report was synopsized by historian Clayton as follows:

We will find better grass as we proceed; there is no blacksmith shop at his fort at present; there was one but it was destroyed. Nearly a hundred wagons have gone over the Hastings route through Weber's Fork. They crossed the Black's Fork, and went a little south of west from his place. It is impossible for wagons to follow down Green River. Neither can it be followed in boats. * * * From Bridger's Fort to the Great Salt Lake, Hastings said, was about one hundred miles. Bridger himself had been through fifty times, but could form no correct idea of the distance. Mr. Hastings' route leaves the Oregon road at Bridger's. We could pass over the mountains further south but in some places we would meet with heavy bodies of timber and would have to cut our way through. In the Bear River Valley there is oak timber, sugar trees, cottonwood and pines. There is not an abundance of sugar maple, but plenty of beautiful pines. There is no timber on the Utah Lake, but some on the streams emptying into it. Into the outlet of the Utah Lake three well timbered streams empty. In the valleys southeast of the Salt Lake there is an abundance of blue grass and white clover. The outlet of the Utah Lake does not form a large river, neither a rapid current, but the water is muddy and the banks of the river low. Some of his men have been around the Salt Lake in canoes. But while they went out hunting, their horses were stolen by the Indians. They then spent three months going round the lake in canoes hunting beavers, the distance being five hundred and fifty (?) miles. The Utah tribe of Indians live around the lake and are a bad people, if they catch a man alone they are sure to rob and abuse him, if they don't kill him, but parties of men are in no danger. These Indians are mostly armed with guns. * * * There was a man who had opened a farm in Bear River Valley, where the soil is good and likely to produce grain, were it not for the excessive cold nights. There is a good country south of the Utah Lake or southeast of the Great Basin. Three rivers unknown to travelers enter into the Sevier Lake. There is also a splendid country north of the California mountains, calculated to produce every kind of grain and fruit, and there are several places where a man might pass from it over the mountains to the California settlements in a day. * * * The great desert extends from the Salt Lake to the Gulf of California, which is perfectly barren. Mr. Bridger supposes it to have been an arm of the sea. There is a tribe of Indians in that country who are unknown to either travelers or geographers. They make farms and raise an abundance of grain of various kinds. He can buy any quantity of the very best

wheat from them. * * * This country lies south of Salt Lake, distant about twenty days' travel, but the country through which one would have to go to reach it is bad, and there would be no grass for animals to subsist on. He supposes there might be access to it from Texas. * * * He never saw any grapes on the Utah Lake, but there are plenty of cherries and berries of several kinds. He thinks the region around the Utah Lake is the best country in the vicinity of the Salt Lake, and the country is still better the farther south one goes until the desert is reached, which is upwards of two hundred miles south of the Utah Lake. There is plenty of timber on all the streams and mountains and an abundance of fish in the streams. * * * He passed through the country a year ago last summer in the month of July; there is generally one or two showers of rain every day, sometimes very heavy thunder storms but not accompanied by strong winds. * * * He said we would find plenty of water from here to Bridger's Fort, except after crossing Green River, when we have to travel about twenty miles without water, but there is plenty of grass. * * * We need not fear the Utah Indians, for we could drive the whole of them in twenty-four hours. Mr. Bridger's theory was not to kill them, but make slaves of them. The Indians south of the Utah Lake raise as good corn, wheat and pumpkins as were ever raised in old Kentucky.

In conclusion, the erratic Colonel expressed the opinion,—similar to that of Major Harris,—that it would be unwise to bring a large colony into the Great Basin until it had been proven that grain could be raised there. He said that he would give a thousand dollars for the first ear of corn that ripened in Great Salt Lake Valley.

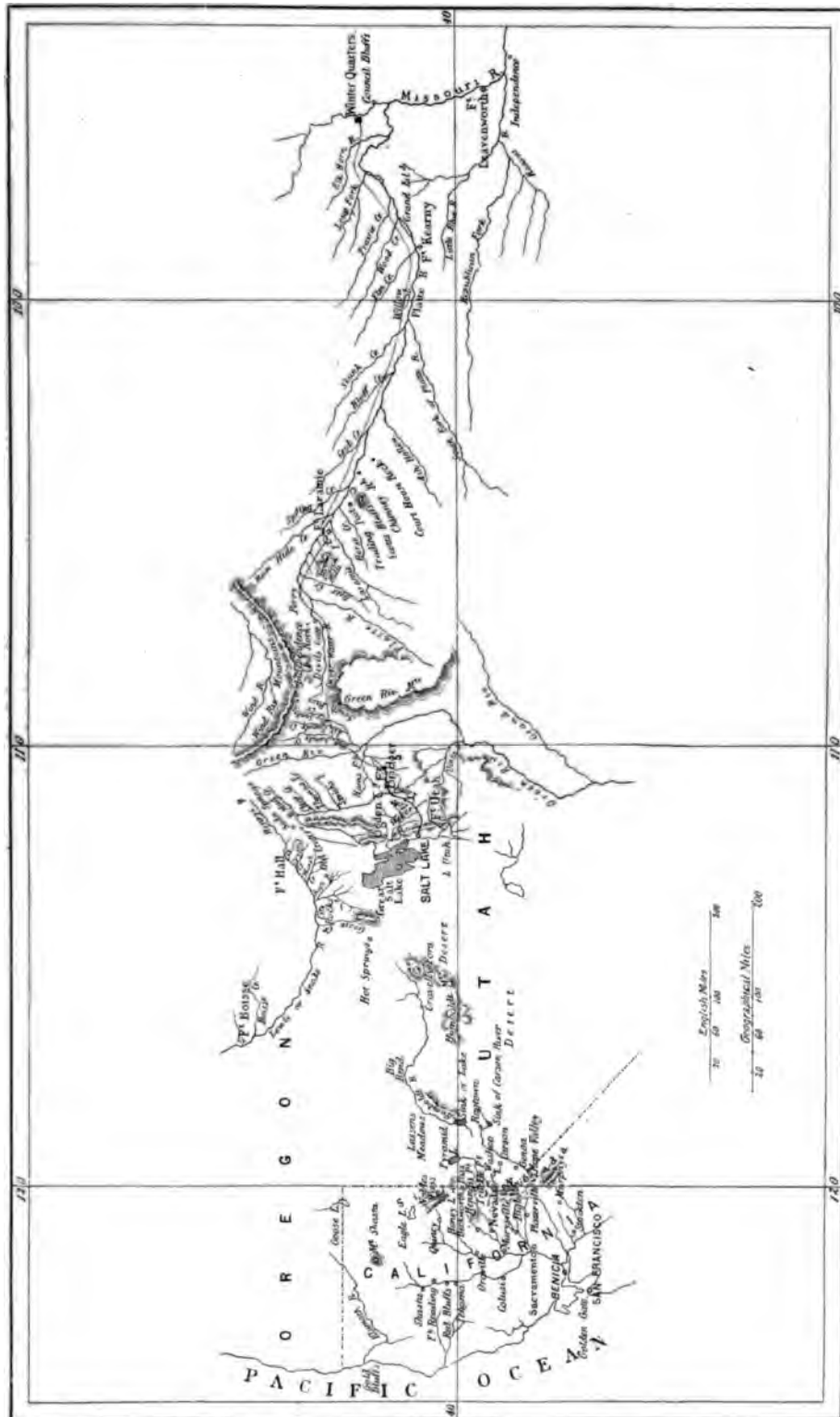
Crossing and journeying down the right bank of the Big Sandy, the pioneers on the last day of June came to Green River. Several of them there fell sick with mountain fever, causing delirium; though none of the cases were considered dangerous, or threatened to be of long duration. The river was high and rapid,—about eighteen rods wide, with from twelve to fifteen feet of water in the channel. Fording was therefore out of the question. Two rafts were constructed from the cottonwood trees lining the banks of the river, and preparations for crossing the stream at once begun.

Just at this juncture, who should ride into camp but Elder Samuel Brannan, the same who, in February, 1846, had sailed from New York for California on the ship *Brooklyn*. He was just from the Bay of San Francisco, having left there with two companions on the 4th of April, one day before the pioneer vanguard started from Win-

ter Quarters. Elder Brannan and his companions had crossed the Sierras over the deep snows which had buried the Donner party,—whose ghastly relics in skulls and scattered bones they had beheld in passing,—and come by way of Fort Hall to meet the pioneers. Brannan informed the President that his colony, which had reached the Bay of San Francisco on the 31st of the previous July, were settling on the San Joaquin river. He had brought with him from the coast sixteen copies of the *California Star*, the paper he had there established. Brannan's main purpose in coming to meet the President was to induce him to settle with his people on the Pacific coast. In this he was unsuccessful.

Green River was now crossed and before noon on the 3rd of July all the wagons were safe over. A camp was formed three miles below the point of crossing. The President now gave such of the pioneers as had families in the next company the privilege of returning to meet them. Five only decided to return, namely: Phineas H. Young, George Woodward, Aaron F. Farr, Eric Glines and Rodney Badger. Taking the *Cutter* wagon they started eastward on the morning of the 4th. They were accompanied to the ferry by President Young, Heber C. Kimball and a few others. They there met thirteen of Captain Brown's Battalion men, out in pursuit of horse-thieves who had stolen from them at Pueblo and were now supposed to be at Fort Bridger. One of the soldiers—William Walker—decided to return with the five pioneers. The others, escorted by the President and his party, joined the pioneer camp. The "glorious 4th," it being the Sabbath, was sacredly observed by the pioneers on Green River.

Resuming their journey, they continued a few miles down the right bank of the river, then leaving it and ascending some bluffs, crossed a gently undulating sandy plain, and descended upon Black's Fork. Following up that stream they forded Ham's Fork, crossed and recrossed the Black, and finally on July 7th arrived at Fort Bridger. This celebrated post—the second permanent one established on the great overland route—consisted of two adjoining log houses,



The Pioneer Route, 1847.

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with dirt roofs, surrounded by a stockade of logs eight feet high. It was built upon one of several small islands formed by as many branches of Black's Fork. These islands were covered with excellent grass, and had considerable timber; mostly cottonwood and willow. The fort, still owned by Bridger and Vasquez, was the abode of a score or more of human beings, white men, Indian women, and half-breed children. In the vicinity were nine Indian lodges, where dwelt the families of other trappers and hunters who had also taken squaws for wives.

Here the pioneers again set up their forges, shoeing horses and repairing wagons, prior to undertaking the rough mountainous journey now before them. Despite all adverse reports, President Young had decided to penetrate to and colonize, if possible, the desert shores of the Great Salt Lake. The route thither lay to the southwest, along the rugged spurs of the towering Uintahs, snow-capped and glistening in the July sun.

On the 9th they set out from Fort Bridger, by way of the Hastings Cut-off. Samuel Brannan and a few others returned toward South Pass to meet Captain Brown and his detachment. Near Bear River the pioneers encountered Miles M. Goodyear, another mountaineer, who was also somewhat acquainted with Great Salt Lake Valley. He owned a place on Weber River, where he had built a stockade similar to Fort Bridger, and was engaged in trading, trapping and stock-raising. He gave them little or no encouragement, but spoke of hard frosts, cold climate and the difficulty of raising grain and vegetables in that region. Still they pressed on undaunted. Forging Bear River, which stream yielded them some fine trout, they continued following the dim wagon trail of previous emigration, as it rose over steep hills or plunged into deep and rocky ravines now in their path.

At noon on the 12th President Young, who was stricken with mountain fever, fell behind with a few wagons, but requested the main body to move on. They did so, and that night camped near a large and curious cave, which they named for one of their number

Redding's Cave,—Jackson Redding being one of the first to visit it. This was at the head of Echo Canyon.

Next morning messengers were sent back to meet the President. Returning with Heber C. Kimball, they reported that the President was better, but would not travel that day. Orson Pratt was requested to take wagons and men, and preceding the main body down the canyon, endeavor to find near its mouth the Reed and Donner trail across the mountains to the Great Salt Lake. Weber Canyon, the route generally followed from the mouth of Echo, had been reported impassable owing to high water.

At about 3 p. m. Orson Pratt's vanguard, consisting of forty-two men with twenty-three wagons, started down Echo Canyon. This company was composed as follows:

Orson Pratt, (commanding),	Benjamin B. Crow,	Lewis B. Myers,
Stephen Markham, (aide),	John S. Eldredge,	Elijah Newman,
John Brown,	Joseph Egbert,	David Power,
C. D. Barnum,	Nathaniel Fairbanks,	O. P. Rockwell,
Charles Burk,	John S. Freeman,	Jackson Redding,
Francis Boggs,	Green Flake,	Shadrach Roundy,
A. P. Chessley,	John S. Gleason,	James W. Stewart,
Oscar Crosby,	David Grant,	Gilbroid Summe,
Lyman Curtis,	Hans C. Hansen,	Horace Thornton,
James Chessney,	Levi Jackman,	Marcus B. Thorpe,
Walter Crow,	Stephen Kelsey,	George W. Therkill,
John Crow,	Levi N. Kendall,	Norman Taylor,
Robert Crow,	Hark Lay,	Seth Taft,
Walter H. Crow,	Joseph Matthews,	Robert Thomas.

The women and children of the Crow family accompanied them, and were thus among the first to enter Salt Lake Valley.

Echo Canyon,—which was destined to become more historic still in Utah annals,—was described by Orson Pratt as a narrow valley from ten to twelve rods wide, upon each side of which the hills rose abruptly to a height of from eight to twelve hundred feet, with vertical and overhanging precipices of red pudding-stone and red sandstone, dipping to the north-west in an angle of about twenty degrees. The canyon ran south-west. The rocks were worked into many

curious shapes, probably by the rains, and the country was very mountainous in every direction. The road down the canyon was quite rough, crossing and recrossing the stream—Red Fork or Echo Creek—many times. Willow and aspen grew in the valley and upon the slopes, and there were some scrub cedars clinging to the rocks and upon the hills. Echo Creek, toward the mouth, was a small stream eight feet across, putting into the Weber from its right bank. Weber River at this point was about seventy feet wide and two or three feet deep, with a rapid but clear current rolling over a bottom of boulders. Its course was west-north-west. The height above the sea at the junction of the two streams was found to be 5,301 feet.

Such was Echo Canyon in July, 1847. Ten years and a few months later that narrow valley, walled in by vertical and overhanging cliffs, blocked with ice and snow—a veritable bulwark of Nature—wore a somewhat different aspect, and became the scene of one act of an intensely interesting drama, in which the nation whence the pioneers had fled, and the mountain-girt state which they and their compatriots here framed, played principal and opposing parts. Whatever the merits of that controversy—and the full truth of it has never yet been told—Echo Canyon and its warlike episode are immortal. The bridge that Horatius kept, the storied pass of Thermopylæ, are not more securely niched in History's golden temple of the past, than Echo Canyon in her pantheon of the present and the future.

The most difficult part of the pioneer journey was still before them. Level plains and rolling prairies were long since past. Their path now lay wholly among the mountains. High hills, deep ravines, rugged canyons, rock-obstructed and choked with brush and timber,—over and through these they must cut and dig their way.

Passing down the Weber about four miles, crossing that stream and striking the Donner trail—now so dim as to be hardly discernible—the Pratt vanguard proceeded toward East Canyon.* A dozen men

* The statement sometimes made that the Mormon Pioneers, on their way from Echo Canyon in July, 1847, entered Parley's Park, is an error.

with spades and axes went before the wagons. Six miles up a ravine, through which flowed a small, clear stream, brought them to a dividing ridge, whence they descended slowly another ravine so choked and obstructed as to be all but impassable. Four hours were consumed in going about two miles.

At length they reached East Canyon. Up that difficult gorge they toiled for eight weary miles, crossing and recrossing its crooked willow-fringed torrent thirteen times. Large grey wolves, startled out of their lairs, glared fiercely at them as they passed, and reluctantly retired up neighboring glens and ravines. The deadly rattlesnake—the policeman among reptiles—sounded his warning as if summoning assistance to arrest the further progress of these daring and dangerous human intruders. Here and there the fresh track of a buffalo, some wanderer of his race, appeared; the brush at the roadside, against which the brute had rubbed in passing, still retaining some of its hair.

" Leaving East Canyon the trail turned up a ravine to the west, and finally crossed over another ridge or summit,—Big Mountain.

Hitherto naught but a seemingly endless succession of Alps on Alps, hills piled on hills, had greeted the tired vision of the struggling vanguard, pushing through these mountain fastnesses. But now, from the summit of this pass, a broader and grander view was obtained. Glimpses of the open country appeared. To the south-west, through a vista of sloping mountains,—the V of the canyon prospect changed to a W by the intervention of a massive peak towering in the distance—two small sections of Salt Lake Valley were visible. The lake was yet unseen, but beyond loomed the blue and snow-tipped Oquirrh, and peering above them a shadowy summit of the far-off Onaqui range, dimly outlined against the western sky. " It was from this summit—Big Mountain—that Orson Pratt and John Brown, riding horseback ahead of their company, on Monday, July 19th, 1847, caught the first glimpse had by any of the pioneers of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake.

Having descended Big Mountain,—a steep and dangerous slide,





First Glimpse of "The Valley."

where wheels were double-locked lest teams and wagons should rush on to destruction,—the hopeful vanguard pushed on cheerily, their spirits and strength materially renewed by what they had seen. A few miles farther the trail, avoiding a canyon on the left, rose abruptly over another high hill—Little Mountain—whence it descended into the gorge since known as Emigration Canyon. "

A mile below Little Mountain, on July 21st, Pratt's company halted for noon beside a swift-running stream which they named Last Creek. Here they were overtaken by Erastus Snow, a messenger from the rear. The pioneer company was now traveling in three detachments. Elder Snow said that it was President Young's impression that on emerging from the mountains they should bear to the northward and stop at the first convenient place for putting in seed.

That afternoon, Orson Pratt and Erastus Snow, taking a single saddle-horse, preceded the rest of the company down the canyon. Near the mouth of the gorge,—which they found to be impassable, owing to a dense thicket, where rocks, brush and timber completely choked the way,—they crossed to the south side of the creek and followed the trail up over a steep and dangerous hill,—“so very steep,” says the record, “that it was almost impossible for heavy wagons to ascend, and so narrow that the least accident might precipitate a wagon down a bank of three or four hundred feet.” From the summit of this hill the two pioneers saw for the first time the broad, open valley, belted with snow-capped peaks, and the blue waters of the lake flashing and shimmering in the summer sunbeams. A shout of rapture broke from their lips, and having drunk their fill of the inspiring scene, they descended from the hills to the plateau or bench below.

Meantime the middle or main company, after repairing some of their wagons,—broken in passing over the rocky and stumpy route,—had almost overtaken the vanguard in Emigration Canyon. The rear wagons, with the sick President, were at the same time approaching East Canyon. On the 22nd they encamped there, and on the

23rd crossed Big Mountain. The President, reclining in Apostle Woodruff's carriage, requested to have it turned upon the summit so that he might see those portions of the Valley that were now visible. Gazing long and earnestly at the prospect, he exclaimed: "Enough. This is the right place. Drive on."

That night the President's party encamped in a small birch grove, whence issued a beautiful spring. It was about midway between the Big and Little mountains, near the cozy canyon nook now called Mountain Dell. Here, at Birch Spring, on the evening of July 23rd, the party was joined by John Pack and Joseph Matthews, who had returned to report that the companies ahead had cut their way through the mouth of the canyon, entered and partly explored the Valley, and made choice of a spot for putting in crops. It was late in the forenoon of the day following—the memorable 24th—that the rear wagons rolled through the mouth of Emigration Canyon, and Brigham Young, the founder of Utah, looked his first upon the full glory of the Valley by the Lake.

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Great Salt Lake Valley, July, 1847.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

1847.

PEN PICTURE OF SALT LAKE VALLEY—HOW IT LOOKED TO THE PIONEERS—CONTRASTED IMPRESSIONS—ORSON PRATT AND ERASTUS SNOW THE FIRST EXPLORERS—THE CAMP ON CITY CREEK—PLOWING AND PLANTING—ARRIVAL OF THE PRESIDENT—THE FIRST SABBATH SERVICE IN THE VALLEY—ORSON PRATT'S SERMON TO THE PIONEERS—BRIGHAM YOUNG LAYS DOWN THE LAW—APOSTLE LYMAN AND ELDER BRANNAN ARRIVE—EXPLORING AND COLONIZING—ENSIGN PEAK NAMED—THE GREAT SALT LAKE VISITED—BLACK ROCK CHRISTENED—TOOELE VALLEY—UTAH LAKE SEEN—SALT LAKE CITY PLANNED AND LOCATED.

IT WAS no Garden of the Hesperides upon which the Pioneers gazed that memorable July morning. Aside from its scenic splendor, which was indeed glorious, magnificent, there was little to invite and much to repel in the prospect presented to their view. A broad and barren plain hemmed in by mountains, blistering in the burning rays of the midsummer sun. No waving fields, no swaying forests, no verdant meadows to rest and refresh the weary eye, but on all sides a seemingly interminable waste of sagebrush bespangled with sunflowers,—the paradise of the lizard, the cricket and the rattlesnake. Less than half way across the baked and burning valley, dividing it in twain—as if the vast bowl, in the intense heat of the Master Potter's fires, in process of formation had cracked asunder—a narrow river, turbid and shallow, from south to north in many a serpentine curve, sweeps on its sinuous way. Beyond, a broad lake, the river's goal, dotted with mountain islands; its briny waters shimmering in the sunlight like a silver shield.

From mountains snow-capped, seamed and craggy, lifting their kingly heads to be crowned by the golden sun, flow limpid, laughing streams, cold and crystal clear, leaping, dashing, foaming, flashing, from rock to glen, from peak to plain. But the fresh canyon streams

are far and few, and the arid waste they water, glistening with beds of salt and soda and pools of deadly alkali, scarcely allows them to reach the river, but midway well nigh swallows and absorbs them in its thirsty sands. Above the line of gray and gold, of sage and sunflower, the sloping hillsides and precipitous steeps clothed with purple and dark-green patches. These, the oak-bush, the squaw-berry, and other scant growths, with here and there a tree casting its lone shadow on hill or in valley; a wire-grass swamp, a few acres of withered bunch-grass, and the lazily waving willows and wild-rose bushes fringing the distant streams, the only green things visible.

Silence and desolation reign. A silence unbroken, save by the cricket's ceaseless chirp, the roar of the mountain torrent, or the whir and twitter of the passing bird. A desolation of centuries, where earth seems heaven-forsaken, where hermit Nature, watching, waiting, weeps, and worships God amid eternal solitudes.

A voice breaks the stillness. It is the voice of Brigham Young. Pale and wasted from his recent illness, and still reclining wearily in the light vehicle which has borne him through the mountains, the pioneer chieftain sweeps with a prescient glance the gorgeous panorama spread out before him,—the contrasted splendors of mountain, valley, lake and stream, glorious and glittering in the summer sunlight. Far over and beyond all these extends that inspired gaze. It sees not merely the present, but the future; not only that which is, but that which is to be, when from these barren sands shall rise, as rose proud Venice from the sea, a city fair as Adriatic's island queen, and no less wealthy, famed and powerful. It sees the burning plains to blooming gardens turn; the desert change to an oasis; the sterile valley, the reproach of Nature, which naught before had borne, teeming with varied life and yielding rich fruits and rare flowers for the sustenance and delight of man. An inanimate Sarah, a barren Rachel, transformed by the touch of God to a joyful mother of children. The curse of centuries is lifted, the fetters of ages are stricken off, and the redeemed earth, like a freed captive, looks up to heaven and smiles. Cities, towns and hamlets multiply; farms, fields,

orchards and vineyards fill all the land. Egypt, the wilderness, are past; another Canaan appears; and here a Moses who shall smite the rock, a Joshua to sit in judgment and divide to Israel his inheritance.

Still he gazed on. Still rolled before that enraptured sight, in waves of prophetic imagery, the sunlit panorama of the future. Saw he no cloud? Yes, one. He thought upon the oppressor and he frowned, for he was human, and he remembered the past; upon the Master and His mission of mercy, and a softened look played upon the wan and wasted features. Yes, he too could forgive, as he hoped with all men to be forgiven. If the Gentile came he should be welcome, blessing should be given for cursing, and the olive branch, and not the sword, would Ephraim extend to Japheth. But he must come peaceably, give friendship for friendship, and honor the laws of the commonwealth. No stirrers-up of strife, no mobocracy would be tolerated. Japheth, if he desired it, should indeed "dwell in the tents of Shem," but he must dwell there in peace and in propriety, or his room would be preferable to his company.

Is it all fancy? Did no such thoughts sweep through the mind of the Mormon leader that day—one who believed himself, as tens of thousands believed him, a divinely appointed law-giver, a Moses indeed to another and a veritable Israel? Did no such sentiments swell his breast, as he surveyed for the first time the land, the desert land, which his directing genius and his people's united industry were destined to redeem and render immortal? Perhaps we shall see as we proceed.

"The very place." Such were his simple words, but they were words that spoke volumes. Says Wilford Woodruff, who, with Heber C. Kimball, Lorenzo D. Young and others had remained behind with the President, and now stood with him upon the narrow plateau near the mouth of Emigration Canyon: "We gazed in wonder and admiration upon the vast valley before us, with the waters of the Great Salt Lake glistening in the sun, mountains towering to the skies, and streams of pure water running through the beautiful valley. It was the grandest view we had ever seen till this moment.

Pleasant thoughts ran through our minds at the prospect that not many years hence the house of God would be established in the mountains and exalted above the hills, while the valleys would be converted into orchards, vineyards and fruitful fields, cities erected to the name of the Lord, and the standard of Zion unfurled for the gathering of the nations. President Young expressed his entire satisfaction at the appearance of the valley as a resting place for the Saints, and felt amply repaid for his journey. While lying upon his bed in my carriage, gazing upon the scene before us, many things of the future, concerning the Valley, were shown to him in vision."

Some of the pioneers, however, weary and worn by their long pilgrimage, were far from enchanted at the prospect of remaining in such a desolate place. Their hearts sank within them at the announcement of their leader, that this was the very spot,—a spot which he claimed to have previously seen in vision, as held in reserve by the Almighty for His people.* Said Harriet Young: "Weak and weary as I am, I would rather go a thousand miles farther than remain in such a forsaken place as this." Ellen Kimball, her sister pioneer, felt likewise, Clara D. Young was the only one of the three who felt at all satisfied with the situation. Said she in later years: "It did not look so dreary to me as it did to the other ladies. They were terribly disappointed because there were no trees. My poor mother was almost heart-broken. I don't remember a tree that could be called a tree." Lorenzo D. Young says there was a scrub-oak or a cottonwood here and there, but that the general outlook was dreary and disheartening. And thus were opinions and impressions divided. All in all it is evident, from the concensus of these views, which might be multiplied *ad libitum*, that beyond the scenic glory of Salt Lake Valley, which still remains unrivalled, its inviting features at that time were more visible to the eye of faith than to the natural vision.

* Says Erastus Snow: "It was here he had seen the tent settling down from heaven and resting, and a voice said unto him, 'Here is the place where my people Israel shall pitch their tents.'"

Continuing, Apostle Woodruff says: "After gazing awhile upon this scenery, we moved four miles across the table-land into the valley, to the encampment of our brethren, who had arrived two days before us. They had pitched upon the banks of two small streams of pure water, and had commenced plowing. On our arrival they had already broken five acres of land, and had begun planting potatoes in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake."

Orson Pratt had been the first of the pioneers to tread the site of Salt Lake City. We left him and Erastus Snow on the afternoon of the 21st of July, descending the hills near Emigration Canyon, after drinking in with rapture the inspiring scene which had burst some moments before upon their view. As said, they had but one horse between them, and Erastus was now riding. The day being warm,—the temperature about 96° Fahr.,—he had taken off his coat and flung it loosely over the saddle. When about three miles from the canyon he missed his coat, and returned to look for it. Orson Pratt meanwhile walked on alone, descending from plateau to plain. After traversing a circuit of about twelve miles, the two returned to their camp in the canyon.

Erastus Snow states that after entering the valley they first directed their course toward the stream now called Mill Creek, where the tall canes along its banks "looked like inviting grain." Disappointed by the delusion, and remembering the President's injunction to "bear to the northward," they turned in that direction and came to the banks of City Creek. This creek then divided in twain a little above Temple Block; one branch running westward and the other southward. It was 9 or 10 o'clock p. m. when they rejoined their companions. Pratt's company, after their leader left them, had only advanced three miles down the canyon and were now encamped one-and-a-half miles above the mouth.

Next morning, the main company having arrived, Orson Pratt, George A. Smith and seven others rode into the valley to explore, leaving the others to follow them and make practicable the "narrows" at the mouth of the canyon. Descending into the valley about

five miles, the explorers turned northward toward the Lake. "For three or four miles," says Orson Pratt, "we found the soil of a most excellent quality. Streams from the mountains and springs were very abundant, the water excellent, and generally with gravel bottoms. A great variety of green grass, and very luxuriant, covered the bottoms for miles where the soil was sufficiently damp, but in other places, although the soil was good, the grass had nearly dried up for want of moisture. We found the drier places swarming with very large crickets, about the size of a man's thumb. This valley is surrounded by mountains, except on the north; the tops of some of the highest being covered with snow. Every one or two miles streams were emptying into it from the mountains on the east, many of which were sufficiently large to carry mills and other machinery. As we proceeded towards the Salt Lake, the soil began to assume a more sterile appearance. * * * We found, as we proceeded on, great numbers of hot springs issuing from near the base of the mountains. These springs were highly impregnated with salt and sulphur. The temperature of some was nearly raised to the boiling point. We traveled for about fifteen miles after coming down into the valley; the latter parts of the distance the soil being unfit for agricultural purposes."

Returning from this jaunt, which evidently took in the neighborhood of the Warm and Hot Springs, they found their wagons encamped in the valley, four or five miles below Emigration Canyon.

On the morning of the 23rd, after despatching messengers to meet the President and inform him of what had been seen and done, the camp removed to the south branch of City Creek, near the Eighth Ward or Washington Square, not far from where the Methodist Church and its palatial neighbor the Hotel Knutsford now stand. A meeting was there called. Orson Pratt prayed and dedicated the land and camp to the Lord, and he and Willard Richards addressed those assembled. Various committees were then appointed, and preparations at once made for putting in crops. The planting season being virtually past, no time was to be lost if they hoped to





Yours Truly
Crastus Snow

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reap any results from their labors. Within two hours from the time they arrived on City Creek, ground was broken a short distance from camp—in the very business heart of Salt Lake City—and three plows were kept going during the rest of the day. George W. Brown, William Carter and Shadrach Roundy ran the first furrows plowed by white men in Salt Lake Valley.* Owing to the extreme dryness of the soil, plowing was at first very difficult, and more than one plow-share was broken in the hard sun-baked earth. But a dam having been placed in the creek, and the surrounding soil well flooded, the work was rendered comparatively easy. At 3 o'clock p. m. the pioneer thermometer indicated 96° F. A thunder shower swept over from the west that afternoon, but scarcely enough rain fell to lay the dust. A heavier shower fell next evening.

These rains were particularly welcome and gratifying, not only on account of the prevailing heat and dryness, but from the fact that the pioneers had received the impression, in spite of Colonel Bridger's report, that such phenomena as mid-summer showers were unknown in the Great Basin. They saw many days during that and ensuing seasons, when, but for the memory of these refreshing rains, that early impression would certainly have been confirmed.

On the morning of the 24th the pioneers began planting, first putting in their potatoes. Having planted a few acres they turned the waters of the creek upon their little field and gave the soil "a

* George W. Brown, now residing at Charleston, Wasatch County, Utah, writes: "We moved camp from Emigration Creek to City Creek near where the Deseret Bank now stands. A meeting was called soon after we halted. Orders were given to begin plowing. (I had turned my oxen out with their yoke on). A rush was made to begin. All eager to get started first. I succeeded in being the first one to hitch up. John S. Eldredge furnished the plow (having it all ready). I picked up my whip and both drove and held the plow and turned the first sod in Utah Territory. This occurred about 11 o'clock a. m. July 23rd, 1847."

William Carter, of St. George, Washington County, says: "July 23rd, 1847, I put in my plow on the south side of the Thirteenth Ward, opposite Tuft's Hotel, on the west side of the block. Levi Kendall and Bishop Taft put in their plow and broke the beam. This was close to camp and they could not plow. I plowed about half an acre before any other teams came. This took place about noon."

good soaking." This was the beginning of their vast and successful system of irrigation—since famous throughout the civilized world—which has done so much toward redeeming the desert Basin, and making Utah a veritable Eden in the midst of a barren waste.

About midday, or early in the afternoon, President Young and his party arrived at the camp on City Creek. It was in his honor that July 24th—the day of his arrival—was set apart by the pioneers to commemorate their advent into the valleys of the mountains.

The day following was the Sabbath. The grateful pioneers did not forget it. Assembling at 10 a. m. in the circle of their encampment, they paid their devotions to the Most High. George A. Smith was the first speaker, and he was followed by Heber C. Kimball and Ezra T. Benson. All expressed themselves as satisfied with the country to which they had come, with their present situation and future prospects. Apostle Kimball drew attention to the fact that not one human life had been lost during their long journey from the Missouri, and that they had been favored by divine providence in various ways. In the afternoon the Sacrament was administered, after which the assembly was addressed by Wilford Woodruff, Orson Pratt and Willard Richards; Lorenzo D. Young, John Pack and others also making a few remarks. But the sermon of the day was delivered by Apostle Orson Pratt, who took for his text Isaiah 52: 7, 8:

How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace; that bringeth good tidings of good, that publisheth salvation; that saith unto Zion, Thy God reigneth!

Thy watchmen shall lift up the voice; with the voice together shall they sing: for they shall see eye to eye, when the Lord shall bring again Zion.

The Apostle proceeded to show that these inspired words, and not only these but many other predictions of the ancient seers, bore directly upon the situation of the pioneers and their people, who were now beginning to plant their feet in the midst of the Rocky Mountains. The prophets of old, he declared, had foreseen this very establishment of the Lord's house in the "tops of the mountains,"

where it was "exalted above the hills," and "all nations" would yet "flow unto it."

Whether or not the Apostle's literal view be taken, there is no denying that in the light of those prophecies the situation of the pioneers was particularly striking, and that these descendants of the Pilgrims and Puritans, as ready as their New England ancestors to recognize God's hand in their westward flight, had ample reason, from their standpoint, to accept, as they undoubtedly did, their Apostle's interpretation as true and genuine. Would not their feet be indeed "beautiful upon the mountains" to those who were even now awaiting the "glad tidings," soon to be sent back to them, of a home of peace and safety unto which the Lord was about to "bring Zion?"

The President, though his feeble condition would not permit him to preach a sermon that day, added a few practical words from his arm chair, where he sat while he addressed them. "He told the brethren," says Apostle Woodruff, "that they must not work on Sunday; that they would lose five times as much as they would gain by it. None were to hunt or fish on that day, and there should not any man dwell among us who would not observe these rules. They might go and dwell where they pleased, but should not dwell with us. He also said that no man who came here should buy any land; that he had none to sell;* but every man should have his land measured out to him for city and farming purposes. He might till it as he pleased, but he must be industrious and take care of it."

While there exists no proof that it was the purpose of the Mormon leader to set up anew at that time the system of the United Order, the character of his instructions on this occasion were strikingly reminiscent of the past history and operations of the Saints under the great social plan introduced and partly established by their Prophet. [The proposed measuring out to each member of the community of that portion of land which he was required to industri-

* None of them had any title to the land at that time. It was still Mexican soil.

ously cultivate, was in perfect keeping with the plan of the United Order, and strongly suggestive of the mission once given to Bishop Edward Partridge in Jackson County, Missouri. "He might till it as he pleased," but he must not sell it, nor work it on the Sabbath. Though each man was to have an "inheritance" as an individual possession, he was expected to hold and use it in a way not inconsistent with the public weal; "every man seeking the interest of his neighbor and doing all things with an eye single to the glory of God."

The Israelitish, or at all events ancient genius of the United Order is apparent. Nothing is plainer than that Joseph Smith's concept of a community, while subsequent in enunciation and practice to the theories of the French socialists and Robert Owen, was not inspired by modern socialism and its methods. If he had ideals, they were ancient and biblical, not modern and secular. They were Moses and Joshua, rather than Owen and Saint-Simon. Joseph and Brigham in their time were each compared to Moses, and that, too, by Gentile writers; Brigham, no doubt, because he was not only, like Joseph, a law-giver, but actually led a people, as Moses led Israel, through a wilderness to their "land of promise." But he was not one whit less a Joshua in dividing to an Israel their "inheritance." And yet, be it remembered, it was the order of Enoch, "the seventh from Adam," and not an order of Moses and Joshua, that Joseph Smith had sought to establish. The patriarchal or plural marriage system of the Saints,—now known to the Church in general, and about to be openly avowed to the world,—was also Israelitish in theory and in practice, as were their patriarchal family organizations, formed at Nauvoo and Winter Quarters, according to "the law of adoption."

Before proceeding with our narrative, let us here touch upon another point.

Brigham Young, soon after his arrival in Salt Lake Valley, is said to have remarked: "Now if they"—the Gentiles—"will let us alone for ten years, I'll ask no odds of them." Some have construed this as a covert threat against the Federal Government, signifying a



John Pack



settled purpose on the part of the Mormon leader to set up an independent government, hostile to and even militant against the United States. Such a conclusion is wholly unwarrantable. Aside from all considerations of Mormon loyalty, so many times proven, the idea of a handful of people numbering only a few thousand souls, whose religion forbade strife and bloodshed, hurling themselves against a nation of thirty or forty millions, and that nation the United States, is so ridiculous as to carry with it its own refutation. Brigham Young has been deemed a fanatic, but no one ever accused him of being a fool. Defensive measures he might, and did employ, as we shall see, against United States troops, sent, as he believed and as they themselves boasted, to re-enact in Salt Lake Valley the bloody scenes of Jackson County and Far West, but never did he lift finger or lisp word in aggressive warfare against the Union. On the contrary when its life seemed hanging by a thread, which the shears of Secession were put forth to sunder, he not only repelled all overtures from the South to join Utah to the Confederacy, but offered to President Lincoln material aid in the nation's defense. No; all that Brigham Young could have meant, when he said that if let alone for ten years he would "ask no odds of them" was that by that time, Mormonism in all probability would have demonstrated to the world its true spirit and motives, so much misunderstood,—demonstrated them by practical results; and if that would not avail to win it friends, then its numerical strength, combined with its admirable strategic position behind the rocky ramparts of Nature's own rearing, would enable it to successfully withstand the assaults of mobs, such as had formerly sought its destruction.

Brigham Young, having "laid down the law" to the pioneer congregation that Sunday afternoon—July 25th, 1847—next directed the organization of three exploring parties, to start out next morning and explore the country to the north, south and west. Said he: "It is necessary that we should learn the facilities of the country and be able to report to our brethren whose eyes are turned towards us. But I can tell you before you start," he added, "that

you will find many good places and many facilities for settlements all around us, and you will all return feeling satisfied that this is the most suitable place, and *the* place for us to make our commencement. Here is the place to build our city." Experience has certainly proven, since that hour, the truth of the great colonizer's forecast.

Monday morning, July 26th, the pioneers resumed their secular labors. Plowing and planting began early, so anxious were they to get in their crops while there yet remained hope of a harvest. Carpenters and blacksmiths were at work rigging up plows and other implements, with a view to increasing at once the force of husbandmen. The explorers also started out according to instructions, the President heading one party in person, and leaving the camp about 10 o'clock a. m. This party consisted of Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, Ezra T. Benson, Albert Carrington and William Clayton. Messrs. Kimball, Woodruff, Benson and Smith had ascended City Creek Canyon several miles the Saturday evening before. The party now climbed the hills west of the canyon and proceeded northward, the President still riding. "A good place to raise an ensign," he remarked—a fragment of Apostle Pratt's sermon probably lingering in his mind—as the party planted their feet upon a prominent peak near the western edge of a mountainous spur partly enclosing the valley on the north. "Ensign Peak," the mountain was accordingly named, which title it still bears. Wilford Woodruff was the first to ascend it. The President, still feeble, could hardly climb, even with assistance, to the summit. From the top of Ensign, the view on all sides was more than ever sublime. Descending to the valley, the party visited the Warm Springs, in which some of them bathed, finding the waters "very pleasant and refreshing." They were especially beneficial to those who had been afflicted with mountain fever. They returned to camp about 5 p. m.

Joseph Matthews and John Brown, returning from the western mountains, reported the distance across the valley as being about

fifteen miles. The soil west of the river they found to be of inferior quality to that upon the east side. No fresh water was discovered after leaving the "Utah Outlet,"* which was about two miles from camp. They had brought back a stray horse, found near the mountains, and supposed to have been lost by the Donner party, or some other company that had passed that way.

Other explorers returning reported that the canyons in the vicinity contained plenty of timber, such as sugar-maple, ash, oak, fir and pine.

While the explorers had been absent, the farmers had planted three more acres with potatoes, and several acres with corn, peas and beans. These crops, planted so late, were not destined to mature; though a few small potatoes "from the size of a pea upward to that of half an inch in diameter" were obtained as excellent seed for another year's planting.

Early on the morning of the 26th, before the President's exploring party had set out, Lorenzo D. Young obtained permission to remove his wagons from the south branch of City Creek to a more elevated, and as he believed, healthier site on the branch running westward, near what was afterwards known as the Whitney Corner, opposite the north-east corner of Temple Block. There stood a solitary scrub-oak, one of the few trees at first visible in the valley. Beneath the scant shade of this exile of the forest,—for it was neither monarch nor resident of the wood,—he placed his covered wagon-box, lifting it from the wheels for that purpose, and did all in his power to make a comfortable and cozy little nook for his dejected wife, so sadly dispirited over the treeless and desolate aspect of their new home. The President and his party, passing by on their way to the mountains, decided that this was a better campground than the one then occupied. Other wagons were therefore directed to remove to that vicinity, which, being done, it was thence-

* The name given to the river Jordan, the outlet of Lake Utah, by the trappers and guides of the Great Basin.

forth known as the Upper Camp. In the neighborhood a spot for a garden was selected, and its cultivation immediately begun.

Early on the morning of the 27th, a couple of Indians—Utes—visited the camps and traded with the pioneers, exchanging two ponies for a rifle and a musket. The red men were quite friendly, and seemed very anxious to trade.

About half past eight Amasa M. Lyman, Rodney Badger and Roswell Stevens, who had parted from the pioneers at Fort Laramie to go to Pueblo, arrived at head-quarters on City Creek. They were accompanied by Samuel Brannan. They reported Captain Brown's command as being within two days' march of the Valley.

Half an hour later, the President's exploring party, including the Apostles, Elder Brannan and several others, started for the Great Salt Lake, taking with them a carriage, several riding and pack animals, with bedding and provisions for a two days' journey. The Utah Outlet, which they forded, was described as being about six rods wide and three feet deep, with a gravel bottom; the water, unlike that of the mountain streams, being unclear, and the current not very rapid. Thirteen miles over a level plain covered with sage-brush and greasewood, with here and there a stagnant alkaline pool, or dry bed of a lake, baked and cracked by the sun, brought them to the "point of the mountain," near the southern shore of the lake. Noonning at a large spring in that vicinity, the waters of which were slightly brackish, they rode on a few miles farther to where a large, black rock stood upon the shore. The somber color of this lone basaltic cliff readily suggested the name it should bear, and they called it Black Rock, bestowing upon it the same title as that given it by the Donner party, according to Mr. Reed, the season before. It was not then, as now, separated from the shore by water. The pioneers walked to it dry-shod. Brigham Young was the first to lave his hand in the lake. After a bath in its briny and buoyant waters, the wonderful properties of which much impressed them, they partly explored Tooele Valley, west of the Oquirrh mountains. At dusk they set out to return to the place of their noon halt, and there encamped for the night.





Lorenzo Dow Young





Next morning Apostle Woodruff, while out hunting for his carriage whip, lost the evening before, descried in the distance a band of about twenty Indians, whom he at first mistook for bears. Being unarmed, he turned his horse's head and trotted slowly toward camp. One of the Indians called to him, and then, mounting a pony, rode at full speed to overtake him. The savage, on coming up, informed the pioneer, who had waited for him, that he and his company were Utes, and that they wanted to trade. He accompanied Elder Woodruff to camp. Having no time to spare, the President's party at once set out for the south, along the eastern base of the Oquirrhs, leaving the Indian to await the coming of his companions.

The land now passed over for about ten miles was barren and devoid of water. A few miles south of a place where they halted for noon, Orson Pratt, ascending a high ridge, saw for the first time Utah Lake. Goats, sheep and antelope were seen at various points frisking about and among the hills. Re-crossing the valley the party returned to the banks of City Creek, fully convinced, from all they had yet seen, that the most eligible site for their city lay in that locality.

Accordingly, that evening the President, accompanied by the Apostles, proceeded to a spot between and a little below the forks of City Creek, and striking his cane in the earth, said: "Here will be the Temple of our God. Here are the forty acres for the Temple. The city can be laid out perfectly square, north and south, east and west." It was then and there decided that the building of the city should begin at that point; the Temple block to contain forty acres, and the city blocks surrounding, ten acres each, exclusive of the streets. The smaller blocks were to be sub-divided into lots of ten rods by twenty, giving one-and-a-quarter acres to each lot. The streets were to be eight rods wide, intersecting at right angles, with sidewalks twenty feet in width on either hand. The houses should stand in the centres of the lots, twenty feet back from the front. Four city blocks were reserved for public squares.

Such was the plan adopted by these city-building Apostles in

council. Afterwards, the entire body of pioneer settlers convened at the Temple grounds, and ratified by unanimous vote this action of their leaders. The Apostles were appointed a committee to superintend the laying out of the city.

Thus was Salt Lake City, the Mormon metropolis, planned and located; the date of the event being Wednesday, July 28th, 1847. Subsequently some modifications were made in the original plan, such as reducing the size of Temple Block from forty to ten acres, as being "more convenient," and as the city grew up over the foot-hills or benches, the formation of blocks of two-and-a-half acres in lieu of ten. Some of them were irregular, also, instead of being perfectly square, owing to the peculiar lay of the land. But in general the original plan remained unchanged. Beyond the city limits, in the farming and pasturing districts, fields of five, ten and twenty acres were laid out; the smallest ones being nearest the city, and the others graded according to size beyond them.


City Creek, Salt Lake's main water supply, was in due time changed from its original channel, or channels, and made to run in one straight aqueduct down North Temple Street, from the mouth of the canyon westward to the Jordan.* Near the canyon's mouth, and at various points along the principal channel, the waters were diverted for irrigating and domestic purposes, pleasant little rills flowing down most of the streets, along the outer edges of the side-walks. Tree-planting was encouraged, not only in the lots, where rich orchards in time brought forth luscious fruits—apples, pears, peaches, plums, apricots, cherries, currants, etc.,—but also along the side-walks, where cottonwood, box-elder and locust soon cast a grateful shade, and clear and sparkling streams cooled the air, delighted the eye, and made music as they murmured by. Not many seasons elapsed, after the pioneer year 1847, before the main city of the Saints, which served as a model for scores of others, with its wide and regular streets flanked with shade-trees, neat and substantial dwellings embowered in groves and gardens, crystal streams fresh from the towering snow-crowned hills, flowing down both sides of

its charming and healthful thoroughfares, presented the appearance, especially in summer when orchards were all abloom, of one vast, variegated bouquet, radiant with beauty and redolent of mingled perfumes. The transformation from sage-brush and sun-flower was truly wonderful, and the fair and peaceful city,—as peaceful as it was fair,—was a perpetual delight, not only to its builders and inhabitants, but likewise to the stranger guest, the weary traveler and passing pilgrim from abroad.

CHAPTER XIX.

1847.

THE PIONEER SETTLERS RE-INFORCED—CAPTAIN JAMES BROWN AND HIS COMPANY—THE MISSISSIPPI MORMONS—AN INDIAN AFFRAY—UTES AND SHOSHONES—THE “OLD FORT” PROJECTED—THE FIRST CITY SURVEY—UTAH VALLEY EXPLORED—“RENEWING COVENANTS” AND “SELECTING INHERITANCES”—CACHE VALLEY VISITED—ASCENT OF TWIN PEAKS—THE FIRST HOUSE FINISHED IN SALT LAKE CITY—THE FIRST WHITE CHILD BORN IN UTAH—FIRST DEATH IN THE PIONEER COLONY—THE OX-TEAM COMPANIES RETURN TO WINTER QUARTERS—GREAT SALT LAKE CITY NAMED—THE PIONEER LEADERS RE-CROSS THE PLAINS—IMMIGRATION OF 1847—CAPTAINS OF HUNDREDS AND FIFTIES—THE FIRST STAKE OF ZION IN THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS—ARRIVALS FROM THE WEST—WINTER AT THE FORT—HARRIET YOUNG’S ADVENTURE—INDIAN CAPTIVES AND CAPTORS—CEDAR AND RUSH VALLEYS EXPLORED—CLOSE OF THE YEAR 1847.

HE pioneer settlers of Salt Lake Valley now began to receive re-inforcements. The first to arrive was Captain James Brown’s detachment of the Mormon Battalion, accompanied by the main portion of the Mississippi Saints who had joined the soldiers at Pueblo. Being aware of their approach, President Young and others on the 29th of July mounted their horses and went out to meet them.

The advance columns were encountered about three miles from camp; the main body, with Captains Brown and Higgins and Lieutenant Willis, some distance behind them in Emigration Canyon. A thunder-storm accompanied by a cloud-burst occurred while they were yet in the canyon, swelling the mountain streams, causing them to rush and roar tumultuously down their rocky channels, over-flow their banks in places and flood the surrounding soil. Simultaneously a shower spread over a large portion of the valley. Having emerged from the gorge, Captain Brown’s company, escorted by the President and his party, marched to the inspiring strains of martial

music to the camps on City Creek, arriving at the lower one about 4 p. m. They received a joyful welcome. The soldiers, some of whom were mounted, numbered over one hundred; the Mississippians about the same. They brought with them sixty wagons, one carriage, one hundred horses and mules, and three hundred head of cattle; adding materially to the strength of the pioneer colony.

It had been the design of Captain Brown, on leaving Pueblo, to push on without delay to the Bay of San Francisco. But the Battalion's term of enlistment having expired, and his teams being jaded and many of his wagons broken, he now decided to tarry in Salt Lake Valley and await further orders from his military superiors. The soldiers formed a separate camp on City Creek, about midway between the two camps of the pioneers.

At a general meeting held next evening, the President, in behalf of the whole people, publicly thanked the Battalion for the important service they had rendered their country and their co-religionists. He expressed the belief that the Church had been saved from destruction by the enlistment of these troops on the frontier. Similar sentiments were voiced by him to the main body of the Battalion after their arrival from California.

Captain Brown's men, at the request of the President, constructed, two days after their arrival, a bowery in which to hold public meetings on Temple Block. This primitive structure—the first building of any kind erected by the Mormons in the Rocky Mountains—was similar to the boweries constructed by them at their various settlements between the Mississippi and the Missouri. Posts were set in the ground, and upon these rude pillars long poles were laid and securely fastened with wooden pegs or strips of rawhide. This framework, overlaid with timbers and brush, formed an umbrageous if not a very substantial roof; a good shelter from the sun and a fair though insufficient one from wind and rain. Its dimensions were forty by twenty-eight feet,—large enough to accommodate the assembly of the entire camp.

At one end of these boweries it was customary to erect a plat-

form and stand, well boarded in at the back, for the use of presiding officers and speakers; a space in front being reserved for the choir. At first seats would be improvised from whatever articles came handy, but in due time rude benches would follow, resting upon a floor or on the ground; the character and extent of the improvements would largely depend upon the permanency of the settlement of which the bowery was the center of worship, social amusement and gatherings in general. Though top and sides were well covered and closed in, the meetings held in such buildings would be virtually in the open air, and during bad weather would have to be suspended and in winter time discontinued. Until the "Old Tabernacle" was built—the forerunner of the present Tabernacle—these boweries were the only regular places of public worship in Salt Lake Valley.

The original bowery, erected by the Battalion boys, must not be confounded with the "Old Bowery," subsequently built on Temple Block, which, after several years' use as a house of worship, was transformed into a theater,—the original Thespian temple of Utah. Concerning this particular structure, in connection with the local history of music and the drama, we shall have more to say hereafter.

July 31st—the day the first bowery was erected—witnessed an exciting and bloody affray between two small bands of Indians, Utes and Shoshones, who were trading at the camps on City Creek. Two young men, one of either tribe, began disputing over a theft alleged to have been committed by the Ute. He was accused of stealing a horse belonging to the Shoshones and trading it to one of the settlers for a rifle. Being detected, he refused to relinquish either horse or rifle. Hence the quarrel, followed by a combat, between the two young warriors. During the fight one broke his gun-stock over the other's head. The affair was waxing warm, and matters began getting serious, when an old man, father of one of the combatants, strove to separate them. For this purpose he lashed with a heavy thong of rawhide their heads and faces. The son's antagonist struck





Ja. P. Brown

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the old man, whereupon the latter seized a stick of timber and shattered it over the warrior's head. The two were finally separated, and the Ute retired to one of the lower camps. While there a horse belonging to the Shoshones wandered by. Mounting his own pony, the Ute started to drive the other animal toward the mountains. The Shoshones, being apprised of this new theft, sent four of their number in hot pursuit. Overtaking the thief they shot him dead, likewise killing his horse. Returning, they brandished a bloody rifle, and informing the other Utes of what they had done, intimidated by fierce looks that the trouble might not yet be over.

It seems that there was bad blood between the two tribes, owing to the Utes coming over the line from the valleys southward to trade with the settlers, a privilege which the Shoshones, who claimed the land where the camps were situated, desired to monopolize. They showed marked displeasure toward all who traded with the Utes, regarding it as an infringement of their rights. They expressed their willingness to sell the land for fire-arms, powder and lead.

The excitement attending this tragic incident having somewhat abated, the slayers of the Ute sat down and proceeded to devour with great apparent relish some large crickets they had caught, of the kind infesting the valleys. They harvested these insects for bread, as a farmer would wheat or corn. We have heard more than one pioneer speak of these "cricket cakes" of the savages, but never knew one to admit having tasted them.*

It was now Saturday evening. A little over a week had the Pioneers been in Salt Lake Valley. A summary of their labors during that time was reported by Colonel Markham as follows: Three lots of land, aggregating fifty-three acres, had been plowed, and

* The California Indians offered to Fremont's explorers in 1845 a very superior quality of meal, which the white men purchased, and made into bread. One day some wings and legs of grasshoppers were found in the meal, which led to the discovery, much to the disgust of the buyers and users of the commodity, that it was pounded up grasshoppers they had been eating and relishing.

planted with potatoes, peas, beans, corn, oats, buckwheat, garden seeds, etc., and about three acres of corn and some beans and potatoes were already beginning to sprout. Thirteen plows and three harrows had been worked during the week, and various repairs made to broken implements. The valley had been explored, the several canyons visited, and a road made to the timber. A saw-pit had also been constructed, and a large pine log, brought down from the mountains for the purpose, converted into lumber for a skiff.

Sunday morning, August 1st, the camp assembled for worship in the Bowery. The President, who was again ill, did not attend, but the other Apostles were present. Heber C. Kimball presided, and was the first speaker. His remarks were very practical. He enquired if there was a guard out around the cattle. If not, he advised that one be placed immediately, as the Indians, after remaining in camp over night, had left very suddenly that morning without assigning any reason for their abrupt departure. He was followed by Orson Pratt, in a characteristic sermon on the ancient prophecies; continuing his theme of the Sunday before. Apostle Kimball then spoke again, still in a very practical vein, and still upon the subject of the Indians. He warned the settlers against selling guns and ammunition to the savages, or allowing them, through carelessness, to steal from them. Several guns, he said, had been stolen by their dusky visitors the day before. As to the land upon which they had settled, it did not belong to the red men, and to pay them for it, as they desired, would impoverish the community. No man must sell his inheritance. The speaker predicted that five years would not elapse before they and their people who followed them would be better off than ever they were at Nauvoo.

Willard Richards, Amasa M. Lyman and others addressed the afternoon meeting, when it was decided to concentrate the three camps in one, and work more unitedly than heretofore. The project of building a stockade, for further protection against thieving and hostile savages, was also mooted. Colonel Rockwood, Captains Brown and Lewis and Lieutenant Willis spoke to this question, which

involved that of building and inhabiting houses during the coming winter, instead of dwelling in tents and wagons. It was thought that a log house, sixteen by eighteen feet, would cost about forty dollars, and one of adobes—sun-burnt bricks—about half that sum. Samuel Brannan favored adobe houses, one of which, he said, might be built in a week. His printing office in California had been put up and a copy of his paper issued in fourteen days. Samuel Gould and James Dunn reported themselves as lime-burners, and Sylvester H. Earl, Joel J. Terrill, Ralph Douglas and Joseph Hancock as brick-makers. It was decided by vote that a stockade of logs and adobes be at once erected. Thus the famous "Old Fort" had its origin.

Next morning the three camps moved all their wagons to a spot a little east of the upper camp-ground, and formed them into an oblong corral between the two branches of City Creek. A dam was put in the stream some distance above, and the waters so diverted that pleasant little rivulets were soon running down outside as well as inside the corral of wagons. The Indians, on account of their stealing proclivities, were not now permitted inside the enclosure.

On the morning of August 2nd Orson Pratt and Henry G. Sherwood began the survey of Salt Lake City. Heber C. Kimball's teams went into the canyon and brought the first loads of logs for the fort, and other laborers began making adobes and preparing mounds for the same purpose. The day was very warm and the camp exceedingly busy.

Ezra T. Benson and Porter Rockwell were now sent back to meet the next companies from Winter Quarters, supposed to be somewhere on the plains between the Missouri River and the mountains. They started about noon of the 2nd, going horseback, and taking with them the following letter:

PIONEER CAMP, VALLEY OF THE GREAT SALT LAKE, Aug. 2, 1847.

To General Charles C. Rich and the Presidents and Officers of the Emigrating Company.

DEAR BRETHREN.—We have delegated our beloved brother, Ezra T. Benson, and escort to communicate to you by express the cheering intelligence that we have arrived in the most beautiful valley of the Great Salt Lake; that every soul who left Winter Quarters

with us is alive, and almost every one enjoying good health. That portion of the Battalion that was at Pueblo are here with us, together with the Mississippi company that accompanied them, and they are generally well. We number about four hundred souls, and we know of no one but what is pleased with our situation. We have commenced the survey of a city this morning. We feel that the time is fast approaching when those teams that are going to Winter Quarters this fall should be on the way. Every individual here would be glad to tarry if their friends were here, but as many of the Battalion as well as the Pioneers have not their families here, and do not expect that they are in your camp, we wish to learn by express from you the situation of your camp as speedily as possible, that we may be prepared to counsel and act in the whole matter. We want you to send us the name of every individual in your camp, or, in other words, a copy of your whole camp roll, including the names, number of wagons, horses, mules, oxen, cows, etc., and the health of your camp; your location, prospects, etc. If your teams are worn out, if your camp is sick and not able to take care of themselves, if you are short of teamsters, or if any other circumstance impedes your progress, we want to know it immediately, for we have help for you, and if your teams are in good plight, and will be able to return to Winter Quarters this season, or any portion of them, we want to know it. We also want the mail, which will include all letters and papers and packages belonging to our camp, general and particular. Would circumstances permit, we would gladly meet you some distance from this, but our time is very much occupied, notwithstanding we think you will see us before you see our valley. Let all the brethren and sisters cheer up their hearts and know assuredly that God has heard and answered their prayers and ours, and led us to a goodly land, and our souls are satisfied therewith. Brother Benson can give you many particulars that will be gratifying and cheering to you which I have not time to write, and we feel to bless all the Saints.

In behalf of the council,

BRIGHAM YOUNG, President,
WILLARD RICHARDS, Clerk.

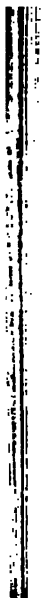
Utah Valley was next explored. Jesse C. Little and a party, returning on the 5th of August from a tour in that vicinity, reported that there was a fine country east of Utah Lake, the soil being well adapted for cultivation. They virtually confirmed the report of Escalante, the Spaniard, who had discovered that lake and valley seventy-one years before.

On the 6th of August the President and the Apostles who were with him, namely: Heber C. Kimball, Orson Pratt, Willard Richards, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith and Amasa M. Lyman, "renewed their covenants" by baptism. President Young, entering the water—City Creek—immersed each of the others according to the usual mode, after which he laid hands upon and confirmed them, resealing upon each his Apostleship. Heber C. Kimball—next to Brigham



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Charles C. Rich



Young the senior of the Twelve—then baptized and confirmed the President in like manner. This example of “renewing covenants” was subsequently followed by the entire camp, and by all their brethren and sisters who came after them. Even to this day it is the custom with those who “gather to Zion,” to receive rebaptism on reaching the settlements of the Saints in the Rocky Mountains.

A weather note of August 7th tells of “a terrible whirl-wind” that struck the camp about noon, doing considerable damage. It whirled a fowl high in air, tore tents and wagon-covers and shook things in general violently.

In the afternoon of that day the Apostles repaired to Temple Block and selected their “inheritances.” Brigham Young took a block east of the Temple site and running south-east, upon which to settle his family and friends. Heber C. Kimball took a block north of the Temple, Orson Pratt a block south, and Wilford Woodruff a block cornering on the Temple grounds. George A. Smith chose one on the west, and Amasa M. Lyman one near Wilford Woodruff’s. Willard Richards was not in camp at the time, but it was supposed that he would prefer settling on the east near the President, to whom he was related. Subsequently other selections of lands were made by the Apostles for their friends who were yet to come.

On the 9th of August Captain James Brown, Samuel Brannan and others set out for San Francisco by way of Fort Hall. The object of Captain Brown’s trip to the coast was to draw the pay due from Government to the men of his detachment; the Battalion to which they belonged having been honorably discharged at Los Angeles on the 16th of July. The Captain took with him the muster roll of his detachment, with power of attorney from each man to sign for and receive his pay. Those besides Samuel Brannan who accompanied him were Abner Blackburn, Gilbert Hunt, John Fowler, William Gribble, Henry Frank, Lysander Woodworth and Jesse S. Brown, the Captain’s eldest son. Elder Brannan acted as their guide.

It is believed that he returned to California somewhat crestfallen,

having failed to convince the Mormon leaders that the Pacific coast, where he had located his colony, was a more desirable place for the Saints to settle and build up a State, than the desert shores of the Great Salt Lake. Elder Brannan, always more a man of the world than a devout religionist, probably surveyed the subject from a business standpoint. Considering that alone he was undoubtedly correct. But Brigham Young and his associates, as shown, had other than material ends in view. Hence their determination to remain separate—at least for a season—from the Gentiles, whose worldly aims and pursuits, if in the majority, would have tended to thwart the spiritual plans and purposes of the Mormon colonists; rendering the “building up of Zion” difficult if not impossible.

Captain Brown's party were accompanied as far as Bear River by Jesse C. Little, Lieutenant Willis, Joseph Matthews, John Brown and John Buchanan. Passing up the eastern shore of the Great Salt Lake they came to Weber River, where, as stated, Miles M. Goodyear, whom the Pioneers met on their way to the Valley in July, had built a log fort and was engaged in trapping and trading. Captain Brown called at the fort and conversed with its proprietor. This, perhaps, was the beginning of negotiations between them, ending, as we shall see, in the purchase of the Goodyear fort, lands and improvements by the Captain, on his return from California.

Colonel Little and his party, after separating from Brown and Brannan, explored Cache Valley, of which Major Harris had spoken so favorably to the Pioneers at South Pass. Lewis B. Myers and a companion also visited that valley about the same time. Returning, they confirmed the reports relating to that section. Cache Valley, it was found, was not only “a fine place for wintering cattle,” but, when watered, an excellent farming region as well. It is known today as “Utah's Granary.”

The explorers of the north returned to Salt Lake Valley on the 14th of August. A few days later, Albert Carrington, John Brown and others started on an exploring trip to Twin Peaks, being the first of the Pioneers and probably the first white men to plant their feet

upon those well-nigh inaccessible summits, tipped with perpetual snow. The ascent was made on the 21st of August.

Meantime work on the stockade had begun and was progressing rapidly. The site selected for the fort was about three-quarters of a mile south-west of the City Creek encampment. A portion of the Sixth Ward of Salt Lake City still bears the familiar name of the "Old Fort Block," though the fort itself, which once enclosed it, has long since disappeared. There, on the 10th of August, 1847, were laid the foundations of the first houses erected in Salt Lake Valley,—the first built by the Mormons west of Winter Quarters. Brigham Young started four of these houses, Heber C. Kimball four, Stephen Markham one, Willard Richards one, and Lorenzo D. Young one. This was the beginning of the Old Fort. The first house finished and occupied was Lorenzo D. Young's. These houses extended continuously along the east line of the stockade, beginning at the north-east corner. Their order was as follows: Brigham Young, four rooms; Lorenzo D. Young, two; Heber C. Kimball, five; Willard Richards, two; Wilford Woodruff, two; George A. Smith, two; Amasa M. Lyman, two; and Erastus Snow, one. These first dwellings were of logs. They had poles for rafters, willows for roofs and in lieu of shingles earth; an insufficient shelter, as was found later, from autumn rains and winter's melting snows. Floors and ceilings were rare, and of the rudest and most primitive kind, while window glass was almost an unknown quantity.

Plowing and planting by this time had been suspended, thirty additional acres having been put under cultivation, making eighty-three in all. Most of the settlers were now busily occupied, chopping and hauling logs, making adobes and preparing to build.

The first white child born in Utah opened its eyes to the light on Monday, August 9th, 1847—two weeks and two days after the arrival of the Pioneers. This infantile re-inforcement was a girl, the daughter of John and Catharine Campbell Steele, both of the Mormon Battalion, who came into the Valley in Captain Brown's company on the 29th of July. Their child was born at 4 o'clock

a. m., in her father's tent on Temple Block. She was named Young Elizabeth Steele, after President Young and Queen Elizabeth. The father, John Steele, was a mason, and according to his account built nearly one-third of the "Old Fort" with his own hands, using a trowel made by Burr Frost out of a saw-blade. Mr. Steele also claims to be the pioneer shoe-maker of Utah. He resides at Toquerville, in the southern part of the Territory. His daughter lives at Kanarra, in Kane County, and is now Mrs. James Stapley.

The first death in the pioneer colony followed hard upon the heels of the original birth. It occurred just two days later. The victim was a little three-year-old child of George and Jane Therlkill, —a grand-child of Robert Crow. Wandering away from camp a little to the south, it had fallen into the creek, where it was discovered, drowned, about five o'clock in the afternoon. Every possible effort was made to restore it, but without avail. The parents mourned bitterly their loss, and a shadow of sympathetic gloom rested for a season upon the whole encampment.

On August 12th an observation was taken by Orson Pratt and William Clayton to ascertain the height of Temple Block. It was discovered to be 4,309 feet above the sea level, and sixty-five feet above the Utah outlet. Ascending City Creek canyon one mile the altitude above the Temple grounds was found to be 214 feet.

Surveyor Sherwood and his aids were still busy laying out the city. Messrs. Tanner, Frost and their fellow sons of Vulcan were engaged in shoeing oxen and re-setting wheel tires for the companies that were about to return to Winter Quarters. Some of these were Battalion men who had not seen their families since bidding them adieu on the frontier thirteen months before. A party of men who had been to the lake to boil down salt, returned, reporting that they had found, lying between two sand-bars on the lake-shore, a beautiful bed of salt all ready to load into wagons. Several loads were brought to camp, and two of them taken east by the company that set out a few days later for the Missouri River.

August 16th was the day of their departure. Most of the ox-teams started and traveled to the mouth of Emigration Canyon, where they were joined next day by the residue of the company. There were seventy-one men, with thirty-three wagons and ninety-two yoke of oxen; also some horses and mules. Their organization was similar to that of the Pioneers. There were two divisions, made up of companies of tens. Tunis Rappleyee and Shadrach Roundy were the two captains of divisions, and William Clayton was historian. The personnel of the company was as follows:

FIRST DIVISION :

Tunis Rappleyee, Captain.

FIRST TEN (SIX WAGONS) :

Joseph Skein, Captain,	George Cummings,	Joseph Shipley,
Artemas Johnson,	Thomas Richardson,	Samuel Badlam,
James Cazier, captain of guard	William Burt,	Roswell Stevens.
of first division,	James Dunn,	

SECOND TEN (FIVE WAGONS):

Zebedee Coltrin, Captain,	Samuel H. Marble,	Joshua Curtis,
Chauncey Loveland,	George Scholes,	John S. Eldredge,
Lorenzo Babcock,	William Bird,	Horace Thornton.

THIRD TEN (FIVE WAGONS):

Francis Boggs, Captain,	Seeley Owen,	Clark Stillman,
Sylvester H. Earl,	George Wardle,	Almon M. Williams.

SECOND DIVISION :

Shadrach Roundy, Captain.

FIRST TEN (FIVE WAGONS):

R. Jackson Redding,	John Pack,	Thomas Colward,
William Carpenter,	Robert Byard,	Lisbon Lamb,
Henry W. Sanderson,	Benjamin W. Rolfe,	William Clayton.
Bailey Jacobs,		

SECOND TEN (FIVE WAGONS):

John H. Tippitts, Captain,	William C. McLelland,	John S. Gleason, captain of
Francis T. Whitney,	Norman Taylor,	guard of second division,
James Stewart,	Lyman Stevens,	Myron Tanner,
Charles A. Burke,	Lyman Curtis,	Rufus Allen.

THIRD TEN (FOUR WAGONS):

Allen Compton, Captain,	Philip Garner,	Harmon D. Persons,
John Bybee,	Barnebas Lake,	Solomon Tindell,
Jeduthan Averett,	Franklin Allen,	Charles Hopkins.
John G. Smith,	David Garner,	

FOURTH TEN (THREE WAGONS):

Andrew J. Shupe, Captain,	Benjamin Roberts,	John Calvert,
Francillo Durfee,	Jarvis Johnson,	Daniel Miller,
Erastus Bingham,	Albert Clark,	Luther W. Glazier,
Loren Kinney,	James Hendrickson,	Thomas Bingham.

The third and fourth tens of the second division were members of the Mormon Battalion, returning to meet their families on the plains or the frontier. For each man there had been provided eight pounds of flour, nine pounds of meal, and a few pounds of beans. For the rest of their subsistence they were to depend upon game killed by the way. A new roadometer was constructed for this company by William A. King; William Clayton having received special instructions from President Young to carefully re-measure the distance back to Winter Quarters, and collect such other information as might be serviceable to future emigration.

Their journey back to the Missouri consumed a little over nine weeks. It was prosperous and comparatively uneventful. Beyond Green River, on Big Sandy, they met Ezra T. Benson and Porter Rockwell, returning west with the mail, after delivering the President's letter to General Rich and the on-coming trains. The leading one—Captain Daniel Spencer's first fifty—was encountered by the east-bound wagons on the 31st of August, at the "first crossing" of the Sweetwater. Here Shadrach Roundy joined his family and returned west, and John G. Smith took his place as captain of the second division. The other companies were met at various points within the next three days.

Heavy rains, with snow, set in early in September. The provisions—breadstuffs—of the returning company gave out, and for several weeks dried buffalo meat was their sole subsistence. During the latter part of the journey the Indians annoyed them considerably,

burning the prairies before them and stealing their stock. At the North Platte ferry they met Luke Johnson, William A. Empey and Appleton M. Harmon, of the nine men left there by the pioneers in June, and at Loup Fork Captain Hosea Stout and a party of mounted police from Winter Quarters, going out to meet President Young, who was now supposed to be on his way back to the Missouri

Captain Rappleyee's wagons rolled into Winter Quarters on the 21st of October. The distance from Salt Lake Valley, as re-measured by William Clayton, was found to be 1032 miles—twenty-two miles less than the former reckoning of the Pioneers.

In the Valley, after the departure of the "ox-teams," the work of exploring, building and surveying went steadily on. The laying out of the city was completed on August 20th; 135 blocks of ten acres each being included in this original survey. The building of the fort was pushed forward as rapidly as possible and by the last of the month twenty-nine houses had been erected at the stockade.

In the latter part of August President Young and the Apostles prepared to return to Winter Quarters. Though much remained to be done before the feet of the infant colony would be firmly planted, anxiety was felt by the leaders for the welfare of the Church on the frontier, and the success of the next year's emigration. None could so well organize and lead the main body of their people across the plains to their mountain retreat, as these experienced guides and colonizers of the Great Basin. That was doubtless the main reason why they resolved to return to the Missouri that season, instead of spending the winter with their friends in Salt Lake Valley.

Prior to their departure a special conference was convened on Sunday the 22nd of August, when the pioneer settlers assembled in the Bowery to receive the parting instructions of their leaders. It was emphatically a business conference, called to consider the temporal affairs of the colony. It was decided by vote to fence in and cultivate the city plat during the coming year, in preference to lands lying outside, also to organize in Salt Lake Valley a Stake of Zion,

with Father John Smith, the Prophet's uncle, as President. Father Smith had not yet arrived, but was expected in the coming emigration. Other nominations were deferred until it should be known who were in the next trains.

The pioneer city then received its name. "I move," said Brigham Young, "that we call this place the Great Salt Lake City of the Great Basin of North America." The motion was seconded and carried. On the President's motion the post office was called "The Great Basin Post Office." Heber C. Kimball, by motion, named the river running through the valley "The Western Jordan," and Brigham Young christened City Creek, Mill Creek, Red Butte Creek, Emigration Creek, and Canyon (now Parley's) Creek, in like manner. It was many years before the city's title was abbreviated by legislative enactment to "Salt Lake City," but the "Western Jordan" became plain "Jordan" almost immediately.

Colonel A. P. Rockwood, overseer of the stockade, was released from that position to return with the President, and Tarlton Lewis was appointed overseer in his stead. William McIntyre was chosen clerk to keep an account of public labor, and Edson Whipple was given charge of the distribution of water over the plowed lands. The President's parting injunction was as follows :

It is necessary that the adobe yard (the stockade) should be secured so that Indians cannot get in. To accommodate those few who shall remain here after we return, it would only be necessary to build one side of the fort, but common sense teaches us to build it all round. By and by men of means will be coming on, and they will want rooms, and the men who build them will then be entitled to their pay. Make your walls $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, so that they can keep the cattle out. Build your houses so that you will have plenty of fresh air in them, or some of you will get sick, after being used to sleeping in your wagons so long. We propose to fence in a tract of land thirty rods square, so that in case of necessity the cattle can be brought inside and the hay also be stacked there. In the spring this fence can be removed and a trench be plowed about twenty feet from the houses to enable the women to raise garden vegetables. I want to engage 50,000 bushels of wheat and the same amount of corn and other grain in proportion. I will pay you \$1.25 per bushel for wheat and 50 cents for corn. Why cannot I bring glass for you and you raise corn for me? Raise all the grain you can, and with this you can purchase sheep, cows, teams, etc., of those who come here later on. We desire you to live in that stockade until we come back again, and raise grain next year.

On the 26th of August the pioneer leaders bade farewell to their friends who were to remain, and set out upon their return journey to the Missouri. Such of the Pioneers and Battalion men present as had families at Winter Quarters or on the way west, were selected to accompany the President and his party.

The weather was now beautiful. The oppressive heat of summer was pretty well past, and the cool, bright days of our delightful mountain autumn were just about beginning. The roads, however, were very dusty, and the way through the canyons, though more passable than before, was still rough and difficult. Their noon halt on the 29th was at the head of Echo Canyon. There Ezra T. Benson joined them, bringing news of the approaching trains. Porter Rockwell came up later. After crossing Bear River the company was called together and organized. The full list of names was as here given.

Brigham Young,
John P. Greene,
Truman O. Angell,
Joseph S. Schofield,
Albert P. Rockwood,
Stephen H. Goddard,
Millen Atwood,
Thomas Tanner,
Addison Everett,
Sidney A. Hanks,
George Clark,
J. G. Luce,
John G. Holman.
George R. Grant,
Davis S. Laughlin,
William Dykes,
Jacob Weiler,
David Grant,
Thomas Woolsey,
Haywood Thomas,
Samuel W. Fox,
Willard Richards,
Thomas Bullock,
Benjamin Richmond,
Harvey Pierce,

William Wardsworth,
Datus Ensign,
John Dixon,
Simeon Howd,
Seth Taft,
John P. Wriston,
Stephen Kelsey,
Charles D. Barnum,
Wilford Woodruff,
Dexter Stillman,
William C. A. Smoot,
James W. Steward,
Robert T. Thomas,
Jabez Nowlin,
James Case,
James C. Earl,
Judson Persons,
Orson Pratt,
Joseph Egbert,
Marcus B. Thorpe,
George Wilson,
Jesse Johnson,
John Brimhall,
A. L. Huntley,
Rodney Badger,

Alex. P. Chessley,
Thomas C. Chessley,
John C. Gould,
Samuel Gould,
Amasa M. Lyman,
Albert Carrington,
John Brown,
George A. Smith,
Joel J. Terrill,
Solomon Chamberlain,
William Terrill,
Nathaniel Fairbanks,
Charles A. Harper,
Perry Fitzgerald,
Isaac N. Wriston,
Ozro Eastman,
Horace Monroe Frink,
Levi N. Kendall,
Stephen Markham,
George Mills,
Conrad Klineman,
Horace K. Whitney,
Orson K. Whitney,
George P. Billings,
Ralph Douglas,

Ezra T. Benson,	William W. Rust,	Elijah E. Holden,
Matthew Ivory,	Joseph Matthews,	William Gifford,
David Powell,	Joseph G. Camp,	Albert Sharp,
Erastus Snow,	William Park.	Abel M. Sargent,
William McIntyre,	Green Flake.	Andrew S. Gibbons,
George Brown,	Benjamin F. Stewart,	Thurston Larson,
Orrin P. Rockwell,	John Crow,	Heber C. Kimball,
Charles Shumway,	Peter J. Meeseck,	Howard Egan,
Andrew P. Shumway,	C. Rowe,	Hosea Cushing,
Burr Frost,	William Rowe,	William A. King,
William Carter,	Barnabas L. Adams,	Carlos Murray,

The camp comprised one hundred and eight men, with thirty-six wagons and about three times that number of horses and mules. Stephen Markham was chosen captain of hundred; Barnabas L. Adams and Joseph Matthews, captains of fifties; Brigham Young, John Brown, Howard Egan, George Clark, George Wilson, Erastus Snow, Thomas Tanner and Charles A. Harper, captains of tens. Thomas Bullock was again appointed Clerk. The President's ten included six of his fellow Apostles, with Albert P. Rockwood, Stephen H. Goddard and Joseph Schofield.

Fording Green River, which was now quite low, the company, having crossed Big Sandy, came upon Daniel Spencer's first fifty there encamped. It was now the 3rd of September.

At this point let us briefly sketch the experience of these west-bound companies, the first to follow in the wake of the pioneers. They had been organized on the Elk Horn in June, under the direction of Father Morley and Bishop Whitney, the committee previously appointed for that purpose. Due deference had been paid by this committee, however, to the Apostles, Parley P. Pratt and John Taylor, who were present and took part in the organization. They were invited by the committee, inasmuch as it was their purpose to accompany the emigration, to exercise a general superintendency over all the trains. These aggregated five hundred and sixty wagons, with about fifteen hundred men, women and children, and five thousand head of stock. Most of the wagons were drawn by oxen.

The companies were organized as follows: John Young, brother





John Young

John Young



of Brigham Young, had immediate general command, and John Van Cott was marshal. There were four captains of hundreds, namely: (1) Daniel Spencer, under whom Ira Eldredge and Peregrine Sessions were captains of fifties; (2) Edward Hunter, with Jacob Foutz and Joseph Horne as captains of fifties; (3) Jedediah M. Grant, with Joseph B. Noble and Willard Snow as sub-captains, and (4) Abraham O. Smoot, under whom were Captains George B. Wallace and Samuel Russell. There was also another company called "the artillery company," having with it several pieces of cannon. It was more or less distinct and independent in organization, and was commanded by General Charles C. Rich. As usual, the divisions of fifties were sub-divided into tens.

Parley P. Pratt generally traveled with Daniel Spencer's hundred and John Taylor with Edward Hunter's. George Q. Cannon, then a youth of twenty, was with his uncle, Apostle Taylor, in this emigration. In Captain Grant's hundred was the poetess, Eliza R. Snow. Other notable names connected with this emigration were Father John Smith, Lorin Farr, Hezekiah, Moses and George W. Thatcher, Samuel and John Bennion, William Hyde, Jacob Gates, Archibald and Robert Gardner, John Neff, Jacob Houtz, Abraham Hoagland, William Bringhurst, Thomas Callister, John, George, Peter and Henry Nebeker, L. E. Harrington, Millen and Miner Atwood, Isaac Chase, Charles Crismon, Levi E. and William W. Riter, Silas S. and Jesse N. Smith, Joseph C. Kingsbury, Elijah F. Sheets, William C. Staines, Bryant Stringham, Harrison Sperry, Chauncey W. West and many others.

The first company left the Elk Horn on the 18th of June; the last one on or about the 4th of July. During the first few days considerable ill-feeling was manifested, owing to misunderstandings as to the order of traveling, but a general halt having been called, and a meeting of officers held, these differences were adjusted and the journey resumed. Then came stampedes and loss of cattle, almost crippling some of the companies, and sadly hindering their progress.

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The first death in the pioneer colony followed hard upon the heels of the original birth. It occurred just two days later. The victim was a little three-year-old child of George and Jane Therlkill, —a grand-child of Robert Crow. Wandering away from camp a little to the south, it had fallen into the creek, where it was discovered, drowned, about five o'clock in the afternoon. Every possible effort was made to restore it, but without avail. The parents mourned bitterly their loss, and a shadow of sympathetic gloom rested for a season upon the whole encampment.

On August 12th an observation was taken by Orson Pratt and William Clayton to ascertain the height of Temple Block. It was discovered to be 4,309 feet above the sea level, and sixty-five feet above the Utah outlet. Ascending City Creek canyon one mile the altitude above the Temple grounds was found to be 214 feet.

Surveyor Sherwood and his aids were still busy laying out the city. Messrs. Tanner, Frost and their fellow sons of Vulcan were engaged in shoeing oxen and re-setting wheel tires for the companies that were about to return to Winter Quarters. Some of these were Battalion men who had not seen their families since bidding them adieu on the frontier thirteen months before. A party of men who had been to the lake to boil down salt, returned, reporting that they had found, lying between two sand-bars on the lake-shore, a beautiful bed of salt all ready to load into wagons. Several loads were brought to camp, and two of them taken east by the company that set out a few days later for the Missouri River.

August 16th was the day of their departure. Most of the ox-teams started and traveled to the mouth of Emigration Canyon, where they were joined next day by the residue of the company. There were seventy-one men, with thirty-three wagons and ninety-two yoke of oxen; also some horses and mules. Their organization was similar to that of the Pioneers. There were two divisions, made up of companies of tens. Tunis Rappleyee and Shadrach Roundy were the two captains of divisions, and William Clayton was historian. The personnel of the company was as follows:

FIRST DIVISION :

Tunis Rappleyee, Captain.

FIRST TEN (SIX WAGONS) :

Joseph Skein, Captain,	George Cummings,	Joseph Shipley,
Artemas Johnson,	Thomas Richardson,	Samuel Badlam,
James Cazier, captain of guard of first division,	William Burt,	Roswell Stevens.
	James Dunn,	

SECOND TEN (FIVE WAGONS):

Zebedee Coltrin, Captain,	Samuel H. Marble,	Joshua Curtis,
Chauncey Loveland,	George Scholes,	John S. Eldredge,
Lorenzo Babcock,	William Bird,	Horace Thornton.

THIRD TEN (FIVE WAGONS):

Francis Boggs, Captain,	Seeley Owen,	Clark Stillman,
Sylvester H. Earl,	George Wardle,	Almon M. Williams.

SECOND DIVISION :

Shadrach Roundy, Captain.

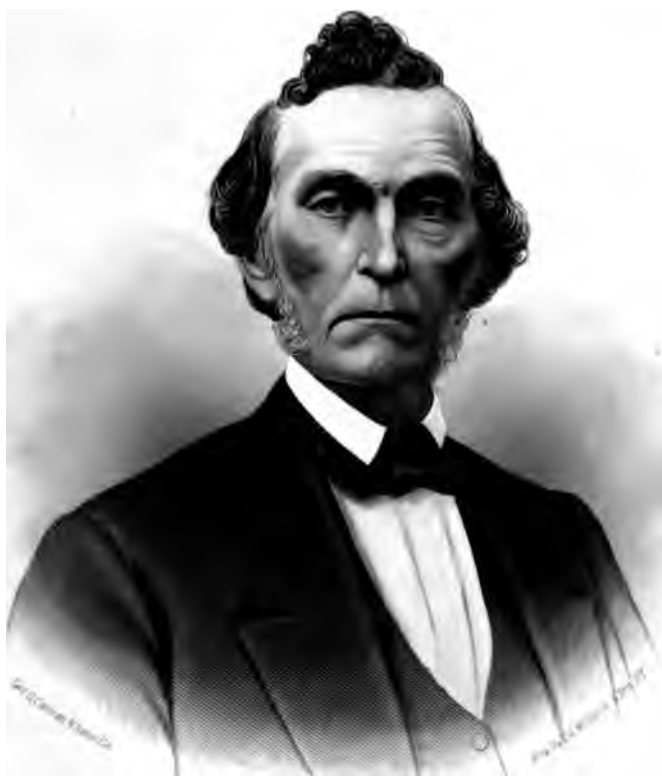
FIRST TEN (FIVE WAGONS):

R. Jackson Redding,	John Pack,	Thomas Colward,
William Carpenter,	Robert Byard,	Lisbon Lamb,
Henry W. Sanderson,	Benjamin W. Rolfe,	William Clayton.
Bailey Jacobs,		

SECOND TEN (FIVE WAGONS):

John H. Tippitts, Captain,	William C. McLelland,	John S. Gleason, captain of guard of second division,
Francis T. Whitney,	Norman Taylor,	Myron Tanner,
James Stewart,	Lyman Stevens,	Rufus Allen.
Charles A. Burke,	Lyman Curtis,	





Daniel Boone



Late in July and early in August, the companies from Winter Quarters met a squad of fourteen soldiers, members of the Mormon Battalion, the escort of General S. F. Kearney, then on his way from San Francisco to Fort Leavenworth. There they expected to be discharged. These soldiers were husbands and sons of women traveling in the companies. Their meetings therefore were more than ordinarily joyful. Nathaniel V. Jones was one of Kearney's escort. Colonel John C. Fremont was traveling with the party, being in custody, on his way to Washington, there to answer to the charge of insubordination in refusing to recognize Kearney's authority in California.

Six or seven deaths—mostly of children—occurred among the emigrants. The first death was that of Jacob Weatherbee, who was shot by Omaha Indians between Winter Quarters and the Elk Horn, on the 19th of June. Captain Jedediah M. Grant had just lost a child, and his wife was lying at the point of death, when he met Captain Rappleyee's wagons on the 3rd of September. Mrs. Grant died before reaching the Valley, but her remains were taken there for burial. Captain Grant's companies were particularly unfortunate. The alkali lands—or waters—along the Sweewater, killed many of their cattle, and a score of their horses were stolen by Indians. But death and disaster did not have it all their own way. Several children were born on the plains and after the emigrants passed the Rocky Mountains.

President Young, on meeting Captain Spencer's companies at Big Sandy, advised them to go on to Green River, and from there send back teams to assist the other trains which had lost so heavily in cattle. Several pioneers, having met their families, now returned.

At Little Sandy, on September 4th, the Apostles met their confrere, Parley P. Pratt, and went into council. Two of the Twelve were sharply reproofed by the President for undoing what the majority of the Apostles had done in organizing the camps for traveling. Good feeling being restored the President's company pushed on.

Three days later they met Edward Hunter's wagons on the Sweetwater. It was now snowing, but the weather continued mild. A feast had been prepared for the President at the instance of Apostle Taylor and Bishop Hunter; the tables, richly laden with nature's bounties, tastefully prepared, being set in a grove under a bowery on the banks of the river. "It was a rare sight indeed," says Wilford Woodruff, "to see a table so well spread with the 'good things of this life,' in the heart of the wilderness so remote from civilization. The bill of fare consisted of roast and broiled beef, pies, cakes, biscuit, butter, peach-sauce, coffee, tea, sugar, and a great variety of good things. Fully one hundred people sat down to the table. The remains of the feast were distributed among the soldiers and pioneers, and the ceremonies of the afternoon were concluded with a dance." Another council of the Apostles was held at this point, and other differences adjusted.

Next day Jedediah M. Grant's hundred was encountered. Captain Grant, who was recently from Philadelphia, informed the President that Senator Benton, of Missouri, like Saul of Tarsus, was still "breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the Saints." While on the Sweetwater, the pioneer party, allowing their usual vigilance to relax in the cheering society of their friends, had about thirty of their horses stolen by Indians. The emigrants at the same time lost about twenty head.

On the morning of September 21st, an exciting though bloodless affray occurred between the pioneers and a band of Sioux, who were trying to stampede their stock. It was just after breakfast, and the camp was getting ready to start. Being detected in their manœuvres, the Indians shot at several of the guards, and seizing one, attempted to carry him off. He freed himself with his fists, knocking one of the red-skins down. The rest sounded an alarm, and in a moment the scene was alive with savages, coming from the bluffs and timber near by. There were fully two hundred mounted warriors. Firing a volley, they charged upon the camp. Wilford Woodruff had already given warning, and he, with Heber C. Kimball, Colonel





1880

Joseph Horne

1880

1880



Rockwood, Joseph Matthews and others sprang into their saddles, returned the Indian fire, and made a counter-charge, putting the savages to flight. Making signs of peace, the Sioux now returned and apologized to the pioneers for attacking them, claiming that they had mistaken them for Crows or Snakes, with whom they were at war. They wanted to smoke the pipe of peace with the leaders, and invited the President to visit their village, five miles away, where about eight hundred Sioux were encamped. It was not deemed prudent for the President to go, but Heber C. Kimball and a few others went instead, and smoked the calumet with the savages. They proved to be the same Indians who had stolen the horses on the Sweetwater. Through the courage and diplomacy of Apostle Kimball, many of the stolen horses were recovered.

At Fort Laramie the pioneer leaders dined, by invitation, with Commodore Stockton, who, with forty men, had just arrived from the Bay of San Francisco. The Commodore was described as a polite and affable gentleman. He purposed traveling from that point with President Young, but changed his plan and took the south side of the river. A few days later the pioneers heard that he had been attacked by Indians and one of his men killed.

Journeying down the Platte, over the road they had formerly traveled, the President's company, on the 18th of October, met Captain Hosea Stout and his mounted squad, coming to meet them. These were the old "Nauvoo Police," now the peace-officers of Winter Quarters. They were Hosea Stout, George D. Grant, G. J. Potter, William H. Kimball, Jacob Frazier, George W. Langley, W. J. Earl, W. Meeks, W. Martindale, William Huntington, Luman H. Calkins, James W. Cummings, S. S. Thornton, Levi Nickerson, James H. Glines and Chauncey Whiting. Messrs. Grant and Kimball had brought with them two wagons loaded with grain and provisions, of which the jaded company, which had been scantily provisioned from the start, now stood much in need. On the 30th they crossed the Elk Horn and were joined by Bishop Whitney and many others, with twenty wagons laden with supplies. Twenty-four hours later they

marched in order into Winter Quarters, the streets of the town being lined with people waiting to welcome them.

Upon the mutual joy of husbands, wives, parents and children, meeting after such a separation, we need not dwell. Suffice it that during the absence of the pioneers, peace and prosperity had generally prevailed among their friends on the frontier. During the first few months, there had been much sickness and some deaths, but the atmosphere and climate, once so damp and sickly, were now much healthier, and the soil, being well tilled, had responded generously to the touch of the husbandman.

Returning now to the emigrants en route for Salt Lake Valley. It was in the latter part of September that the companies began arriving there. Early in October the last of the trains had reached the valley in safety.

A conference was held at the Fort on the 3rd of October. On that day the Stake organization previously provided for went into effect. Father John Smith was sustained as President of the Stake and Charles C. Rich and John Young as his counselors. A High Council was also organized, with the following named members: Henry G. Sherwood, Thomas Grover, Levi Jackman, John Murdock, Daniel Spencer, Lewis Abbott, Ira Eldredge, Edson Whipple, Shadrach Roundy, John Vance, Willard Snow and Abraham O. Smoot. Tarlton Lewis was chosen Bishop. Thus was organized the first Stake of Zion in the Rocky Mountains. A reorganization was effected after the return of the President from Winter Quarters.

The next arrivals in the Valley were from the west. They were members of the Mormon Battalion, recently mustered out of service in California. Soon after their discharge at Los Angeles, eighty-one of these volunteers, at the earnest solicitation of Governor Mason, previously mentioned, had re-enlisted for six months, and been ordered back to garrison San Diego. The main body started east, and hearing that the Pioneers had entered Salt Lake Valley directed their course thither. West of the Sierras they met Samuel Brannan and Captain James Brown, and learned from them that it was Pres-



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Jos. B. North

ident Young's advice for such of the discharged soldiers as were without means to remain in California, work through the winter, and come on to the Valley with their earnings in the spring. Accordingly, about half the soldiers returned, some to secure employment at Sutter's Mills,* and to be heard from a little later in a way not dreamed of that September day, when they turned their faces westward and started back for the land of gold. The others continued on their way, arriving in Salt Lake Valley on the 16th of October. Two days later thirty-two of them, including Serjeant Daniel Tyler,† set out for the Missouri river, braving the dangerous prospect of wintry storms and blockading snows in their anxiety to join their families on the frontier. After much hardship and suffering they reached their destination on the 18th of December.

The Battalion men, returning from California, brought to the Valley wheat, corn, potatoes and garden seeds. Subsequently some of the settlers visited the coast and returned bringing more seeds and live stock. Soon afterward trade was opened up with Fort Hall,‡ and a little later with the frontier states.

As winter drew near, the colonists, having finished their late sowing, moved into the stockade to await the coming spring. The fort was now enclosed, the east side with log houses, and on the north, south and west with adobe walls. Two additional blocks, or parts of blocks, on the south were being enclosed in like manner by the newly arrived immigrants, whom the original fort could not accommodate. Meanwhile, many were living in tents and wagons. The additions were merely extensions of the first stockade, with which they communicated by gates. There was a large gate on the east, which was kept carefully closed by night. The roofs of the

* Now Coloma, El Dorado County, California.

† Author of the valuable and interesting "History of the Mormon Battalion."

‡ Captain Grant of Fort Hall, was the first person outside the Mormon community who brought goods to the Utah market for sale. He sold sugar and coffee at one dollar a pint, calicoes at 50 and 75 cents per yard, and other articles in proportion.—*Deseret News* Sept. 28, 1854.

ouses, or huts, all slanted inward. The doors and windows faced the interior, but each house had a small loop-hole looking out. The houses last erected were in some respects superior to the first, though even the best of them were poor. The mistake of making the roofs almost flat, instead of sharply slanting, eventually caused much discomfort. The fore part of the winter was exceptionally mild, but as the season advanced, heavy snows fell, then melted, and soaking through the dirt and willow roofs, descended in drizzling streams upon the heads, beds and larders of the miserable inmates; spoiling at once their tempers and their provisions. Apostle Taylor, whose house was one of the best,—having among other superior points a rough, whip-sawed plank floor,—had plastered the ceiling and walls with white clay, a fine quality of which was found in the neighborhood. But alas! the merciless water trickled through all the same, carrying with it in solution or in lumps the treacherous plastering. Umbrellas were in great demand, even while in bed, and it was no uncommon sight to see a good housewife bending over her stove, upon which the drops from above unceasingly dripped and sizzled, holding an umbrella in her left hand, while turning a beef-steak or stirring a mush-kettle with her right. The situation of the fort-dwellers, that season, though often ludicrous, was far from pleasant, and at times almost pitiable; quite so, indeed, where there was sickness, and a lack of needed shelter.

Other causes of discomfort were swarms of vermin,—mice, bed-bugs, etc.—infesting the fort. The bugs were indigenous, being brought in the green timber from the mountains. The mice were also “native and to the manor born” though some may have been carried to the Valley in the grain wagons of the immigrants. Great white wolves also prowled around the fort, making night hideous with their howling, and attacking cattle on the range. So intolerable became this nuisance that hunting parties were finally organized, to make war upon the wolves and other wild-beasts. The depredations then gradually grew less. As for the vermin, they were dealt with according to the best approved exterminating method.





Jacob Houtz

1840-1900

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then in vogue. Cats, if good mousers, were in high favor,—quite as much so as umbrellas.

It was probably owing to these discomforts that Lorenzo D. Young—ever on the lookout to better his own or his friends' condition—as early as October sold his house in the fort, and having built a new log cabin on City Creek, north-east of the stockade, in December moved into it with his family.* Their leaving the fort was much against the wishes of their friends, who feared that they might be killed by Indians. "I'll risk that, and no one but myself shall be responsible," said "Uncle Lorenzo," and off to his new home went.

An incident occurred that winter which probably convinced him that the anxiety for his safety felt by his friends at the fort was not entirely groundless. It also illustrates the coolness and courage possessed by those early heroines, the pioneer women of Utah. It happened thus: Harriet Young was sitting with her infant child† in their solitary home one day,—her husband and the rest of the family being absent,—when an Indian came to the door and asked for "biscuit." He was a fierce, ill-looking fellow, known throughout the region as "a bad Indian." Mrs. Young, going to her humble larder, gave the savage two of three small biscuits—all the bread that she had in the house. He took them and asked for more. She gave him the remaining one, but still he demanded more. More she did not have, and so informed him. Furious he advanced, and fitting an arrow to his bow, aimed it at her heart, fiercely repeating the request. Cool and collected the brave woman faced her swarthy foe, and for a moment thought that her last hour and that of her helpless babe had come. Not yet. An idea strikes her. In the

* This humble abode, which was on the site now occupied by the Bee-Hive House, was the first building erected outside the fort in Salt Lake Valley. The first tree planted by the Pioneers still stands in the yard of the Bee Hive House. It is a locust, and was planted by Harriet P. Young.

† Lorenzo Dow Young, junior, born September 20th, 1847,—the first white male child born in Utah.





Harriet Page Wheeler Young



fishing. It was believed by Parley that these were "probably the first boat and net ever used on this sheet of water in modern times." They took a few trout and other fish, but on the whole met with poor success piscatorially. Having explored a day or two in that vicinity, most of the party returned, but Parley and a man named Summers remained. Striking westward from the foot of Utah Lake they partly explored Cedar Valley, afterwards the site of Camp Floyd, then passed over the mountains and through Rush and Tooele valleys. Continuing on to the Salt Lake, they turned eastward, crossed the Jordan and came home. So passed away the first winter of the pioneer settlers in Salt Lake Valley.

CHAPTER XX.

1847-1849.

FOUNDING NEW SETTLEMENTS—BRIGHAM YOUNG AS A COLONIZER—DAVIS COUNTY OCCUPIED—
THE GOODYEAR PURCHASE—THE CRICKET PLAGUE—SAVED BY THE GULLS—DAYS OF
FAMINE—THE FIRST HARVEST FEAST—HOW GOLD WAS DISCOVERED IN CALIFORNIA—
IMMIGRATION OF 1848—MATTERS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL—LANDS DISTRIBUTED TO THE
SETTLERS—THE FIRST UTAH CURRENCY—MORE APOSTLES ORDAINED—THE STAKE ORGANIZED
—SALT LAKE CITY DIVIDED INTO BISHOPS' WARDS.

ALMOST the first steps taken by the pioneer colony in 1848 were toward the founding of additional settlements. Indeed, before the new year dawned movements had been made in that direction.

As Brigham Young had predicted, the day after entering the Valley, when organizing his exploring parties to traverse the surrounding region in quest of eligible sites for other settlements, no place so suitable for their chief city had been found or was destined to be discovered by those explorers in all their subsequent wanderings and searchings. And yet the pioneer leader had made that prediction intuitively, not from any previous acquaintance with this region; had made it, too, in the very face of reports received from experienced mountaineers, men thoroughly familiar with the country,—reports uniformly adverse to Salt Lake Valley as a place in which to plant a colony, and all favoring other localities. But Brigham Young knew better. The reports of the Fremonts, the Harrises and the Bridgers were nothing to him, when once his eye had rested upon the scene and surveyed the situation. Here was a place for a great city, and he knew it, and his "oracular soul" told him that in all this inter-mountain region no other place so suitable was to be found.

It is said that the great Napoleon, at the very beginning of a battle, as with the instinct of Mars himself, was able almost invariably to foretell the outcome; and that on one occasion, at least, before the battle had fairly joined, he scribbled upon his saddle-bow a dispatch reading: "Victory is ours," and sent it off post-haste to Paris and Josephine. Brigham Young's victories were of peace, not of war, yet there was something Napoleonic in his genius,—in his marvelous intuition and foresight.

The fact is, Brigham Young was a born colonizer,—as much so, perhaps, as Napoleon was a born warrior; one of the greatest colonizers that the world has seen; a builder of cities, a founder of empire, second to none in the annals of the ages. This is not flattery. The world, sometimes slow, but always sure at last to open its eyes to the truth, will one day acknowledge it. The broad-minded and intelligent, whose attention has been drawn to the subject, recognize it already. Even bigotry will follow suit some day. Men may not credit, as Brigham Young did, as his people still do, divine inspiration with his success; for he always maintained that Mormonism made him, that it made Joseph Smith, and not they Mormonism. But men will yet acknowledge, far more widely than they now do, and impartial history, whose page is the past and present, but whose pen is the future, will yet record that Brigham Young was a great man, one of Time's greatest, and that genius, if not divinity, was manifest in his methods and achievements.

A man may have faults, and yet be great, as water may be clear though holding soil in solution; as the sun may have spots, and yet supremely shine. Brigham Young had his faults, as Washington, as Lincoln and Grant had theirs. But if greatness were denied to men because of their defects,—those shadows that form the back-ground of the most brilliant picture,—who of all men, save One, would be great? The incident referred to, though a mere straw in the wind, serving to show its direction, will illustrate in part the intuition and foresight of which Brigham Young was undoubtedly the possessor.

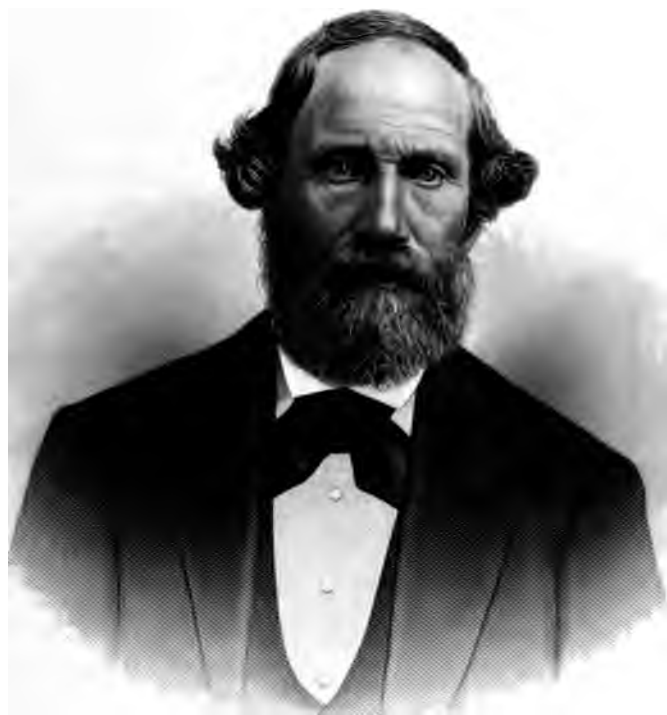
Salt Lake Valley was indeed, as he declared, the best place for a

city—a metropolis—in all this inter-mountain region. The whole world knows it now. But there were other places in the vicinity, as he also declared, possessing every facility of situation, soil, climate and surroundings, for the formation of thriving settlements, and of future flourishing towns and cities. True, most of them were then barren and desolate, cheerless and forbidding in the extreme; but the sagacious eye saw past all this, and the future became present to its gaze. A few spots there were that were even then promising; where water was not so scarce, where verdure sprang spontaneously and the soil was naturally fertile. Among these were some of the lands now included in Davis County, and the Goodyear lands on the Weber, where the next settlements of our Territory were formed. Both these sections are comprised in a narrow alluvial strip lying between the western base of the Wasatch Mountains and the eastern shore of the Great Salt Lake. In fact those lands are a portion, a mere extension northward of Salt Lake Valley.

Peregrine Sessions, the original pioneer of Davis County—next to Salt Lake County the first part of Utah occupied and settled,—was, as we have seen, a captain of fifty in Daniel Spencer's hundred; the very vanguard of the migrating trains that began arriving in Salt Lake Valley in the latter part of September, 1847. On the 28th of that month, a few days after reaching the valley, Mr. Sessions moved northward about ten miles and camped that night about half a mile from the spot where he now resides, and where sprang up Sessions' Settlement, since called Bountiful. Hector C. Haight, following Captain Sessions' example, camped six or seven miles north of him, on what was afterwards known as Haight's Creek, a little south-west of the present site of Kaysville. This was also in the latter part of 1847. There may have been others who moved into that section about the same time. Such was the beginning of the settlement of Davis County.

The object of these men in separating themselves so early from the society of their friends at the pioneer fort—the immediate object at least—was to find pasturage for their stock, the range of the





P. L. Sessions

Jordan Valley being inadequate for all the cattle of the immigrants. These cattle, some of which had to be killed at once for beef, were almost worn to skeletons by their long pilgrimage over the plains. So literally was this the case that one of the new-comers,—who was no other than Apostle John Taylor,—while sawing up one of these bony, juiceless beeves for the winter, remarked with grim humor to his assistant, Captain Joseph Horne, that he guessed they would “have to grease the saw to make it work.” But though pasturing stock was the original purpose of the pioneers of Davis County, it was not the only one. At all events, though they did little else than herd cattle and horses through the winter, they began to till the ground the following spring, and thus formed the nuclei of some of the present flourishing settlements in that vicinity.

It was in March, 1848, that Peregrine Sessions, assisted by Jezreel Shoemaker, broke the first ground in Davis County for agricultural purposes. Later, came into the county at various times such men as Thomas Grover, Daniel Wood, A. B. Cherry, Anson Call, Daniel C. Davis, John Stoker, Joseph Holbrook, Nathan T. Porter, the Smiths, the Parrishes, the Duels, the Millers, William Kay, Christopher Layton and many others to be mentioned hereafter. Davis County was named for Captain Daniel C. Davis, of the Mormon Battalion, commander of the re-enlisted volunteers, a portion of whom, being disbanded at San Diego in March, 1848, rejoined their people in Salt Lake Valley in June. Captain Davis settled on a creek a little south of the present town of Farmington.

And now as to the inception of Weber County, the nucleus of which—speaking of its settlement by white men—antedates by several years either Davis or Salt Lake County. The greater part of the lands now comprised in Weber County were owned, or claimed, in 1847 by Miles M. Goodyear, whose name has more than once been mentioned in these pages. He was a protege, it is said, of Captain Grant, a well known, eccentric character of those days, representing the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Hall. Goodyear claimed the Weber lands by virtue of a grant from the Mexican government made to



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John Stokes





on his return by his son Jesse, Abner Blackburn and Lysander Woodworth, of the party who had gone with him from the Valley, and by Samuel Lewis, a member of the Battalion, who joined them at Sutter's Fort. The rest of his party remained in California. Threading the Truckee Pass, at the foot of which so many of the Donner party had miserably perished, and taking the Hastings Cut-Off, the Captain and his party accomplished the hazardous winter journey in safety. Immediately on his return he entered into or concluded negotiations with the proprietor of the Goodyear lands, and late in December, or early in January, 1848, purchased them for the sum of \$3,000.

It has more than once been published that this purchase was made on the 6th of June of that year, and that a part of the amount brought by Captain Brown from California was in gold dust. We have it on the authority of the Captain's sons, Jesse, Alexander, William and Moroni, that January and not June was the time. Jesse and Alexander, who accompanied their father when he first took up his abode on the Weber, state positively that the snow was on the ground,—which would hardly be the case in June,—and that they “kept bachelor's hall at the fort all winter.” This being so, and Captain Brown's returning from the coast in December, 1847, renders highly improbable the statement that he brought any gold dust with him; as gold was not discovered in California until January, 1848. Whether or not the Goodyear purchase was made at the suggestion of President Young—who was then at Winter Quarters—it was manifestly in perfect keeping, as was the occupation of the Davis County lands, with the grand colonizing scheme of the pioneer President, as foreshadowed in his instructions to the explorers in July, 1847.

In about a month after the purchase of the Goodyear tract the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed—February 2nd, 1848—and the vast region now known as California, Nevada, Utah, New Mexico and Arizona, previously Mexican territory, was ceded to the United States. The terms of the treaty, it was expected, would confirm

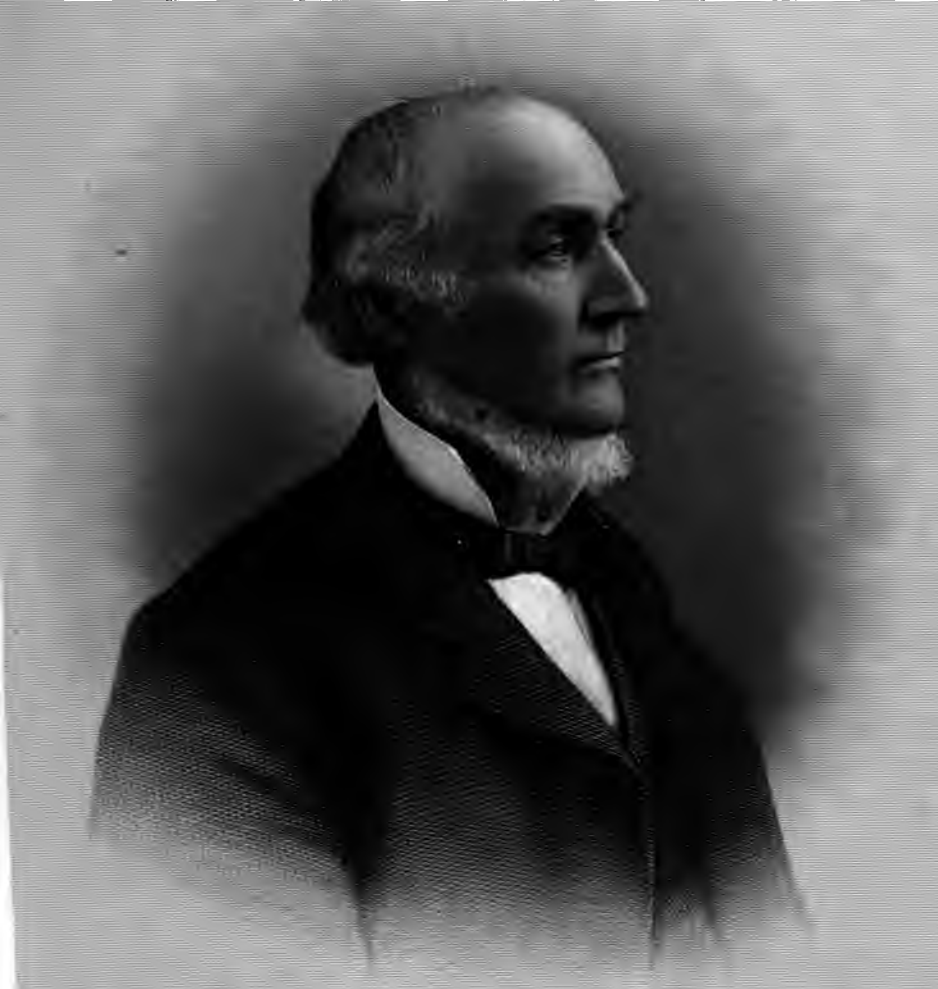
Captain Brown's title to the Goodyear lands, but for some reason it was not recognized, and the Federal Government, many years later, ignored the claim, assumed ownership of the lands,* gave to the Union Pacific Railway on its subsidy each alternate section of the tract, and required the old settlers, including Captain Brown's immediate descendants, to re-purchase the homes and farms that they had held for two decades. The inference is that Government, not purposely oppressive and unjust, did not regard the grant to Goodyear from Mexico as valid. Similar cases occurred in California.

In the spring of 1848, Captain Brown, his sons and hired help, went to work with a will on the Weber, plowing and sowing a few acres with wheat, the seed of which he had brought with him from California. He also planted corn, potatoes, cabbage, turnips, and water-melons. A man named Wells, who had formerly dwelt at the fort, told the Browns, as Goodyear had previously told them, that their crops would not mature. The frost, he said, would kill the corn about the time it began silking,—at least such had been his experience as a farmer in that region. Nothing daunted, they went on putting in their crops, and in due time reaped a goodly harvest. Jesse S. Brown, the Captain's eldest son, today wears a medal for plowing the first furrow in Weber County. Mary Black, the Captain's wife, was the pioneer cheese-maker of Utah. While awaiting their first harvest they procured supplies of flour from Fort Hall. And thus was laid the foundation of Weber County.

Other Mormon settlers soon followed the Browns to that locality. Retaining but two or three hundred acres of his immense purchase for himself, the Captain generously allowed his brethren to settle on the tract, and would take no pay from them for the lands they built upon and cultivated. The Farris, Canfields, Moores, Brownings, Wests, Shurtliffs, Herricks, Peerys, Richardses and other representative Weber County families,—too numerous to mention here, but all

*Fort Bridger, purchased of its proprietors by Brigham Young in 1853, shared a similar fate. Bridger had claimed the property by virtue of a Mexican grant, which claim, in Brigham Young, the United States government ignored.





Lorin Farr





of whom shall receive due notice at the proper time,—eventually took up their abode in the county, and helped to make it what it is today. Lorin Farr, who has before been mentioned, though not the pioneer of Weber County, was the virtual founder of Ogden, Utah's second city, of which he was the first Mayor, many times re-elected.

The opening of the spring of 1848 in Great Salt Lake City saw nearly seventeen hundred souls dwelling in upwards of four hundred log and adobe huts inside the "Old Fort." Over five thousand acres of land had been brought under cultivation, nearly nine hundred of which had been sown with winter wheat, the tender blades of which were now beginning to sprout.* A few months more and the settlers, whose breadstuffs and provisions of all kinds were getting quite low, and would just about last, with due economy, until harvest-time, would be rejoicing with their friends in the north in reaping and partaking of their first harvest in the Rocky Mountains.

But now came a visitation as terrible as it was totally unexpected. It was the cricket plague. In May and June of that year myriads of these destructive pests, an army of famine and despair, rolled in black legions down the mountain sides and attacked the fields of growing grain.† The tender crops fell an easy prey to their fierce voracity. They literally swept everything before them. Starvation with all its terrors seemed staring the poor settlers in the face. In the northern sections the situation was much the same, though at Brownville, on the Weber, the ravages of the crickets were not so great.

With the energy of desperation, the community, men, women and children, thoroughly alarmed, marshaled themselves to fight and if possible repel the rapacious foe. While some went through the

* To be exact, there were 1671 souls, 423 houses, 5133 acres of cultivated land, and 875 acres sown with winter wheat.

† Says Anson Call: "The Rocky Mountain cricket, as now remembered, when full grown, is about one-and-a-half inches in length, heavy and clumsy in its movements, with no better power of locomotion than hopping a foot or two at a time. It has an eagle-eyed, staring appearance, and suggests the idea that it may be the habitation of a vindictive little demon."

fields killing the crickets, and at the same time, alas! crushing much of the tender grain, others dug ditches around the farms, turned water into the trenches, and drove and drowned therein myriads of the black devourers. Others beat them back with clubs and brooms, or burned them in fires set in the fields. Still they could not prevail. Too much headway had been gained by the crickets before the gravity of the situation was discovered, and in spite of all that the settlers could do, their hopes of a harvest were fast vanishing, and with those hopes the very hope of life.

✓ They were saved, they believed, by a miracle,—just such a miracle as, according to classic tradition, saved ancient Rome, when the cackling of geese roused the slumbering city in time to beat back the invading Gauls.* In the midst of the work of destruction, when it seemed as if nothing could stay the devastation, great flocks of gulls appeared, filling the air with their white wings and plaintive cries, and settled down upon the half-ruined fields. At first it seemed as if they came but to destroy what the crickets had left. But their real purpose was soon apparent. They came to prey upon the destroyers. All day long they gorged themselves, and when full, disgorged and feasted again, the white gulls upon the black crickets, like hosts of heaven and hell contending, until the pests were vanquished, and the people were saved. The heaven-sent birds then returned to the lake islands whence they came, leaving the grateful people to shed tears of joy at the wonderful and timely deliverance wrought out for them.

Is it strange that among the early acts of Utah's legislators there should be a law making the wanton killing of these birds a

*This event is said to have occurred in the year 390, B. C. The Gauls were invading Roman territory, and had inflicted a disastrous defeat upon the Romans just outside the city. Marius Manlius, at the head of a handful of his countrymen, held the citadel against the barbarians, but according to the legend had neglected to place sentinels to warn him against a night attack. A few of the geese, considered holy by the Romans, had been spared by the famishing soldiers, and during the siege the Gauls determined upon a night attack. They were advancing toward the citadel, when the geese, alarmed at their approach, set up a cackling and aroused the defenders, who drove off the besiegers.

punishable offense? Rome once had her sacred geese. Utah would henceforth have her sacred gulls. Ye statesmen and state-makers of the future! When Utah's sovereign star, dawning above the dark horizon of factional strife, shall take its place in the blue, unclouded zenith of freedom's empyrean, and it is asked by those who would frame her escutcheon, What shall her emblem be? Name not at all the carpet-bag. Place not first the beehive, nor the eagle; nor yet the miner's pick, the farmer's plow, nor the smoke-stack of the wealth-producing smelter. Give these their places, all, in dexter or in middle, but whatever else the glittering shield contains, reserve for the honor point, as worthy of all praise, the sacred bird that saved the pioneers.

And barely saved them, too, for even as it was, there was famine in Utah before another year. This was largely owing to the crickets, but was due also to drought and frost. These mishaps, with the coming of the fall immigration, depending upon the settlers for much of their support, rendered the harvest wholly inadequate, and caused much inconvenience and some suffering before another crop could be raised. During the days, or rather months of scarcity, such as had food put themselves and their families upon rations, while those who were without or had but little, dug sego and thistle roots, and cooked and ate raw-hides to eke out their scanty store. Wild vegetation of various kinds was used for "greens" by the half-famished people, many of whom went for weeks without tasting bread. The raw-hides were boiled and converted into a gelatinous soup, which was drank with eager relish. The straitness began to be felt even before the crickets came, and after that event, owing to the prevailing scarcity, the arrival of the fall immigration was looked forward to with positive apprehension.*

* "During this spring and summer," says Parley P. Pratt, "my family and myself, in common with many of the camp, suffered much for want of food. * * * We had lost nearly all our cows, and the few which were spared to us were dry. * * * I had ploughed and subdued land to the amount of near forty acres. * * * In this labor every woman and child in my family, so far as they were of sufficient age and

Before the worst of those days arrived, however, on August 10th, 1848, the glad settlers celebrated with a feast their first harvest home. It was quite a grand affair with them. In the center of the fort a bowery had been erected, and underneath its shade, tables were spread richly and bounteously laden. Bread and beef, butter and cheese, cakes and pastry, green corn, water-melons and vegetables of nearly every variety composed the feast. For once at least, that season, the hungry people had enough to eat. Says Parley P. Pratt: "Large sheaves of wheat, rye, barley, oats and other productions were hoisted on poles for public exhibition, and there was prayer and thanksgiving, congratulations, songs, speeches, music, dancing, smiling faces and merry hearts. In short it was a great day with the people of these valleys, and long to be remembered by those who had suffered and waited anxiously for the results of a first effort to redeem the interior deserts of America."

The fort now contained eighteen hundred inhabitants; the increase since March being due to the arrival from the west of several parties of the disbanded Mormon volunteers. They returned laden with gold-dust from the California mines.* The discovery of the precious metal west of the Sierras being due to the labor of Utah men, it is but proper to give here a brief account of that very important event.

It has already been related that in September, 1847, a party of the discharged Battalion men, on their way to Salt Lake Valley, met, east of the Sierras, Captain James Brown and Samuel Brannan, and that a portion of the soldiers, pursuant to advice sent them by President Young, turned back to obtain work for the winter in California. These men, about forty in number, secured employment

strength, had joined to help me, and had toiled incessantly in the field, suffering every hardship which human nature could well endure. Myself and some of them were compelled to go with bare feet for several months, reserving our Indian moccasins for extra occasions. We toiled hard and lived on a few greens, and on the thistle and other roots."

* One company brought with them two brass cannon purchased for \$512 and used as a means of protection against hostile Indians.

at Sutter's Fort, the proprietor of which, Captain John A. Sutter, was just then in need of help for the erection of a flour-mill and a saw-mill. A site for the flour-mill was selected near the fort, and most of the men were put to work thereon. But the saw-mill had to be built among the mountains, in the little valley of Coloma, forty-five miles away. To that place Sutter sent ten men, one of whom was his partner, James W. Marshall, who superintended the erection of the mill. The other nine worked under him. Of these, six were Mormons and late members of the Battalion. Their names were Alexander Stephens, James S. Brown, James Barger, William Johnston, Azariah Smith and Henry W. Bigler. The other three were non-Mormons, who had been more or less associated with the Saints since the days of Nauvoo. They were Peter Wimmer, William Scott and Charles Bennett. Sutter also employed about a dozen Indians. For four months these men labored at Coloma, and the saw-mill was approaching completion. Late in January, 1848, the water was turned into the race to carry away some loose dirt and gravel. It was then turned off, and the superintendent, Mr. Marshall, walked along the tail-race to ascertain the extent of some slight damage that had been done by the water near the base of the building. While pursuing his investigation, his eye caught sight of some yellow metallic particles on the rotten granite bed-rock of the race. He picked up several of them, the largest of which were about the size of wheat grains. He believed—but did not know—that they were gold. Subsequently they were assayed, and the fact of the great discovery was verified.

The first record of the finding of the gold was made by Henry W. Bigler, a Mormon,—now a citizen of St. George, Utah. To him, among the first, Marshall announced his discovery. A diary note in Bigler's journal, made on the same day, runs as follows:

“Monday, 24th. This day some kind of metal was found in the tail-race that looks like gold.”

Another note of January 30th, which was Sunday, reads: “Clear, and has been all the last week. Our metal has been tried

and proves to be gold. It is thought to be rich. We have picked up more than a hundred dollars' worth last week."

Thus was originally chronicled the world-renowned discovery at Coloma. Henry W. Bigler, of St George, Azariah Smith, of Manti, in Utah; and Peter L. Wimmer, of San Diego, California, are today the three survivors of the party of workmen whose picks and shovels first brought to light the auriferous wealth of California.

Meantime on the far-off frontier, President Young and his associates, early in 1848, had set about organizing the main body of their people prior to leading them to the Rocky Mountains. On the 27th of the previous December, at a conference of the Saints held in a new log tabernacle on the east side of the Missouri, the First Presidency—vacant since the death of Joseph Smith—had been re-organized. Brigham Young was now President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in all the world, and Heber C. Kimball and Willard Richards were his Counselors.* This event was supplemented by preparations for a general emigration in the spring. Still it was desirable to maintain, for the benefit of future emigration, an out-fitting post on the frontier. Winter Quarters was soon to be vacated, but the Legislature of Iowa granted a petition for the organization of Pottowatomie County—east of the river—and there, on the site where stood their historic Log Tabernacle, the Mormons built the town of Kaneshville, a few miles above the present city of Council Bluffs. Kaneshville became for several years a point of outfit and departure for Mormon emigration. Their companies from Europe by way of New Orleans would now steam up the Mississippi and the Missouri to Kaneshville. The first company to follow this river route was one led by Franklin D. Richards. It sailed from Liverpool in February, 1848, and reached Winter Quarters some time before the early summer emigration started across the plains.

It was about the beginning of June that the First Presidency

*This action was pursuant to a decision of the Council of the Apostles made on the 5th of December.

broke up their camp on the Elk Horn, and again set out for the Valley of the Great Salt Lake. First went Brigham Young, with a company of 1229 souls and 397 wagons; next, Heber C. Kimball, whose trains numbered 662 souls and 226 wagons. Willard Richards brought up the rear, with 526 souls and 169 wagons. The last wagon left Winter Quarters on the 3rd of July. That place was now nearly deserted.

Along with this large emigration went such notables as Daniel H. Wells, who, having joined the Church at Nauvoo in August, 1846, had left the city with the expelled remnant of his people and joined the main body in their prairie homes; Lorenzo Snow, who had figured in the British Mission before the Prophet's death, and was now fast rising to prominence; Franklin D. Richards, of whom that mission had also heard and was destined to hear much more; Joseph F. Smith, who, however, was only a lad of nine years, in the care of his heroic mother, Mary Fielding Smith, who, with other Mormon women of that period, drove her own ox-team wagon across the plains. Bishop Newel K. Whitney also accompanied this emigration, which carried with it such notable women as his wife, Elizabeth Ann Whitney, Vilate Kimball and Mary Ann Angell Young. Robert T. Burton, George D. Grant, William Kay, Phineas Richards, Horace S. Eldredge, Hosea Stout and others who became prominent or well known in Utah history were also included.

Brigham Young had general command of all the companies, and Daniel H. Wells was his aide-de-camp. Horace S. Eldredge was marshal, and Hosea Stout captain of the night-guard. Amasa M. Lyman, Erastus Snow and other prominent men who had returned with the President from the Valley, now went back with him, having charge of various sub-divisions of the emigration. Several of the Apostles remained at Kanesville; some to go upon missions, and some to superintend Mormon affairs on the frontier. One of these was Orson Hyde, who had not yet been to the Valley, and still tarried behind to transact important business for the Church. A few months after the President's departure, Apostle Hyde began the

publication, at Kaneshville, of a semi-monthly paper called the *Frontier Guardian*.*

On went the emigration, crossing the plains and the Rocky Mountains along the same route formerly traveled by the Pioneers. President Young, with a portion of his division, reached Salt Lake Valley on the 20th of September. Heber C. Kimball came a few days later, and within another month the trains had all arrived.

President Richards' companies lost many of their cattle through the alkali on the Sweetwater. This so hindered his progress that teams from the Valley had to be sent out to help in the rear trains.

Immediately after the President's arrival a conference was called to convene on the 8th of October. This conference, which was held in the Fort Bowery, ratified the action of the Apostles and the main body of the Saints on the frontier, relative to the reorganization of the First Presidency. Newel K. Whitney was sustained as Presiding Bishop of the Church, and John Smith was appointed its Patriarch. This caused a vacancy in the Stake Presidency, which Charles C. Rich was chosen to fill; John Young and Erastus Snow were his counselors.

These spiritual matters attended to, the temporal needs of the colony came in for their share of thought and labor. The recent immigration, which aggregated nearly 2500 souls, had swelled the population in the valley to between four and five thousand. These people must be housed and fed through the winter. How, was the problem facing the Mormon leaders that fall, as the signs of a long and unusually severe winter began to show themselves. More houses might be built, for the materials were at hand, and before the heavy snows fell the number of huts might be materially increased. Some of the families could make shift with their wagons until spring. But where was the food to come from,—the loaves and fishes to feed these five thousand? The immigrants had not all brought sufficient,

* The first number of this paper was issued February 7th, 1849.



H. S. Elmer

1202



and the valley harvest, upon which they had largely depended, had measurably failed. Thus the food question was the principal problem, and before it was fully solved, there had been much suffering and privation in the Valley by the Lake.

It was during these days of scarcity, when the half-starved, half-clad settlers hardly knew where to look for the next crust of bread, or for rags to hide their nakedness,—for clothing had become almost as scarce with them as breadstuffs,*—that Heber C. Kimball, in a public meeting, declared to the astonished congregation that it would not be three years before "States goods" would be sold in Salt Lake Valley cheaper than in the eastern cities. The astonishment of his hearers was not based upon any expectation that this prediction would or could be realized. Rather were they astounded at the seemingly preposterous statement. "I don't believe a word of it," said Charles C. Rich, and he but expressed the sentiments of nineteen-twentieths of the congregation. President Kimball, after a moment's reflection, rather doubted the prediction himself. And yet, as we shall see, it was literally fulfilled, and in a manner totally unanticipated.

During 1848 various improvements for the public benefit were planned and effected in Salt Lake Valley and the vicinity. Roads were constructed in divers directions, and bridges thrown across the Jordan River and several of the mountain streams. A bath house was also erected at the Warm Springs. To defray the expense of some of these improvements the roadmaster—Daniel Spencer—was authorized to levy a poll and property tax; the rate of the latter being one per cent. Most of the assessments were paid in labor on the roads. In October a Council House was projected, to be built by donation, or labor-tithing. Daniel H. Wells was appointed to superintend its construction. Grist-mills and saw-mills had been and were being erected on City Creek, Mill Creek and other streams, water being the motive power used. Some of this machinery had

* "Nearly every man was dressed in skins."—Heber C. Kimball.

come with the first immigration and was in operation during the following spring and summer. More machinery for milling, and some for carding; also printing presses, type, and other materials of "the art preservative," were brought in the immigration of 1848. Among the pioneer mill-builders may be mentioned Charles Crismon, Isaac Chase, John Neff, Samuel Thompson, Archibald and Robert Gardner.

During the autumn the city lots were given out to the settlers, and when all had been distributed, others were laid out in extensions to the original plat, and allotted in like manner. A vast field of eight thousand acres was surveyed south of and bordering upon the city, plotted in five and ten-acre fields and distributed by lot to the people. Each man was to help build a fence around the "Big Field," and construct a canal along the east side for irrigating purposes. These lands were not sold, but given, as in the first instance when the Apostles selected their "inheritances." But a small fee was required from each holder to pay the surveyor.

Before winter set in, some of the people began leaving the fort and moving out upon their city lots. Most of them, however, remained in the stockade until spring. They then took their houses with them—such of the domiciles as were portable—and set them down, according to rule, in or near the centers of their lots. Thus as the city grew the fort began to disappear, and soon there was little left of it but a few adobe walls to show where once it stood.

The lack of a circulating medium among the settlers had long been felt. The inconvenience of buying wheat with corn, and paying for pigs in chickens, is apparent. The advent of gold-dust, much of which was brought by the Battalion men and others from California, had put an end to much of this embarrassment, and yet bags of gold-dust were not the most convenient money in the world. To obviate the trouble, pending the procuring of a stamp wherewith to coin some of the precious metal now becoming so abundant, a paper currency was issued in January, 1849. The first bill—one dollar—bore the signatures of Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball and

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Charles Crismon

Charles Crismon

1800-1850

UNIV
1800

Thomas Bullock. The first type-setting in Salt Lake Valley—by Brigham Young and Thomas Bullock—was for this primitive Utah currency. Some months later \$2.50, \$5, \$10 and \$20 gold pieces were coined in a mint temporarily established by the Mormons. These coins, which were improvised purely for local use, bore no resemblance to the Government coins. They were of unalloyed, virgin gold, and as fast as they were superseded by legal money were disposed of as bullion to the Federal mints.*

The winter of 1848-9, unlike its predecessor, was uncommonly severe. Heavy snows and violent winds prevailed, and the weather, from the 1st of December until late in February, was extremely cold. The coldest day was the 5th of February, when the mercury fell to 33° F. below zero. An inventory of breadstuffs taken early that month showed about three-fourths of a pound per day for each soul in the Valley, until the beginning of July. The pressure of the famine was severely felt, but the community generally shared alike, and extreme suffering was thus prevented. The earth that season yielded abundantly, and the famine again was staid.

Early in February the Church authorities resumed the task of perfecting the ecclesiastical organization. In December fellowship had been withdrawn from Apostle Lyman Wight and Bishop George Miller, who had previously separated from the Church, refusing to longer follow its destinies.† Four vacancies now existed in the council of the Twelve. They were filled on February 12th, 1849, by

* The veteran jeweler, J. M. Barlow, senior, of Salt Lake City, contributes this : "The first dies, consisting of a \$2.50, a \$5 and a \$20 piece, were made by John Kay and an old blacksmith, but were very crude. At the request of Governor Young I had made in my office by Dougal Brown, a set of dies for \$5 pieces, and for a number of years (until Governor Cumming ordered its discontinuance) I refined the gold and coined it into money. If I do say so myself, it was as perfect a piece of money as ever came from any mint. I also made the first and only solid silver spoons ever made in Utah, and the silver cups now in use in the administration of the sacrament at the Tabernacle."

† During November, 1848, at far-off Kanesville, Oliver Cowdery came back into the Church, to die in the Mormon faith a few months later, but never to reach the Rocky Mountains.

the calling and ordination of Charles C. Rich, Lorenzo Snow, Erastus Snow and Franklin D. Richards to the Apostleship. On the 13th of that month a more permanent Stake organization was effected, as follows: Daniel Spencer, President; David Fullmer and Willard Snow, first and second Counselors. The members of the High Council were Isaac Morley, Phinehas Richards, Shadrach Roundy, Henry G. Sherwood, Titus Billings, Eleazer Miller, John Vance, Levi Jackman, Ira Eldredge, Elisha H. Groves, William W. Mayor and Edwin D. Woolley.

Next day—the 14th—Great Salt Lake City was divided into nineteen ecclesiastical wards. The following named were the Bishops: First Ward, Peter McCue; Second, John Lowry; Third, Christopher Williams, Fourth, Benjamin Brown; Fifth, Thomas Winters; Sixth, William Hickenlooper; Seventh, William G. Perkins; Eighth, Addison Everett; Ninth, Seth Taft; Tenth, David Pettigrew; Eleventh, John Lytle; Twelfth, Benjamin Covey; Thirteenth, Edward Hunter; Fourteenth, John Murdock, senior; Fifteenth, Abraham O. Smoot; Sixteenth, Shadrach Roundy; Seventeenth, Joseph L. Heywood; Eighteenth, Presiding Bishop Whitney; Nineteenth, James Hendricks. Each of these wards comprised, as far as practicable, three blocks square; the enumeration beginning at the southeast corner of the city, where the First Ward lies, and running west to the city limit, where the Fifth Ward ends. The enumeration then continued on the next tier of blocks from west to east, then back again, and so on until all the wards were formed.

CHAPTER XXI.

1849.

BEGINNING OF UTAH'S POLITICAL HISTORY—THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF DESERET—UTAH VALLEY SETTLED—THE UTE INDIANS—SOWIETTE AND WALKARA—THE GOLD-HUNTERS—"WINTER MORMONS"—DESERET APPLIES FOR STATEHOOD—FIRST CELEBRATION OF PIONEER DAY—THE STANSBURY EXPEDITION—THE PERPETUAL EMIGRATING FUND—THE FIRST MISSIONARIES SENT FROM THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS—WHY BRIGHAM YOUNG DISCOURAGED MINING—THE GREAT SALT LAKE VALLEY CARRYING COMPANY—SANPETE AND TOOELE VALLEYS SETTLED.

UTAH'S political history begins with the opening of the spring of 1849. Up to that time the mode of government in Salt Lake Valley was purely an ecclesiastical regime. True, the community had its secular officials, authorized to levy and collect taxes and perform various functions of a civil character. It also had its peace officers,* and its primitive methods of administering justice.

But these officers, as a rule, were chosen by the people at their conferences or other religious meetings, presided over by Apostles or Elders, and were virtually Church appointments. The nominations were usually made from the "stand," by some dignitary of the Priesthood, and sustained by the congregation, if acceptable, with uplifted hands.† Such appointments, therefore, though secular in character, could not be called political.‡ In fact there were no politics in the community, except as they existed in the breasts of those who had retained their former principles and predilections, and brought them into the wilderness, as they had brought their country's flag and their love for American institutions.

* John Van Cott was Marshal, and John Nebeker Assistant Marshal.

† The right hand is used for voting in Mormon religious meetings.

‡ In those days culprits were tried by the Bishops' Courts and the High Council.

But the Mormons knew that this condition of affairs must soon change; that their isolation in these mountain-tops could not long continue. They had foreseen, or their Prophet had, at Nauvoo, the "manifest destiny" of the American Republic to possess the Pacific slope. They knew, with all the world, how the war with Mexico must end. They had even helped their country to conquer the region which they now inhabited. Their main purpose in moving west,—next to getting beyond the reach of their enemies and securing religious freedom,—was evidently to found an American State. Isolation they sought and desired, but only a temporary isolation. More than that they could not reasonably expect. Leaving out the question of their Americanism,—their love of native land and their loyalty to the Constitution,—the mission of the Latter-day Saints is and has ever been *to* the Gentiles, and not *from* them. They wished to found a State for the Union. They wished to govern that State,—at least so long as they remained in the majority. And certainly it was their right to do so, according to the genius of American institutions.

There were some, no doubt, who thought, in the beginning of the exodus and afterwards, that it was not the destiny of the Mormon people to be again identified with the American nation. But these were individual views, and not the views of authority. Such men as Senator Douglas, James Arlington Bennett and Governor Ford, who had virtually advised the Mormon leaders to set up an independent government in the west, were largely responsible for such notions. Joseph Smith and Brigham Young had both declared,—the former in the very face of a contemplated exodus to the Rocky Mountains, the latter after that exodus had begun,—that it was the destiny of the Latter-day Saints to preserve the Constitution and rescue the starry flag at a time when traitors and tyrants would be tearing them to tatters and trampling them in the mire. The Saints, it may be added, are not yet converted from this view. That time, they believe, is at hand,—approaching on the wings of the wind.

Then why, if this be true, did the Mormons not found their State forthwith, and set up a political, in lieu of an ecclesiastical government in these mountains? Why did eighteen months elapse, after they entered Salt Lake Valley, before they took steps to align themselves as a commonwealth with the other parts of the Federal Union? In their failure to more promptly act in this matter, many have professed to see, some perhaps sincerely, a sign of Mormon disloyalty,—a reluctance on the part of the Saints to return to the sheltering aegis of Columbia and the Constitution. To such as have honestly taken this view,—but not to those who have merely used it as a catch-phrase and political cudgel against the Mormons,—some explanation is probably due. That explanation is easily given.

The Mormon pioneers entered Salt Lake Valley late in July, 1847. Their first care, though the planting season was virtually past, and it had not been demonstrated that the soil in this locality would bring forth cereals and vegetables, was to put in crops, trusting in Providence for a harvest, lest famine with fierce maw should overtake them. Their next duty, almost as pressing, was to place roofs above their heads, lest the frosts of the coming winter might prove to them perpetual. What time had they for politics? They hardly had time to pray,—to kneel upon the desert as their pilgrim ancestors had knelt on Plymouth Rock, and thank God for bringing them to another home. What time had they for political conventions, even had it been proper at that stage to have held them? But would it have been proper? Up to February, 1848, when the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed, Utah was still Mexican soil, conquered by but not yet ceded to the United States. Political action at such a time, on the part of the pioneers, would certainly have been premature.

But, it may be argued, the Mormons did not organize politically until over a year after the signing of the treaty which made Utah a part of the Federal domain. True, but it should be remembered that in those days news did not travel, as now, by railway and electric

wire. Ox and mule teams carried the mail between the Missouri River and the Great Basin. Indeed, in 1849 there was no overland mail service at all, excepting such as might be furnished, at irregular intervals, by emigrants and other travelers crossing and re-crossing the great plains. Sometimes—usually during the winter—six months would elapse and no tidings of the outside world would reach the settlers of these mountain solitudes. Probably this was the case when the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed. Besides, at that time and for several months afterward, the majority of the Mormon leaders, including their master spirit, Brigham Young, were away, preparing on the far-off frontier to bring the main body of their homeless people to the mountains. In the absence of their leaders, whom they looked to for advice, and expected to take the initiative in all important movements of a public character, the settlers of Salt Lake Valley were busy fighting crickets, building houses, exploring and colonizing,—determining, in short, the question of actual subsistence.

The absent leaders returned in the autumn of 1848, with between two and three thousand souls to be fed and sheltered through that famine winter. Preparations for its approach having been made, and the Church “set in order” for the better care of the people temporally and spiritually, those leaders were ready for political work, and that winter the project of Utah’s statehood was born.

The Mormons did not call their proposed state Utah, however. There was nothing particularly attractive in that title—the name of a nation of savages, some of them, though not all, among the most degraded of the red-skinned race.* They styled it, instead, Deseret,

* Lieutenant J. W. Gunnison, in his work entitled “The Mormons,” says of the Utah Indians: “This tribe consists of several bands under different chieftains, united by a common language and affinities, as well as by numerous inter-marriages. They range over a large region of country, extending from California to New Mexico. They are a superstitious race and have many cruel customs. Some tribes are reputed good warriors. * *

“The different tribes of the Utahs are frequently at war with each other, and they have an eternal national war with the Shoshones. The Mormon settlements partially

meaning the honey bee,*—an appropriate emblem of their own untiring industry.

A call for a convention to consider the political needs of the community was issued early in 1849. It was addressed to "all the citizens of that portion of Upper California lying east of the Sierra Nevada Mountains." The convention assembled at Salt Lake City early in March. It was then and there decided to petition Congress for a Territorial form of government, and to organize, pending Congressional action upon the petition, a provisional government.† A committee was appointed to draft and report a constitution for the temporary State of Deseret. This committee consisted of Albert Carrington, Joseph L. Heywood, William W. Phelps, David Fullmer, John S. Fullmer, Charles C. Rich, John Taylor, Parley P. Pratt, John M. Bernhisel and Erastus Snow. The convention continued its deliberations on the 8th, 9th and 10th of March, and adopted the constitution reported by the committee. Its caption and preamble were as follows:

CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF DESERET.

PREAMBLE.—Whereas a large number of the citizens of the United States, before and since the treaty of peace with the Republic of Mexico, emigrated to, and settled in that portion of the territory of the United States lying west of the Rocky Mountains, and in the great interior Basin of Upper California; and

Whereas, by reason of said treaty, all civil organization originating from the Republic of Mexico became abrogated; and

Whereas the Congress of the United States has failed to provide a form of civil government for the territory so acquired, or any portion thereof; and

Whereas civil government and laws are necessary for the security, peace, and prosperity of society; and

interpose between the two great tribes, exerting an influence upon both and ensuring them a controlling power ultimately. * * * *

"The Snakes or Shoshones, estimated at several thousands, are on the north. The Crows are to the north-east. * * * *

"The Sioux tribe is on the east of the basin; the Oglallais or Cheyennes, to the south-east, and the universal Utahs to the south."

* Book of Morimon—Ether, chapter II, par. 3.

† The application of Deseret for admission into the Union as a State was made several months later.

Whereas it is a fundamental principle in all republican governments that all political power is inherent in the people, and governments instituted for their protection, security, and benefit should emanate from the same ;

Therefore your committee beg leave to recommend the adoption of the following Constitution until the Congress of the United States shall otherwise provide for the government of the territory hereinafter named and described by admitting us into the Union. **WE, THE PEOPLE**, grateful to the **SUPREME BEING** for the blessings hitherto enjoyed, and feeling our dependence on Him for a continuation of those blessings, **DO ORDAIN AND ESTABLISH A FREE AND INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT**, by the name of the **STATE OF DESERET**, including all the territory of the United States within the following boundaries, to wit : commencing at the 33° of north latitude, where it crosses the 108° of longitude west of Greenwich ; thence running south and west to the boundary of Mexico ; thence west to and down the main channel of the Gila River (or the northern line of Mexico), and on the northern boundary of Lower California to the Pacific Ocean ; thence along the coast north-westerly to the 118° 30' of west longitude ; thence north to where said line intersects the dividing ridge of the Sierra Nevada mountains ; thence north along the summit of the Sierra Nevada mountains to the dividing range of mountains that separate the waters flowing into the Columbia from the waters running into the Great Basin ; thence easterly along the dividing range of mountains that separate said waters flowing into the Columbia River on the north, from the waters flowing into the Great Basin on the south, to the summit of the Wind River chain of mountains ; thence southeast and south by the dividing range of mountains that separate the waters flowing into the Gulf of Mexico from the waters flowing into the Gulf of California, to the place of beginning, as set forth in a map drawn by Charles Preuss, and published by order of the Senate of the United States in 1848.

The Constitution provided that the seat of government should be at Salt Lake City, and that its powers should be divided into three branches—the legislative, the executive and the judicial. The Legislature was to consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives, both elected by the people. It was to hold annual sessions, the initial one on the first Monday in July, 1849, and thereafter on the first Monday in December. Special sessions were also provided for. Elections for members of the House of Representatives were to be held biennially. These members were to be at least twenty-five years of age, free white male citizens of the United States, residents of the State for one year preceding their election, and of the district or county thirty days preceding. Senators were to be elected for four years. Except as to age—they must be at least thirty years old—the qualifications required of them were the same as those of the Representatives. Each house was to elect its own officers, and each officer

and member of the Legislative Assembly must take oath or affirmation to support the Constitution of the United States, and that of the State of Deseret, prior to entering upon the discharge of his official duties.

The executive power was vested in a Governor, a Lieutenant-Governor, a Secretary of State, an Auditor and a Treasurer. The Governor was to be elected for four years, his qualifications, powers and duties being similar to those of the Governors of other States. He had authority to call special sessions of the Legislative Assembly, and possessed the usual power of veto over its acts. The Lieutenant-Governor, who was also elected for four years, was *ex officio* president of the Senate.

The judiciary consisted of a Supreme Court, with such other inferior tribunals as might be established by the Legislature. That body, by a joint vote, was to elect a chief justice and two associate justices, to hold office for four years. It was afterwards decided to have these judges elected by the people. The qualifications of voters at the first election were that they should be free, white male residents of the State, over the age of twenty-one.

A State militia comprising all males between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, not exempt from military duty, was to be forthwith organized, armed, equipped and trained. The age regulation was subsequently changed; for when the militia was organized there was a company of juvenile rifles, composed of youths under eighteen, and another company called "Silver Greys," made up of men over fifty years of age.

The election of officers for the Provisional Government of the State of Deseret took place at Salt Lake City on Monday, March 12th, 1849. The following ticket was elected: Brigham Young, Governor; Willard Richards, Secretary; Newel K. Whitney, Treasurer; Heber C. Kimball, Chief Justice; John Taylor and N. K. Whitney, Associate Justices; Daniel H. Wells, Attorney-General; Horace S. Eldredge, Marshal; Albert Carrington, Assessor and Collector; Joseph L. Heywood, Surveyor of Highways. At the same time the Bishops of the several wards were elected magistrates.

The militia was next organized, under the direction of General Charles C. Rich and Daniel H. Wells, a committee on military affairs. They began to organize it in March, and in May reported the completion of their labors. This did not mean that the full organization was at once perfected. The old name of "Nauvoo Legion," endeared to so many of those who were now re-enrolled, was retained as the title of the militia of the State of Deseret.

Its chief officers were, Daniel H. Wells, Major-General, and Jedediah M. Grant and Horace S. Eldredge, Brigadier-Generals. In General Grant's cohort, which was composed of cavalry, John S. Fullmer was Colonel of the first regiment, Willard Snow, Major of the first battalion, and George D. Grant, Captain of the first company, first battalion. In the second cohort,—the infantry,—commanded by Brigadier-General Eldredge, John Scott was Colonel of the first regiment, Andrew Lytle Major of the first battalion, and Jesse P. Harmon captain of the first company, first battalion. Two companies comprised the artillery. The first company organized was Captain George D. Grant's. These were picked men, termed "life-guards," or "minute men." It was their duty to protect Salt Lake City and its environs from Indian depredations. Captain Harmon's company were the "Silver Greys," before mentioned.

The militia also had the following general officers: James Ferguson, Adjutant-General; Hiram B. Clawson, Aide-de-camp; Lewis Robison, Quarter-master-General; Albert P. Rockwood, Commissary-General; Ezra G. Williams, Surgeon-General; Ezra T. Benson and Wilford Woodruff, Chaplains; Edward P. Duzette, Chief of Music; and Ephraim Hanks and Lot Smith, Color-bearers-General. These officers, from the Adjutant-General to the Chief of Music, held the rank of Colonel, but the last two ranked as captains. Subsequently military districts were organized in the several counties created by the Legislature.*

* Among the earliest commanders of military districts were Colonel George A. Smith, Iron County; Peter W. Conover, Utah County; Cyrus C. Canfield, Weber County, and Nelson Higgins, Sanpete County.

Thus was established the Provisional Government of the State of Deseret, with its mailed arm of power, the Nauvoo Legion. It was not long before a portion of the troops were called into the field to resist hostile encroachments by the savages.

The same month that the State government was organized, the settlement of Utah Valley was begun. This was the first permanent movement of the Mormon colonists toward southern Utah.

In the summer of 1848 the settlers in Salt Lake Valley had been visited by several hundred Indians, men, women and children. They were Utahs and were accompanied by their noted chiefs Sowiette and Walkara,—anglicised Walker. According to Parley P. Pratt these Indians were "good-looking, brave and intelligent," superior to any other savages he had seen west of the Rocky Mountains. They came to trade horses, of which they had a numerous band, and to cultivate friendly relations with the settlers.* They expressed the wish to amalgamate with them, to learn the arts of peace and become civilized. They wanted some of the colonists to go with them and teach them to farm in their valleys to the southward. This the settlers could not then do, but promised that in the future they would come among them and teach them as they desired. This promise was duly kept, not only because it had been made, but because the Latter-day Saints, as shown, believe it a portion of their mission to reclaim and civilize the red men. They advised Sowiette and his people to cease their warfare and live at peace with all men.

Sowiette, who was king of the Utah nation, scarcely needed this good advice, if local tradition may be relied upon. He was peaceably disposed, it is said, and though no coward, naturally averse to war and blood-shed. Walker, his subordinate, was of another stamp

* A late chief (of the Utahs) acting on the plurality law, left about thirty sons, most of whom have small clans under them. His true successor is a fine, brave Indian with the largest band immediately around him, and he exercises control over all whom he chooses. He is a friend of the Mormons. A half-brother of his named Walker has become rich and celebrated for his success in stealing horses from the Mexicans. He has a large drove of cattle, with many followers."—Lieutenant Gunnison.

entirely. He was quarrelsome and blood-thirsty. Stealing was his ordinary vocation, and he would kill whenever it suited his purpose. He and his bands would penetrate at times to west of the Sierras, and raid and rob the California settlements, returning in triumph with their booty to the mountains of Utah. His name was a terror to the whites, and he was also feared and hated by other tribes of Indians.

It is related that at the time the Pioneers entered Salt Lake Valley a large number of the Utah nation were encamped in Spanish Fork canyon; Sowiette and Walker both being present.* A council was held to consider what policy should be pursued toward the newcomers, of whose arrival these chiefs had heard from some of their scouts and runners. Sowiette counseled peace and friendship for the strangers, with whose past he was somewhat acquainted, and evidently felt for the exiles a noble savage's generous compassion. But Walker, who was nothing if not violent, raised his voice for war, and the extermination of the settlers. The younger warriors mostly sided with Walker, but the older and wiser ones stood with Sowiette. Finally Walker intimated that Sowiette was a coward. The old king could stand no more. Seizing a riding-whip he advanced upon the turbulent chief and gave him a sound flogging. After that there was no more talk of Sowiette's cowardice, and his peace counsel prevailed.† Then followed the visit of the Utes to Salt Lake Valley, as related.

Walker, however, notwithstanding his professions of friendship for the Mormons,—which were probably made out of deference to Sowiette,—was soon again on the war-path, stirring up the Indians

* *Tullidge's Quarterly Magazine*, Vol. 3, page 241.

† A similar encounter, though no flogging was administered, is related as having occurred between Walker and Washakie, the latter a noted and noble chief of the Shoshones. Walker having angered Washakie, the Shoshone chieftain strode up to him and dared him to mortal combat. The Ute chief not responding, Washakie called him a dog, and snatching the tomahawk from his belt hurled it away in scorn and contempt, Walker still declining to fight.

against the settlers. President Young was so informed by Colonel Bridger and his partner Vasquez, soon after the formation of the first settlement in Utah Valley. Yet the founding of that settlement, it appears, was not only in pursuance of the general colonizing plan of the Mormon President, but in response to the invitation of the savages themselves, for their "white brothers" to come among them and teach them how to become civilized.

The man chosen to lead the colony into Utah Valley was John S. Higbee, one of the original Mormon Pioneers. At the head of about thirty families, with wagons, horses, cattle, cows, farming and building implements, seed and provisions, he set out from Salt Lake City early in March, 1849, to found a settlement on Provo River.* Three days they rolled and trudged along, their progress much impeded by the muddy soil, soaked with spring rains and melting snows. Within a few miles of the spot where they subsequently built their fort and broke the first ground for farming, their progress was barred by a band of Indians, who were at first unwilling that they should proceed. Finally they were permitted to do so. First, however, as the story goes, they were required to solemnly swear that if they were allowed to settle in Utah Valley they would not seek to drive the Indians from their lands, nor deprive them of their rights. Dimick B. Huntington, acting as interpreter for the others, in behalf of his brethren took the required oath, with his right hand lifted to heaven.

Arriving at Provo River, they forded it and camped on the south side, near the spot now known as the "old fort field." Farming and building immediately began, and by the middle of May the settlers had built a fort and plowed, fenced and planted with wheat, rye and corn the greater portion of a field of two hundred and twenty-five

* Provo River, once Timpanogas, is said to have been called after a trapper named Provost, believed by some to be the original discoverer of the Great Salt Lake. Others say that Colonel Fremont named it "Proveau" for a valuable horse of his which died there; Proveau being the name of a Frenchman from whom Fremont had purchased the steed.

acres. By this time ten additional families had joined them, and the field was divided into forty lots, and one given to each family. The fort was the usual cluster of log houses surrounded by a stockade. This stockade was fourteen feet high, with a gate at either end. From the centre arose a log bastion, overlooking all, upon which was mounted one or more cannon, for protection against possible Indian assaults. The savages frequently visited the fort, and for several months were as peaceable and friendly as their white neighbors could desire. On the 18th of March the Provo Branch was organized, with John S. Higbee as President, and Isaac Higbee and Dimick B. Huntington as his counselors.

As early as June of this year there began to pass through Utah—or Deseret—parties of gold-hunters en route for California. Everybody remembers or has heard of the “gold-fever” in

“ The days of old,
The days of gold,
The days of '49.”

The discovery of the precious metal in that land had seemingly set on fire the civilized world. Ocean's broad expanse was dotted with sails bearing from every nation under heaven eager souls to the Californian coast. Across the great plains came pouring hundreds of richly laden trains on their way to the new El Dorado. Salt Lake Valley was no longer shunned and avoided. Being directly in the path to the Pacific, both to shorten the route and obtain fresh supplies to enable them to more speedily proceed, it became to many the immediate, and to some the ultimate goal of the journey. The gold-seekers were actuated by but one desire,—to reach the auriferous land beyond the Sierras; the thirst for wealth having absorbed for the time being all other thoughts and emotions. Many who in the east had loaded their wagons with merchandise for the mining camps, impatient at their slow progress, and hearing that other merchants had arrived by sea before them, in order to lighten their loads literally threw away or “sold for a song” the goods they had freighted over a thousand miles. Dry goods, groceries,

provisions, clothing, implements, etc.,—just what were needed by the half-starved, half-clad famine-stricken community in the mountains, —were bartered off to them at almost any sacrifice. Some of the emigrants brought with them choice blooded stock, which, being jaded, they gladly exchanged for the fresh horses and mules of the Mormon settlers. The most primitive outfits sufficed the on-goers, with barely enough provisions to last to their journey's end. Thus, as Heber C. Kimball had declared, at a time, too, when such a thing seemed most improbable, "States goods" were actually sold in Salt Lake City, within a year after the prediction was uttered, cheaper than they could have been purchased in St. Louis or New York.*

Some of these emigrants, on reaching the Mormon settlements, decided to remain and cast in their lot with the Saints. Most of those who thus tarried joined the Church and became Mormons. Others who came later did likewise. The majority of these conversions were genuine. There were some, however, who remained merely long enough to marry a Mormon girl, be cared for by her parents during the winter, then off in the spring for California, forsaking wife and child, and perhaps never again to be heard from. This class were styled "Winter Mormons." Better men who followed in their wake, naturally fell under suspicion till their honor had been fully proven, owing to the misdeeds of these rascals.

* Says the *Frontier Guardian* of those times in the Valley: "When they (the emigrants) saw a few bags and kegs of gold dust brought in by our boys, it made them completely enthusiastic. Pack mules and horses that were worth twenty-five dollars in ordinary times, would readily bring two hundred dollars in the most valuable property at the lowest price. Goods and other property were daily offered at auction in all parts of the city. For a light Yankee wagon, sometimes three or four great heavy ones would be offered in exchange, and a yoke of oxen thrown in at that. Common domestic sheeting sold from five to ten cents per yard by the bolt. The best of spades and shovels for fifty cents each. Vests that cost in St. Louis one dollar and fifty cents each, were sold at Salt Lake City for thirty-seven and one-half cents. Full chests of joiner's tools that would cost one hundred and fifty dollars in the east, were sold in Salt Lake City for twenty-five dollars. Indeed, almost every article, except sugar and coffee, were selling on an average fifty per cent. below wholesale prices in the eastern States."

Though on their guard against such, the Mormons continued to treat with kindness the passing companies, and as a rule were by them respected and esteemed. In their disagreements with each other, the Gentiles would often submit for arbitrament their cases to the Mormon Bishops, acting as magistrates, and generally seemed well satisfied with their decisions. When a Mormon and a Gentile were the parties litigant, and the decision went against the latter, it was of course more difficult for him to believe that he had been fairly dealt by.

Touching these and other matters relating to the Mormons, Lieutenant John W. Gunnison, who, in 1849-50 assisted Captain Howard Stansbury of the U. S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers, in a government survey of the Great Salt Lake and its vicinity, has this to say:*

We found them, in 1849, organized into a state with all the order of legislative, judicial, and executive offices regularly filled, under a constitution eminently republican in sentiment, and tolerant in religion; and though the authority of Congress has not yet sanctioned this form of government, presented and petitioned for, they proceed quietly with all the routine of an organized self-governing people, under the title of a Territory,—being satisfied to abide their time, in accession of strength by numbers, when they may be deemed fit to take a sovereign position; being contented, as long as allowed to enjoy the substance, under the shadow of a name. They lay and collect taxes, raise and equip troops for protection, in full sovereignty, on the soil they helped to conquer first, and subdue to use afterward.

* * * * *

A large branch of the great emigration overland to California passed through the Mormon settlements, which is the best route across the country.

Of the parties organized in the States to cross the plains, there was hardly one that did not break into several fragments, and the division of property caused a great deal of difficulty. Many of these litigants applied to the courts of Deseret for redress of grievances, and there was every appearance of impartiality and strict justice done to all parties. Of course there would be dissatisfaction when the right was declared to belong to the one side alone; and the losers circulated letters far and near, of the oppression of the Mormons. These would sometimes rebel against the equity decisions, and then they were made to feel the full majesty of the civil power. For contempt of court they were most severely fined, and in the end found it a losing game to indulge in vituperation of the court, or make remarks derogatory to the high functionaries.

* Gunnison's "The Mormons," pages 23, 64, 65.

Again, the fields in the valley are imperfectly fenced, and the emigrants' cattle often trespassed upon the crops. For this, a good remuneration was demanded, and the value being so enormously greater than in the States, it looked to the stranger as an imposition and injustice to ask so large a price. A protest would usually be made, the case then taken before the bishop, and the costs be added to the original demand. Such as these were the instances of terrible oppression that have been industriously circulated as unjust acts of heartless Mormons, upon the gold emigration.

But provisions were sold at very reasonable prices, and their many deeds of charity to the sick and broken-down gold-seekers, all speak loudly in their favor, and must eventually redound to their praise. Such kindness, and apparently brotherly good-will among themselves, had its effect in converting more than one to their faith, and the proselytes deserted the search for golden ore, supposing they had found there pearls of greater price.

Says Captain Stansbury :*

The jurisdiction of the "State of Deseret" had been extended over and was vigorously enforced upon all who came within its borders, and justice was equitably administered alike to "saint" and "gentile"—as they term all who are not of their persuasion. Of the truth of this, as far at least as the gentiles were concerned, I soon had convincing proof, by finding, one fine morning, some twenty of our mules safely secured in the public pound, for trespass upon the cornfield of some pious saint; possession was recovered only by paying the fine imposed by the magistrate and amply remunerating the owner for the damage done to his crops. Their courts were constantly appealed to by companies of passing emigrants, who, having fallen out by the way, could not agree upon the division of their property. The decisions were remarkable for fairness and impartiality, and if not submitted to, were sternly enforced by the whole power of the community. Appeals for protection from oppression, by those passing through their midst, were not made in vain; and I know of at least one instance in which the marshal of the State was despatched, with an adequate force, nearly two hundred miles into the western desert, in pursuit of some miscreants who had stolen off with nearly the whole outfit of a party of emigrants. He pursued and brought them back to the city, and the plundered property was restored to its rightful owner.

In their dealings, with the crowds of emigrants that passed through their city, the Mormons were ever fair and upright, taking no advantage of the necessitous conditions of many, if not most of them. They sold them such provisions as they could spare, at moderate prices, and such as they themselves paid in their dealings with each other. In the whole of our intercourse with them, which lasted rather more than a year, I cannot refer to a single instance of fraud or extortion to which any of the party was subjected; and I strongly incline to the opinion that the charges that have been preferred against them in this respect, arose either from interested misrepresentation or erroneous information. I certainly never experienced anything like it in my own case, nor did I witness or hear of any instance of it in the case of others, while I resided among them. Too many that

* "Stansbury's Expedition," pages 130, 131, 134, 135.

passed through their settlements were disposed to disregard their claim to the land they occupied, to ridicule the municipal regulations of their city, and to trespass wantonly upon their rights. Such offenders were promptly arrested by the authorities, made to pay a severe fine, and in some instances were imprisoned or made to labor on the public works; a punishment richly merited, and which would have been inflicted upon them in any civilized community. In short, these people presented the appearance of a quiet, orderly, industrious, and well-organized society, as much so as one would meet with in any city of the Union, having the rights of personal property as perfectly defined and as religiously respected as with ourselves; nothing being farther from their faith or practice than the spirit of *communism*, which has been most erroneously supposed to prevail among them. The main peculiarity of the people consists in their religious tenets, the form and extent of their church government, (which is a theocracy,) and in the nature especially of their domestic relations.

In the light of such testimony, from men who surveyed the situation for themselves, and recorded *in extenso*, after a year's sojourn among the Saints, their observations and impressions concerning them, how manifestly unjust is the following statement in a popular school history of the present period, from which Mormon and Gentile children in Utah and elsewhere are being taught the story of the past: "The Mormon rulers did all they could to interfere with the passage of emigrant trains, and with settlements in the neighborhood; they even made use of the Indians, and encouraged them to attack emigrants!"*

What "settlements in the neighborhood" there were, to be thus interfered with by the Mormon rulers, except the settlements of the Saints themselves, the sagacious writer of the history does not say. Plainly he knew little or nothing about the subject of which he was writing. How the Mormon leaders "interfered with the emigrants" who passed through their country is further shown by the following extract from a discourse delivered by President Young during that period. Said this "Mormon ruler" to the assembled Saints: "Let no man go hungry from your doors. Divide with them and trust in God for more. * * * Emigrants, don't let your spirits be worn down; and shame be to the door where a man has to go

* Scudder's History of the United States, page 353.

hungry away." Similar passages might be multiplied were it needful.

The General Assembly of Deseret held its first session on July 2nd, 1849, at Salt Lake City. As stated, it had been decided in March to petition Congress for the organization of a Territorial government for the settlers of the Great Basin. In fact, a memorial to that effect had since been numerously signed and sent to Washington. Dr. John M. Bernhisel was the bearer of this document to the nation's capital. He carried with him a letter of introduction to Senator Stephen A. Douglas, from Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball and Willard Richards.

The memorial, after reciting in its preamble that the petitioners were residents of that portion of North America "commonly called Eastern California," and that they were so far removed and effectually separated from all civilized society and organized government, by trackless deserts, snowy mountains and blood-thirsty savages, that they could never be united with any other portion of the country in Territorial or State Legislature to mutual advantage, closed as follows :

"Therefore, we respectfully petition your honorable body to charter for your memorialists a Territorial Government of the most liberal construction authorized by our excellent Federal Constitution, with the least possible delay, to be known by the name of Deseret; including and covering all lands and waters, with all privileges, immunities and advantages thereunto belonging, lying between Oregon and Mexico, and between the Sierra Nevada and the 27° W. L., or more particularly bounded and described as follows, to wit: Commencing at the Rio Grande del Norte, at its crossing of the 32° N. L., (or the northern line of Mexico) to the Pacific Ocean; thence along the coast northward to the 42° W. L., thence on said 42° to the Sierra Nevada, thence continuing along the summit of the Sierra Nevada, or Snowy Mountains, to the 42° N. L., thence running east by the southern boundary of Oregon to Green River; thence northerly up the main channel of Green River to the 43° N. L.;

thence east on said degree to the 27° longitude west of Washington; thence south along said degree to 38° N. L.; thence west on said degree to the Rio Grande del Norte; thence southerly down the main channel of said river, to the place of beginning.

“And your memorialists will ever pray.”

It was now resolved, however, to go a step further, and ask Congress to admit Deseret into the Union as a State. Accordingly a new memorial, praying for statehood, having been prepared and adopted by the Legislature, was signed by many citizens. Early in July, by a joint vote of the Assembly, Almon W. Babbitt was elected a delegate to Congress to convey the memorial to Washington. He also took with him a copy of the Constitution of the proposed State, which Congress was requested to ratify.

The full text of the memorial was as follows:

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives, in Congress assembled:

Your memorialists, members of the General Assembly of the State of Deseret, would respectfully lay before your honorable body the wishes and interests of our constituents, together with the reasons and design of our early organization as a civil government, to which the consideration of your honorable body is most earnestly solicited.

Whereas, The history of all ages proves that civil governments, combining in their administration the protection of person, property, character, and religion, encouraging the science of agriculture, manufactures, and literature, are productive of the highest, happiest and purest state of society; and

Whereas, All political power is inherent in the people, and governments to be permanent and satisfactory, should emanate from the same; and

Whereas, The inhabitants of all newly settled countries and territories, who have become acquainted with their climate, cultivated their soil, tested their mineral productions and investigated their commercial advantages, are the best judges of the kinds of government and laws necessary for their growth and prosperity; and

Whereas, Congress has failed to provide, by law, a form of civil government for this or any other portion of territory ceded to the United States by the republic of Mexico in the late treaty of peace; and

Whereas, Since the expiration of the Mexican civil authority, however weak and imbecile, anarchy to an alarming extent has prevailed—the revolver and bowie knife have been the highest law of the land—the strong have prevailed against the weak—while person, property, character and religion have been unaided, and virtue unprotected; and

Whereas, From the discovery of the valuable gold mines west of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, many thousands of able-bodied men are emigrating to that section, armed with all the implements and munitions of war; and

Whereas, Strong fears have been, and still are entertained from the failure of Congress to provide legal civil authorities, that political aspirants may subject the government of the United States to the sacrifice of much blood and treasure in extending jurisdiction over that valuable country ; and

Whereas, The inhabitants of the State of Deseret, in view of their own security, and for the preservation of the constitutional right of the United States to hold jurisdiction there, have organized a provisional State government under which the civil policy of the nation is duly maintained ; and

Whereas, There are so many natural barriers to prevent communication with any other State or Territory belonging to the United States, during a great portion of the year, such as snow-capped mountains, sandy deserts, sedge plains, saleratus lakes and swamps, over which it is very difficult to effect a passage ; and

Whereas, It is important in meting out the boundaries of the States and Territories so to establish them that the heads of departments may be able to communicate with all branches of their goverement with the least possible delay ; and

Whereas, There are comparatively no navigable rivers, lakes, or other natural channels of commerce ; and

Whereas, No valuable mines of gold, silver, iron, copper or lead have as yet been discovered within the boundaries of this State, commerce must necessarily be limited to a few branches of trade and manufacture ; and

Whereas, The laws of all States and Territories should be adapted to their geographical location, protecting and regulating those branches of trade only which the country is capable of sustaining ; thereby relieving the government from the expense of those complicated and voluminous statutes which a more commercial State requires ; and

Whereas, There is now a sufficient number of individuals residing within the State of Deseret to support a State government, thereby relieving the general government from the expense of a Territorial government in that section ; and in evidence of which the inhabitants have already erected a legislative hall, equal to most and surpassed by few in the older States,—

Your memorialists, therefore, ask your honorable body to favorably consider their interests ; and, consistent with the institution and usages of the Federal government, that the constitution accompanying this memorial be ratified, and that the State of Deseret be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with other States, or such other form of civil government as your wisdom and magnanimity may award to the people of Deseret. And, upon the adoption of any form of government here, that their delegates be received and their interests properly and faithfully represented in the Congress of the United States. And your memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

A little later another plan was proposed, to secure the admission into the Union of Deseret and California as one State, with the understanding that they were subsequently to separate and form two distinct commonwealths. The following letter from Governor Young, Lieutenant-Governor Kimball and Secretary Richards, to Amasa

M. Lyman, who was then in California, will fully explain this project:

GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, September 6th, 1849.

Brother Amasa Lyman:

DEAR SIR—On the 20th of August, General Wilson arrived here, on his way to California, as general Indian agent, etc. We had an interview with him, and gathered from him the following particulars: that the President and council of the United States are friendly disposed towards us, and that he (General Wilson) is commissioned by General Taylor to inform us that he fully appreciates our situation, that he considers we have been unjustly dealt with, and that so far as his power constitutionally extends, he will do us all the good he can.

The main point of the matter, however, is this: the President has his ends to subserve, and as he knows that we have been favorable to his election, he wishes further to appeal to our patriotism (so says General Wilson) to help him to carry out another measure, which will deliver him, the cabinet and the nation from a difficulty in which he thinks they are likely to be involved.

The subject of slavery has become more embarrassing than it ever has been before. The addition of the extensive territories of New Mexico and Upper California increases that difficulty. The gold emigration, etc., have tended to fan the flame. This subject will be the first, probably, broached in Congress, and if some active measures are not adopted, they fear it will be the last and only question. If it should be made into Territories, it will be under the direction of the United States, and the question of slavery will distract and annoy all parties, and General Wilson says they fear will have a tendency to break up the Union.

To prevent this, they have proposed a plan of making the whole territory into one State, leaving it to the power of the people to say whether it shall be a slave or a free State, and thus taking the bone from the Congress of the United States, and leaving them to pursue their course, 'peaceably, if they can,' undisturbed by this exciting question. They think it ought to be made into two States, but that the sparseness of the population at the present time would preclude the possibility of an act of that kind passing.

The cabinet think that all parties would agree to a measure of this kind if it should become a free State, and even General Wilson, the President, and other slaveholders are anxious that it should take this turn and are willing to make a sacrifice for the public good. He supposes that even the Southern members would go in for it, but without our help they think it could not be accomplished. They think that there would be a strong Southern influence used on the coast, calculated to place the matter in an embarrassing situation to them and the eastern population on the coast combined, but that by our influence we should be enabled to counterbalance that of the slaveholders, and thus settle the troublesome question. It is therefore their policy to seek our influence, and we need not add it is our policy to use theirs.

In our communications with General Wilson, we at first rejected altogether the idea of any amalgamation whatever with the government on the coast, but on the subject being presented in another form, we have agreed to the following:

We are to have a general constitution for two States. The boundaries of the one mentioned by us, before referred to, is our State, the other boundaries to be defined by the people on the coast, to be agreed upon in a general convention; the two States to be consolidated in one and named as the convention shall think proper, but to be dissolved at the commencement of the year 1851, each one having its own constitution, and each becoming a free, sovereign, independent State, without any further action of Congress.

You will act as our delegate, in conjunction with General Wilson. Brother Pickett is also a delegate.

* * * * *

We need not say that it will be advisable for you to get Samuel Brannan, with the press, and all the influence you can collect around you to carry out your designs.

Should the convention object to sanction the few propositions that we have made, you can bring your influence to bear against them, and enter a protest against any amalgamation on any other terms. And it would be advisable for you to sign a remonstrance against their incorporating any of this country, and send it to Washington, directed to John M. Bernhisel and Almon W. Babbitt, Esquires.

The present is a favorable moment for us to secure a State charter. Should the Wilmot proviso, or slave question, by any means, become settled before our admission into the Union, politicians might feel themselves more independent, and our interests might not lie so near their hearts.

Our minus population is the only serious objection to our admission into the Union, independent of western California, but notwithstanding this, we shall continue to press our suit at Washington for independence, hoping to obtain the same before the joint petition from your western convention arrives there. Should such an event occur, it can do neither party any harm, for the west will then come in alone.

* * * * *

Much has been, may be, and will be said concerning the comparative population of this valley and Western California, but what were they, previous to the opening of the gold mines? and what are they now, independent of gold diggers?

According to the best information we have been able to obtain, we outnumber them two to one, or five to three, and yet politicians will pretend that we are not more in number than one to five, or six, or ten of those on the coast.

Fabulous as this pretension is you will have to meet it, and must stave off foreigners and transient miners as best you can, in making up the computation of joint ballot for a convention. Probably nine-tenths of the squatters of Western California have no legal or just claim to vote with the actual settlers of this valley.

There has been a great influx here this season, and a multitude of the brethren are still on the way, probably about the Pass, where our teams have gone to meet them; and you may safely compute our strength in numbers at 15,000, and if there is not more than 75,000 here before the 1st of January, 1851, it will be because they cannot get here.

* * * * *

Don't get too much in a constitution, lest it tie your own hands. This has been the grand difficulty with almost all constitution makers. The grand desideratum of a constitution is to be unalterable by the power that granted it, *i. e.*, perpetual, and that the people under that constitution can alter or amend the same at their election. But in case

of a consolidated State, the constitution must *bona fide* remain unalterable during the consolidation. These are the great essentials and will do well, if there is not too much of other things. But even the Wilmot proviso, and many other things may be admitted, if necessity require, for they will find their remedy in future amendments.

BRIGHAM YOUNG,
HEBER C. KIMBALL,
WILLARD RICHARDS.

Nothing resulted from this movement; for though the citizens of Deseret were willing to amalgamate according to the suggestion of President Taylor, the people of California were not willing, and so the matter ended.

July 24th, 1849, the Mormon people celebrated in grand style and for the first time Pioneer Day; it being the second anniversary of their advent into the Great Basin. Martial music and the firing of cannon awoke the inhabitants of "the Valley" at an early hour. A large, new national flag, sixty-five feet long, the materials for which had been procured from the east and put together by Mormon women, was unfurled to the breeze from the truck of a lofty liberty pole, and saluted with six guns and spirited patriotic airs. At 8 a. m. the multitude assembled at the Bowery,—a building of brush and timber one hundred feet long by sixty feet wide, enlarged for the occasion by a vast awning,—and awaited the arrival of Governor Young and the grand procession. It started at nine o'clock from his residence under the direction of Lorenzo Snow, Jedediah M. Grant and Franklin D. Richards. The pageant was as follows:

"(1) Horace S. Eldredge, marshal, on horseback, in military uniform; (2) brass band; (3) twelve bishops bearing the banners of their wards; (4) seventy-four young men dressed in white, with white scarfs on their right shoulders, and coronets on their heads, each carrying in his right hand a copy of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, and each carrying a sheathed sword in his left hand; one of them carrying a beautiful banner, inscribed on it, 'The Zion of the Lord;' (5) twenty-four young ladies, dressed in white, with white scarfs on their right shoulders, and wreathes of white roses on their heads,

each carrying a copy of the Bible and Book of Mormon, and one carrying a very neat banner, inscribed with 'Hail to our Captain;' (6) Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, Parley P. Pratt, Charles C. Rich, John Taylor, Daniel Spencer, D. Fullmer, Willard Snow, Erastus Snow; (7) twelve Bishops, carrying flags of their wards; (8) twenty-four Silver Greys, led by Isaac Morley, Patriarch, each having a staff, painted red at the upper part, and a bunch of white ribbon fastened at the top, one of them carrying the Stars and Stripes, bearing the inscription, 'Liberty and Truth.'

At the Bowery and along the way the Governor and his escort were greeted with shouts, songs, martial music and the roar of musketry and artillery. Jedediah M. Grant was master of ceremonies. He called the assembly to order and Erastus Snow offered prayer. The report of the ensuing exercises says:

"Richard Ballantyne, one of the twenty-four young men, came to the stand, and, in a neat speech, presented the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States to President Young, which was received with three shouts, 'May it live forever,' led by the President.

"The Declaration of Independence was then read by Mr Erastus Snow, the band following in a lively air.

"The clerk then read 'The Mountain Standard,' composed by Parley P. Pratt:

" 'Lo, the Gentile chain is broken,
Freedom's banner waves on high.'

"After the above had been sung by the twenty-four young men and young ladies, Mr. Phineas Richards came forward in behalf of the twenty-four aged sires in Israel, and read their congratulatory address on the anniversary of the day. At the conclusion of the reading, the assembly rose and shouted three times, 'Hosanna! hosanna! hosanna! to God and the Lamb, forever and ever, Amen,' while the banners were waved by the Bishops. The band next played a lively air, and the clerk then rose and read an 'Ode on Liberty.'

"The ode was then sung by the twenty-four Silver Greys, to the tune of 'Bruce's Address to his army.'"

A feast had been prepared, and several thousand people now sat down to it. Among the guests were hundreds of emigrants who were passing through to California, and three-score Indians.

The Mormons have been criticized—hypercritically they think—for celebrating thus grandly their glorious 24th, and letting July 4th, of that year, pass by without public commemoration. The truth is their intent was to blend the two days in one, a fact virtually proven by the patriotic character of the proceedings. Orson Hyde, in the *Frontier Guardian*, gave another reason for the amalgamation. Said he: "They had little or no bread, or flour to make cakes, etc., and not wishing to celebrate on empty stomachs, they postponed it until their harvest came in." A moment's reflection will show that this reason is a cogent one. Since the spring of 1848 the community had been living on rations, in a half-starved condition. But the harvest of 1849 was abundant, and for several years thereafter the cry of famine was unheard in the land.

The Bowery in which the celebration took place stood near the south-east corner of Temple Block. It was used for religious worship, and public gatherings in general, until other buildings more suitable supplied its place. It was then converted into a theatre, the original temple of the drama in Utah, where performances were given by the Musical and Dramatic Company and its successor the Deseret Dramatic Association, both of which sprang into existence about the year 1851. This building was the celebrated "Old Bowery," referred to in a former chapter.

It was on the 28th of August, 1849, a little over a month after the pioneer celebration, that Captain Howard Stansbury arrived at Salt Lake City at the head of an expedition having as its object an exploration and survey of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake. Captain Stansbury, as stated, was accompanied by Lieutenant J. W. Gunnison, like himself a member of the topographical corps of the U. S. Army; also by Lieutenant G. W. Howland, of the mounted rifles. These,

with fifteen others, comprised the surveying party. A few emigrants for California had traveled with them from the frontier. Rumors of the coming of the expedition, but not of its real purpose, had previously reached the Valley, and considerable anxiety was felt and much speculation indulged in by the Mormon people as to the design of the Government in sending it. The impression prevailed that the object was to survey and take possession of the lands upon which the Saints had settled, with a view to breaking up and destroying their colony. This fear had been enhanced by the arrival in the Valley a few days before, of General Wilson, the newly-appointed Indian Agent for California, previously named in the political letter of the Mormon leaders to their confrere Amasa M. Lyman. One of Wilson's men had boasted that the General held authority from the President of the United States—Zachary Taylor—to drive the Mormons from their lands, and that he would do so if he thought proper. Evidently General Wilson did not think it proper, or his boastful attache spoke, as officious underlings often will, without authority; for nothing came of it. It was supposed, however, until Stansbury explained, that his coming was in some way connected with the malicious boast of General Wilson's subordinate.

This fact, which was known to the Captain, should have made clear to him, though it does not seem to have done so, why he met at Captain Brown's settlement on the Weber, by which he passed on his way to Salt Lake City, what he complains of as an ungracious and inhospitable reception, "strongly contrasted," says he, "with the frank and generous hospitality we ever received at the hands of the whole Mormon community." Captain Brown's record for generosity, save perhaps where he dealt with those whom he deemed his people's enemies, pursuing them into the wilderness to again deprive them of their possessions, was second to none in the community. His liberality to the poor around him during the famine—a proverb to this day in Weber County—sufficiently attests this fact.

Stansbury states that before reaching Salt Lake City he had heard of the uneasiness felt by the Mormon community over his

coming, and had been told that they would not permit a survey of the lake to be made, and that his life would scarcely be safe if he attempted it. "Giving not the least credence to these insinuations," says he, "I at once called upon Brigham Young, the president of the Mormon church and the governor of the commonwealth, stated to him what I had heard, explained to him the views of the Government in directing an exploration and survey of the lake, assuring him that these were the sole objects of the expedition. He replied that he did not hesitate to say that both he and the people over whom he presided had been very much disturbed and surprised that the Government should send out a party into their country, so soon after they had made their settlement. * * * The impression was that a survey was to be made of their country in the same manner that other public lands are surveyed, for the purpose of dividing it into townships and sections, and of thus establishing and recording the claims of the Government to it, and thereby anticipating any claim the Mormons might set up from their previous occupation.† * * So soon, however, as the true object of the expedition was fully understood, the president laid the

† Regarding the land titles of the Mormons, Lieutenant Gunnison says: "They issue a right of occupancy from the State Registrar's Office. This is contingent on the grant of the general government, of course, and forms one of the subjects upon which they may come into collision with the supreme authority. They will not, without protest, buy the land, and hope that grants will be made to actual settlers or the State, sufficient to cover their improvements. If not, the State will be obliged to buy and then confer the titles already given."

The noted traveler and writer, Richard F. Burton, ten years later wrote upon the same subject as follows: "The Mormons have another complaint touching the tenure of their land. The United States have determined that the Indian title has not been extinguished. The Saints declare that no tribe of aborigines could prove a claim to the country, otherwise they were ready to purchase it in perpetuity by pay, presents and provisions, besides establishing the usual reservations. Moreover the Federal Government has departed from the usual course. The law directs that the land, when set off into townships, six miles square with subdivisions, must be sold at auction to the highest bidder. The Mormons represent that although a survey of considerable tracts has been completed by a Federal official, they are left to be mere squatters that can be ejected like an Irish tenantry."

subject matter before the council called for the purpose, and I was informed, as the result of their deliberations, that the authorities were much pleased that the exploration was to be made; that they had themselves contemplated something of the kind, but did not yet feel able to incur the expense; but that any assistance they could render to facilitate our operations, would be most cheerfully furnished to the extent of their ability. This pledge, thus heartily given, was as faithfully redeemed."

Captain Stansbury was assisted, in his survey of Great Salt Lake, by Albert Carrington, a prominent Mormon, afterwards an Apostle of the Church. Mr. Carrington was a college graduate, well qualified to assist in this scientific labor. Stansbury's party also surveyed Utah Lake and its vicinity, and explored a new route from Salt Lake Valley to Fort Hall. As stated, they remained a whole year in this region, spending the winter of 1849-50 in Salt Lake City.

Still poured in from the frontier the Mormon emigration from the States and from Europe. The first company to arrive in the fall of 1849 was Captain Orson Spencer's. It had sailed from Liverpool in January, and reached Kanesville in May. This company had suffered severely from cholera while ascending the Missouri River. It arrived in Salt Lake Valley in the latter part of September. Orson Spencer had not before been to the mountains, having had charge of the British Mission since January, 1847. That mission, at this period, contained nearly thirty thousand Mormon converts, about ten thousand having joined the Church during the past fifteen months. Three companies following Captain Spencer's, not only suffered much from cholera on the Missouri,* but nearly perished in a fearful snow-storm at South Pass early in October. Seventy of their cattle were frozen, but no human lives were lost. These companies were

* Captain Dan Jones' company lost sixty lives from cholera that season, between St. Louis and Kanesville. It was such fatalities as this that caused the Mormon leaders to contemplate about this time a change in the route of their European emigration. Instead of ascending the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, it was proposed that the companies cross the Isthmus of Panama and land at San Diego, California, thence going overland to Utah.



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commanded by George A. Smith, in general charge of the Church emigration that season. Some weeks later a small party of travelers left their wagons in the snow forty miles east of Salt Lake City, and pushed on to the valley, arriving there in a destitute condition.

A movement was now set afoot by the Mormon leaders for the benefit of the poor among their proselytes in the Eastern States and in foreign lands. Hitherto the Church emigration had consisted almost entirely of persons able to pay their own way over sea and land to their new gathering place. There were many, however, too poor to pay, and who had no friends to pay for them. Some of these were scattered through Iowa, Missouri, and up and down the frontier, while others were to be found among the thirty thousand Saints in the British Isles.

Thus far those who had emigrated from Great Britain, as well as many yet to come from that land, were mostly of the class of whom Charles Dickens, some years later, on visiting a Mormon emigrant ship in the Thames, wrote: "I should have said they were in their degree the pick and flower of England." Dickens meant by this, not only that they were handsome and healthy, but measurably thrifty and prosperous. They were made up of the material generally composing the Mormon emigrant companies, namely: farmers, laborers, mechanics and tradespeople, with a liberal sprinkling of artists, musicians, writers and other professionals, representing the lower and middle classes. But there were many British proselytes who, having little or nothing of this world's wealth, were utterly unable to pay their passage across the Atlantic. It was for the benefit of such that the Mormon leaders, in the fall of 1849, established the since famous Perpetual Emigrating Fund, to which so many in this land owe their deliverance from a state bordering upon pauperism, and their subsequent rise in the financial and social scale.

Those aided by this fund were expected to reimburse it,—paying back into its treasury, as soon as they were able, the amounts expended in their behalf; to be used for the benefit of other poor





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emigrants. Thus was the fund made "perpetual." Many promises to pay failed to materialize, some from sheer poverty, and others from indifference and neglect. But the vast majority of those who were aided duly discharged their obligations. Five thousand dollars were subscribed to the Fund at its inception in October, 1849, and Bishop Edward Hunter was forthwith sent to the frontier to put in operation its provisions, and superintend the next season's emigration.

The same fall many Mormon Elders were sent to various parts of the world,—mostly to Europe. As these were the first missionaries to go from the Rocky Mountains, the names of all became more or less historic. Among them were John Taylor, Curtis E. Bolton and John Pack, who went to France; Erastus Snow and P. O. Hansen to Denmark, John E. Forsgren to Sweden, Lorenzo Snow and Joseph Toronto to Italy, Franklin D. Richards, Joseph W. Johnson, Joseph W. Young, Job Smith, Haden W. Church, George B. Wallace and John S. Higbee to Great Britain, Charles C. Rich and Francis M. Pomeroy to Lower California, and Addison Pratt and James Brown to the Society Islands. Addison Pratt had but recently returned from a five years' mission to those islands, where twelve hundred souls had been baptized. Accompanying Apostle Rich, a party of Elders went to the California gold mines.

It may here be noted that during the prevalence of the "gold fever" it required the exercise of all the influence that the Mormon leaders could command to prevent a rush of many of their people to the gold-diggings. Brigham Young feared that if the Church became generally infected with this spirit, it would materially retard if not put an end to the colonization of the Great Basin, as well as corrupt the morals of the community. He pleaded with his people accordingly, and prevailed. Some of them went to California, never to return, but the vast majority "listened to counsel" and remained in the Rocky Mountains. These were the men and women who made Utah. The others helped to build up California. It must not be inferred, however, that the Elders who went with Apostle Rich to

the mines did so contrary to the President's advice. Their mining was for the benefit of the Church. Some of them were soon called to leave their gold-digging and go upon a mission to the Sandwich Islands.

Brigham Young, in spite of all that has been said upon the subject, never opposed mining for its own sake, but because he foresaw the demoralizing effect that a general thirst for gold would have upon the Mormon community. This was not only the case in 1849, but in later years. It constituted the main reason for his attitude against what he deemed the premature opening of the Utah mines.*

Among those who accompanied General Rich to California were James Flake, who was captain of the company, George Q. Cannon, Henry E. Gibson, Joseph Cain, Thomas Whittle, Henry E. Phelps, Joseph H. Rollins, Peter Fife, Peter Hoagland, William Farrer, John Dixon, Edgar Gibson, George Bankhead and William Lay. This was the first party to go to California by the southern route. They had a severe experience, but finally crossed the Sierras in safety. Major Jefferson Hunt, of the Mormon Battalion, also went west by this route about the same time, but acted as guide to a company of emigrants. The Elders called to the Sandwich Islands were Hiram Clark, George Q. Cannon, Henry W. Bigler, Hiram Blackwell, Thomas Whittle, Thomas Morris, John Dixon, James Hawkins, William Farrer and James Keeler. Some of these had preceded the Rich company to California.

A Carrying Company, to freight goods from the Missouri River and convey passengers to the gold regions, was organized at Salt Lake City toward the close of 1849. The projectors and proprietors of this enterprise were Shadrach Roundy, Jediah M. Grant, John S. Fullmer, George D. Grant and Russell Homer. The through rate for

* The General Epistle of the First Presidency and Apostles in the fall of 1849 contained this: "The true use of gold is for paving streets, covering houses, and making culinary dishes, and when the Saints shall have preached the gospel, raised grain and built up cities enough, the Lord will open the way for a supply of gold to the perfect satisfaction of His people. Until then, let them not be over-anxious, for the treasures of the earth are in the Lord's storehouse, and He will open the doors thereof when and where He pleases."

passengers to Sutter's Fort was \$300; while goods were carried at the rate of \$250 per ton. In either case two-thirds of the money was payable in advance, and the remainder on reaching Salt Lake City.

In November of this year Sanpete Valley was settled by a company from Salt Lake City, led by Isaac Morley, Charles Shumway and Seth Taft. Phinehas Richards was also one of the company. They formed a settlement near the present site of Manti, the location of which town was selected some time later. Manti is a name taken from the Book of Mormon. Sanpete is a variation of Sanpitch, a noted Indian chief of the Utah nation.

The first steps toward the settling of Tooele Valley were taken about the same time, though not, as in the case of Sanpete, by an organized company. John Rowberry is popularly regarded as the pioneer of Tooele County, and his name will always be the most prominent one in the early history of that locality. He went there from Salt Lake Valley in December, 1849, his object being the same as that which had taken Captain Sessions and others into Davis County two years before, namely: to find grazing lands for stock. Mr. Rowberry had charge of a herd belonging to Ezra T. Benson. Several weeks before him, however, a party of men, also in the employ of Apostle Benson, arrived on Settlement Creek, a little south of where Tooele City now stands. One of these men was Phinehas R. Wright, a mill-wright. Their purpose was to build a mill near the mouth of Settlement Creek Canyon.* It was there that John Rowberry joined them. Tooele Valley was named after the Tule, a variety of bulrush abounding in that locality. Mis-spelled Tooele by Thomas Bullock, the pioneer clerk, in a public document of that period, the orthography has since remained unchanged. Tule is a word from the Mexican.

* Francis H. Lougy, of Tooele, who was but a little boy when he went there in 1849 with his step-father Phinehas R. Wright, states that five families went together immediately on the adjournment of the October Conference. The names of the heads of these families he gives as follows: Phinehas R. Wright, Cyrus Call, Cyrus Tolman, Sam Mecham, Orson Brafett and the mother of Eli B. Kelsey. Mrs. Kelsey had no family with her at the time.

CHAPTER XXII.

1849-1851.

SALT LAKE, WEBER, UTAH, SANPETE, JUAB AND TOOELE COUNTIES CREATED—PARLEY P. PRATT EXPLORES SOUTHERN UTAH—THE FIRST INDIAN WAR—A SKIRMISH AT BATTLE CREEK—THE TWO DAYS' FIGHT AT PROVO—TABLE MOUNTAIN—A TREATY OF PEACE—THE PIONEER NEWSPAPER OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS—DEATH OF PRESIDING BISHOP WHITNEY—THE FIRST P. E. FUND IMMIGRATION—GEORGE A. SMITH PIONEERS IRON COUNTY—EDUCATIONAL BEGINNINGS—THE UNIVERSITY OF DESERET—THE CITIES OF SALT LAKE, OGDEN, PROVO, MANTI AND PAROWAN RECEIVE THEIR CHARTERS—THE FIRST MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT IN THE GREAT BASIN.

THE General Assembly of Deseret convened again in December, 1849, and held brief sessions at intervals through the winter.

It created the counties of Salt Lake, Weber, Utah, Sanpete, Juab and Tooele. Juab County at that time was unsettled. The Assembly appointed a Supreme Court to hold annual sessions at Salt Lake City, chartered the University of Deseret, and enacted other laws to which reference will be made later. It also commissioned Parley P. Pratt to raise a company of fifty men, with the necessary teams and equipment, and explore southern Utah.*

The personnel of this expedition was as follows:

FIRST TEN.

Isaac C. Haight, Captain,	Chauncey West,	George B. Mabson,
Parley P. Pratt,	Dan. Jones,	Samuel Gould,
William Wadsworth,	Hial K. Gay,	Wm. P. Vance.
Rufus Allen,		

* Parley had previously explored the canyon now called by his name; also Parley's Park, to which it leads. It was due to his personal exertions that Parley's Canyon was opened as a route for emigration soon after his return from the south. It was then called the "Golden Pass."

SECOND TEN.

Joseph Matthews, Captain,	Homer Duncan,	John H. Bankhead,
John Brown,	Wm. Matthews,	John D. Holiday,
Nathan Tanner,	Schuyler Jennings,	Robert M. Smith.
Starling G. Driggs,		

THIRD TEN.

Joseph Horne, Captain,	Alexander Wright,	Seth B. Tanner,
Wm. Brown,	James Farrer,	Alexander Lemon,
George Nebeker,	Henry Heath,	David Fullmer.
Benjamin F. Stewart,		

FOURTH TEN.

Ephraim Green, Captain,	Andrew Blodgett,	Thomas Ricks,
Wm. W. Phelps,	Wm. Henry,	Robert Campbell,
Charles Hopkins,	Peter Dustin,	Isaac H. Brown.
Sidney Willis,		

FIFTH TEN.

Joseph Arnold, Captain,	Stephen Taylor,	John C. Armstrong,
Jonathan Packer,	Isaac B. Hatch,	Dimick B. Huntington.
Christopher Williams,		

Parley P. Pratt was president of the company and William W. Phelps and David Fullmer were his counselors. John Brown was captain of the fifty, W. W. Phelps, topographical engineer, and Ephraim Green, chief gunner. Besides small arms, one brass field piece went with the expedition, which was equipped with twelve wagons, one carriage, twenty-four yoke of oxen and thirty-eight horses and mules. A few beeves, with flour, meal, bread and crackers supplied the commissariat. The company was organized at Captain Brown's residence on Cottonwood, about the only house then intervening between Salt Lake City and the Provo settlement.

Pratt's expedition penetrated as far south as the confluence of the Santa Clara River and the Rio Virgen, the latter a tributary of the Colorado. Among other places explored was the valley now known as Mountain Meadows, the scene of the horrible tragedy of several years later. They also indicated a place for a settlement in Little Salt Lake Valley, nearly three hundred miles south of Salt

Lake City. There, on a stream called Centre Creek, afterwards sprang up the town of Parowan, the first settlement of Iron County.

Returning northward in January, 1850, half the party, under David Fullmer, went into winter quarters on Chalk Creek, near the present site of Fillmore, in Millard County; while Parley P. Pratt, with the remainder, pushed on toward Provo—Fort Utah—over a hundred miles distant. Parley's record of January 26th relates the following incident: "In the morning we found ourselves so completely buried in snow that no one could distinguish the place where we lay. Some one rising, began shoveling the others out. This being found too tedious a business, I raised my voice like a trumpet, and commanded them to arise; when all at once there was a shaking among the snow piles, the graves were opened, and all came forth. We called this Resurrection Camp."

Aptly named, poetic Parley! Sixty miles farther, through frost and snow, brought them to the Provo settlement, and the beginning of January found President Pratt at home in Salt Lake City. The rear portion of his party returned in March.

Meantime had broken out those Indian troubles which afflicted at intervals for several years the outlying settlements of Utah, particularly those south of Salt Lake Valley. Utah County was the original seat of war, and it was there that some of the hardest fights between the settlers and the savages occurred.

It will be remembered with what reluctance the Timpanogas Indians who met the Higbee colony in March, 1849, permitted the first white settlement on Provo River, and that, too, in spite of the invitation previously extended to the colonists by the chiefs, Sowiette and Walker, to settle among their tribes and teach them how to become civilized. It has also been stated that soon after Fort Utah was founded, Walker, according to Colonel Bridger and Mr. Vasquez, began stirring up the Indians against the Mormon settlers. In this movement Walker was aided by another chief named Elk,—variously styled Big Elk, Old Elk, etc.,—like himself a hater of the whites, and apparently quite as fond of fighting. It was with Big Elk and his

band that the Provo settlers, in their first regular battle with the savages, had immediately to deal.

It was believed by Governor Young that Colonel Bridger and other mountaineers were at the bottom of much of the ill-feeling manifested by the red men, and that they were incited to attack the Mormon settlements. The Governor, however, seemed to have confidence in Mr. Vasquez, who had opened a small store in Salt Lake City, and whose interests to that extent were identified with those of the settlers.

The Indians, at first so friendly with the Utah Valley colonists, began their depredations in that vicinity in the summer or fall of 1849. Grain was stolen from the fields, cattle and horses from the herds, and now and then an arrow from an Indian bow would fall uncomfortably near some settler as he was out gathering fuel in the river bottoms.

The first fight with the Indians took place on Battle Creek, near the site of Pleasant Grove. It occurred in the autumn. There, Colonel John Scott, with thirty or forty men, after a sharp skirmish defeated the savages under Chief Kone—also called Roman Nose—and drove them up Battle Creek Canyon. Five Indians were killed, but none of Colonel Scott's men were hurt. He had been sent south to recover some stolen horses taken from Orr's herd in Utah Valley, and several cattle stolen from Ezra T. Benson's herd in Tooele. Battle Creek derived its name from this initial encounter between the Indians and the Deseret militia.

For some reason the authorities at Salt Lake City did not altogether approve of the conduct of this campaign. No doubt they regretted the necessity for a military expedition against the savages, and deplored the fatalities attending it, not only from humanitarian considerations, but fearing probably that it would precipitate a general war, and unify all the savage bands of the vicinity against the handful of settlers at Fort Utah. "Shed no blood" was a standing general order to the Mormon militia in those days, and the troops were expected to adhere to it wherever possible.

Yet blood had now been shed, and the Indians were doubtless exasperated. This may or may not have been the reason that Colonel Scott was found fault with. That would materially depend upon the nature of the orders he had received from his superiors, and his ability under subsequent circumstances to carry out those orders. It is a fact, however, that the Colonel fell under some censure at the time, and because of it declined to take part in succeeding Indian campaigns.

It is said that the Utah Indians never sought revenge for any of their number killed while stealing or making an attack.* But the Battle Creek skirmish, which was not strictly an affair of that kind, could not but have the effect of straining the relations between the settlers and their savage neighbors, and extinguishing in the hearts of the latter what sparks of friendship yet remained. They continued their petty depredations, and became bolder and more insolent daily. The settlers at Fort Utah would occasionally fire their cannon to warn the redskins that they were not unmindful of their misdeeds, and were prepared to maintain their rights. But the Indians were not to be awed by sound and smoke. Their nefarious practices went on. They were evidently provoking a conflict. Stock continued to be taken from the herds, and all efforts to recover stolen property were stoutly resisted. Finally the Indians began firing on the settlers as they issued from their fort, and at last the stockade was virtually in a state of siege.

No longer was it arrows alone that fell around them. Bullets whizzed past their ears. The Indians were now well supplied with fire-arms and ammunition, obtained in exchange for horses, mostly from California emigrants who had passed through the country.

Captain Stansbury's party, during the fall, had been surveying around Utah Lake, where they also were much annoyed by the savages. As winter came on, they suspended their labors and returned to Salt Lake City, feeling satisfied that in the existing state

* Colonel George A. Smith is authority for this statement.

of affairs in Utah Valley, it would be both difficult and dangerous for them to continue operations in the spring, exposed as they would be to attacks from the savages, either in open field or deadly ambush. The subsequent sad fate of Lieutenant Gunnison and his party on the Sevier showed that these apprehensions were well grounded.

As for the inhabitants of Fort Utah, they patiently bore their annoyances and losses until nearly spring, when affairs became so serious that they felt compelled to appeal for aid to Governor Young and the Legislature, still in session at Salt Lake City. Captain Peter W. Conover, in charge of military affairs at the fort, and Miles Weaver carried the message of their anxious fellow settlers to head-quarters.

Governor Young, on receiving the message, found himself in a somewhat peculiar position. That the beleaguered settlers must be relieved, and at once, was evident; not only for their own sakes, but for that of other settlements already forming or in prospect in the south. But how best to relieve them was the question. The thought of more fighting and bloodshed was most repugnant to him. Not for worlds would the Mormon leader have the sons of Laman think that he and his people came among them for that purpose. "Feed them and not fight them," was his life-long motto and policy toward the red men. Besides, how would the authorities at Washington, by whom the petition of Deseret for statehood was then being considered, regard the opening of a warfare by the Mormons upon these dusky "wards of the Government?" Deem not this a trifling consideration, reader. A people like the Mormons, whose every act, owing to the prejudice existing against them, was liable to be misinterpreted, had to be cautious and circumspect in their public acts and policies, where other communities, whose loyalty and good intents were unquestioned, might have risked all with impunity.

Fortunately there was a government officer on the ground, a brave and honorable man,—Captain Howard Stansbury. It being evident—all conciliatory efforts having failed—that force must be

employed to put an end to the aggressions of the savages, the Captain was asked by Governor Young and other officials for an expression of opinion as to what view the Government would probably take of it. "I did not hesitate to say to them," says Stansbury, "that in my judgment the contemplated expedition against these savage marauders, was a measure not only of good policy, but one of absolute necessity and self-preservation."

He therefore warmly approved it, and not only that, but at Governor Young's request permitted Lieutenant Howland to accompany the expedition as its adjutant, and contributed arms, ammunition, tents and camp equipage for the soldiers. Dr. Blake, of the Stansbury party, acted as surgeon for the expedition.

A company of fifty minute men under Captain George D. Grant started first, and were followed by fifty others, commanded by Major Andrew Lytle. Colonel Scott had been ordered to go, but declined, for which he was afterwards court-martialed. Major Lytle went in his stead.

The expedition set out early in February, 1850. The weather was extremely cold, and the snow, frozen and hard-crusted, was over a foot deep in the valleys. Progress was therefore rendered very difficult. Captain Grant's cavalry, after marching all night, on the morning of the 8th arrived at Provo River. Such a march was deemed necessary in order to take the Indians unaware and secure an advantageous position. The militia found the settlers in their fort on the south side of the stream, and the Indians strongly entrenched in the willows and timber of the river-bottom, a mile or two above. They were protected not only by the river-bank, but by a breast-work of cotton-wood trees which they had felled. Near by their strong-hold stood a double log house facing the river. This house, which at one time became the center of action in the fight that ensued, was immediately opposite the Indian fortification. It had been deserted by one of the settlers who had taken refuge with his family at the fort. The house was now held by the savages who, during the battle, kept up a continuous fire from its windows

and crevices, as well as from their redoubt, upon the attacking party.

Captain Conover, commander at the fort, united his men with Captain Grant's, and the main forces then proceeded to occupy a position near a deserted building about half a mile south-west of the log-house mentioned. The Indians were led by Chiefs Elk and Ope-carry—surnamed "Stick-on-the-Head"—the latter, like Sowiette, rather friendly with the whites, while Elk, as has been stated, was more like the warlike Walker. Ope-carry, it seems, desired peace, and had come out of the redoubt to talk with Dimick B. Huntington, the interpreter, when Elk and his warriors opened fire, and the battle was thus begun.

The engagement lasted two days, during which an almost incessant fusilade was kept up between the white assailants and the dusky defenders of the river redoubt. Artillery was also employed against the savages, but with little effect, as they were right under the bank, and most of the balls passed harmlessly over. A squaw was killed by a chain shot, however, during the progress of the fight. The Indians would make frequent sorties, and after delivering their fire, return to cover. Again, they would thrust their gun barrels through the snow lying deep upon the banks above them, and momentarily raising their heads high enough to take aim, discharge their broad-sides at the besiegers. They fought so stubbornly that all efforts to dislodge them for a time proved futile. They killed Joseph Higbee, son of Isaac Higbee—then President of the settlement—and wounded several others of the attacking force.

Finally, in the afternoon of the second day, Captain Grant, whose care had been to expose his men as little as possible, determined to capture the log-house at all hazards. He therefore ordered Lieutenant William H. Kimball, with fifteen picked men, to charge upon the house and take it. Among those who participated in this charge—the one daring exploit of the campaign—were Robert T. Burton, Lot Smith, James Ferguson, John R. Murdock, Ephraim

K. Hanks, A. J. Pendleton, Orson K. Whitney, Barney Ward, Henry Johnson and Isham Flyn. Kimball and his men proceeded up the river until directly opposed the log-house, which now intervened between them and the stream. They then turned to the left, facing the rear of the house, and the leader gave the word to charge. Dashing forward through a ravine that for some moments hid them from view, the horsemen emerged upon the flat and were within a few rods of the house, in the act of crossing a small slough, when a roaring volley from the log citadel met them. Isham Flynn was wounded and the charge was momentarily checked. Several swept on, however, and the Indians, hastily vacating the house, fled to their entrenchments.* The first two troopers to gain the house were Lot Smith and Robert T. Burton, who, riding around to the front of the building, entered the passage between the two compartments. Bullets whizzed past them, splintering the wood-work all around, but both they and their horses were soon under shelter. Their companions, a moment later, gathered to the rear of the house, and none too soon, for the Indians, recovering from their surprise, began pouring their volleys into the ranks of the cavalry and upon the captured building. Half the horses were instantly killed, and their riders escaped by miracle. Between the volleys, Lieutenant Kimball, Ephraim Hanks and others, darting around the corner of the house, gained the inside, while others waited until an opening had been made in the rear.

To support the cavalry charge, Captain Grant ordered forward a small detachment of infantry. These men, ten in number, were a portion of Captain Conover's command, and were led by Jabez B Nowlin. On reaching the log-house, with saw and ax they effected an entrance at the rear. Some, however, went around the corner into the passage, and were fired upon by the savages; Nowlin being wounded in the nose.

The services of a surgeon were now in demand. Seeing th

* Lieutenant Howland complimented the charge made by Kimball's men in v terms. He said it was as fine as could have been done by regular cavalry.

something was wrong, Captain Grant requested Hiram B. Clawson, General Wells' aide, who had accompanied the expedition, to ride to the house and ascertain what was needed. He did so, performing the hazardous feat successfully, though the bullets sung past him as he rode. His friends at the house, seeing him coming, redoubled their volleys and drew most of the Indian fire in their direction. Returning, Colonel Clawson reported that surgical aid was at once required for the wounded. He and his cousin, Stephen Kinsey, a surgeon, then rode back to the log building. Returning, the two were again fired upon, one bullet just missing Clawson's head and piercing Kinsey's hat. Later, another ball came nigh hitting Clawson and went through Kinsey's trousers. Both, however, escaped unhurt.

Meantime, Lieutenant Howland, with something of the ingenuity of a Cortez, had conceived the idea of a movable battery, to operate against the Indian redoubt. His idea was at once acted upon. A barricade of planks, in the shape of a V, was constructed and placed upon runners, blankets being hung loosely on the inside to stop the force of balls that penetrated the timber. The outside was covered with brush and boughs to conceal the true character of the improvised battery. This pointed barricade, behind which quite a number of men could take shelter and deliver their fire without being much exposed, was pushed toward the Indian stronghold. Like Macbeth, when Birnam wood, or what he took to be that forest, came toward Dunsinane, the Indians were thoroughly alarmed at the approach of this strange object, and divining its purpose made up their minds to retreat. Accordingly, that evening, they opened a furious fire upon the position held by the troops, and under cover of the darkness withdrew. The log-house had previously been vacated by Kimball's men, a circumstance which enabled the Indians to depart unobserved, after helping themselves to a supply of horse-beef from the dead cavalry animals lying near.

General Wells, who had been sent for to take charge of further operations, arrived next morning, but on preparing to attack the

Indians, it was discovered that they had gone. One party, the smaller band, had retreated in the direction of Rock Canyon, a rough and difficult gorge a little north-east of Provo, while the main party had fled southward in the direction of Spanish Fork. A dead squaw—the one killed by a cannon shot—was found in the Indian encampment; also two or three warriors, dead or dying. Elk, the chief, subsequently died of wounds received during the siege. His being wounded had probably disheartened the savages and caused the retreat quite as much as Lieutenant Howland's battery. The Lieutenant had returned to Salt Lake City after the second day's skirmish. Some of the Indians, more friendly than their fellows, had deserted their ranks before the fighting began, taking refuge with the white families in the fort.

Detailing certain men to garrison the stockade, and others to pursue the Rock Canyon refugees, General Wells, with the main body of the cavalry, set out upon the trail of the Indians who had gone southward. At Spanish Fork and Pe-teet-neet—now Payson—short skirmishes occurred, and eventually the Indians were overtaken near Table Mountain, at the south end of Utah Lake. Another battle ensued, and the Indians were practically annihilated. Most of the fighting took place on the ice, which was very slippery, making it extremely difficult for the horses to keep on their feet. The Indians, being shot at, would fall, as if dead, and then, as their pursuers drew near, rise up and fire. They killed several horses in this manner, but none of the cavalymen were hurt.

Night came down, and a bitter night it was. The soldiers were forced to take refuge in the wickiups vacated by the Indians on the bleak mountain side. As these primitive shelters swarmed with vermin, the result may readily be imagined.

On returning to Fort Utah, General Wells found that Major Lytle and Captain Lamereux, joining their forces, had pursued the other band of Indians up Rock Canyon. The fate of these savages was similar to that of their fellows at Table Mountain. The total Indian loss was about forty; more than half the number of warriors

engaged. Efforts were made to civilize the squaws and papooses, who were captured, but as a rule without avail. They lived with the settlers during the winter, but in the spring again sought their native mountains.

A treaty of peace was entered into between the settlers and the Indians, and the latter now agreed to be friendly and molest their white neighbors no more.

In the summer of 1850, Walker, it is said, laid a plan to massacre the people at Fort Utah. It was in revenge for a slight that he imagined he had received from Governor Young. The Ute chief had visited the Mormon leader to obtain his permission to engage in a campaign against the Shoshones, in which Walker wished some of the young men of Provo to join. Governor Young would not listen to such a thing, and again advised the warlike chief to cease fighting and bloodshed. Walker returned to Utah Valley in a rage. Gathering his band, he was about to fall upon the fort, when Sowiette, the white man's friend, again interposed to thwart him. He not only warned the inmates, who flew to arms, but told Walker that he with his band would help defend the fort against him. Walker again gave way, and for several years warred elsewhere, not molesting the Mormon settlements.

The following summer a successful expedition was undertaken by a company of volunteer cavalry under Captain George D. Grant, against the Goshute Indians, a band of renegades who for some time had been stealing stock and committing murders in Tooele Valley and the surrounding region. Their headquarters were in Skull Valley. Captain William McBride with a company of infantry had preceded the cavalry to that point, but finding it impossible to operate successfully against the Indians with his troops, had requested that a force of mounted men be sent to his assistance. The Indian camp was among the Cedar Mountains, on the western edge of a desert, twenty miles wide and very difficult to cross, owing to an utter lack of water. A first effort to surprise and chastise the savages proved futile, as they had learned of the coming of the troops and laughed

and jeered at them from the rocky heights where they were entrenched. A second march of the cavalry across the desert, during the night, when the Indians supposed the pursuit had been abandoned, was completely successful. The savages were surprised in their wickiups just at day-break, and the males almost annihilated. Tons of "jerked beef," manufactured from the stolen cattle of the settlers, were found stored in the Indian stronghold. Among those who participated in this expedition, which gave many years of peace to the western settlements, were George D. Grant, William McBride, William H. Kimball, Robert T. Burton, Nathaniel V. Jones, Rodney Badger, James M. Barlow, John Wakely, Charles Westover and Jesse Turpin.

An important local event of the summer of 1850 was the establishment at Salt Lake City of the pioneer newspaper of the Rocky Mountains. The first number of the *Deseret News*—then a small quarto issued weekly—was published on the 15th of June. Willard Richards was its editor. Among the little force of compositors who set the type for this and subsequent issues of the *News* were Brigham H. Young and Horace K. Whitney, the latter one of the original Utah pioneers. The press—a small wrought-iron Ramage hand-press—stood in the building now occupied by the *Woman's Exponent*, immediately east of the present *News* buildings.* This pioneer press is still in existence, stored away on those premises among other relics of the past.

On the 23rd of September, at his residence in Salt Lake City, died Newel K. Whitney, the Presiding Bishop of the Mormon Church; a man much esteemed for honesty and integrity, and valued also for his superior business ability. He was succeeded in office by Edward Hunter, a man equally worthy and well regarded.

Bishop Hunter, it will be remembered, had been sent to the frontier in the fall of 1849 to put in operation the provisions of the Perpetual Emigrating Fund. The first company brought across the

* The Deseret Mint occupied a portion of the same building.



Reynolds & Co. N.Y.

Mary Jane Dilworth Hammond



plains by this fund arrived in Salt Lake Valley on the 13th of October, 1850.

During that fall the settlements of Springville, Payson, Lehi, American Fork, Pleasant Grove and Alpine, in Utah Valley were formed. In Davis County, besides Sessions' Settlement, Centerville, Farmington and Kaysville now existed; while in Weber the settlements of Lynne, Slaterville, North Ogden, Easton, Harrisville and Mound Fort were either formed or forming. The city of Ogden had been located that summer.

In December of this year George A. Smith raised a company of over a hundred volunteers, accompanied by about thirty families, and started southward to plant a colony in the valley of the Little Salt Lake. This place had been visited by Parley P. Pratt about a year before and reported by him as an eligible spot for the location of a settlement. Smith's company was organized on Peteetneet Creek, in Utah County. It consisted of twenty-five cavalry, thirty-two infantry, and thirteen men with a cannon. There were others who acted as a camp-guard. Arriving on the stream known as Centre Creek, they located the town of Parowan, now in Iron County. As usual with the Mormon colonists,—those who followed the advice of their leaders,—they at once built a fort for protection against hostile Indians. Walker, the Ute chief, was now in that neighborhood, and he at once paid a visit to the Parowan settlers, accompanied by a large band of warriors. "Their visit," says Apostle Smith, "demonstrated that our policy of settling in a fort was the only safe one. It was absolutely necessary for our preservation."

The early settlers of Utah, in the midst of their colonizing labors, found time to establish schools and provide for the education of their young. As early as October, 1847, three months after the advent of the pioneers, a school was taught in the "Old Fort," by Miss Mary Jane Dilworth, aged seventeen. This young lady, who was undoubtedly the pioneer school-teacher of Utah, afterwards became the wife of Hon. F. A. Hammond, now President of the San Juan Stake of Zion. She opened her little school to teach the

children of the pioneers about the last of October, in a small round tent on the west side of the south extension of the old stockade. Pieces of logs were used for seats, and a small camp-table for a desk. In January following, Julian Moses, as soon as he had finished his little log house covered with willows and earth, began teaching a school therein, having benches made of puncheons. Similar schools sprang up in other settlements as fast as they were formed. Our first Sabbath school,—the forerunner of the colossal Deseret Sunday School Union of today—was opened in the Fourteenth Ward, Salt Lake City, in December, 1849. Its founder was Richard Ballantyne, now Superintendent of Sabbath Schools in the Weber Stake of Zion. These were Utah's educational beginnings.

Two months later, on the 28th of February, 1850, the Legislature chartered the University of the State of Deseret, designating Great Salt Lake City as the location of the institution, and vesting its control and conduct in a chancellor and a board of twelve regents, to be elected annually by the joint vote of both branches of the General Assembly. The first Chancellor of the University was Orson Spencer. The original board of regents were: Daniel Spencer, Orson Pratt, John M. Bernhisel, Samuel W. Richards, William W. Phelps, Albert Carrington, William I. Appleby, Daniel H. Wells, Robert L. Campbell, Hosea Stout, Elias Smith and another whose name we have been unable to obtain. David Fullmer was Treasurer, and James Lewis, Secretary. The chancellor, regents and secretary, besides taking the usual oath of office, were each required to give bonds in the sum of \$10,000. The treasurer's bond was \$100,000. At the initial meeting of the board of regents, on March 13th, 1850, three of its members were appointed a committee to act with Governor Young in selecting a site for the University building, as well as locations for primary school buildings. Section 11 of the original charter of the institution provided that \$5,000 be annually appropriated by the Legislature for the support of the University. Another section made it the duty of the Chancellor and board of regents, as soon as the financial condition of the institution

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Julian Moses





would warrant, to establish a free school for the benefit of orphans and other indigent worthy persons.

The University of Deseret, under the title of the "Parent School," was opened for the first time on Monday, November 11th, 1850, in "Mrs. Pack's house, 17th Ward," under the direction and supervision of Chancellor Spencer. Dr Cyrus Collins, A. M., a sojourner in the city, on his way to California, was employed for the time being to take immediate charge of the school. Later, Dr. Collins retiring, Professor Orson Spencer and William W. Phelps, and later still Professor Orson Pratt became the preceptors. Owing to a lack of room the school was at first organized for "young men only," but a separate department for ladies was contemplated. The tuition was eight dollars per quarter; half payable in advance. The second term of the Parent School opened in February, 1851, in the upper room of the Council House, corner of East Temple and South Temple streets. Forty pupils, male and female, were then enrolled, the idea of a separate department for ladies having been abandoned. Subsequently the school was held in the Thirteenth Ward, where the University building was projected. A few years later the Parent School collapsed, the common schools established throughout the city and Territory being deemed sufficient for educational purposes at that time. Until the revival of the University in 1867-69 the common schools, so far as possible, supplied its place.

During January, 1851, the General Assembly of Deseret granted charters to the cities of Salt Lake, Ogden, Provo, Manti and Parowan. The first to be incorporated was Salt Lake City. The event occurred on the 9th of January.

Pending the first election provided for by its charter, the following-named officers for "Great Salt Lake City" were appointed by the Governor and Legislature: Mayor, Jedediah M. Grant; Aldermen, Nathaniel H. Felt, William Snow, Jesse P. Harmon, and Nathaniel V. Jones; Councilors, Vincent Shurtliff, Benjamin L. Clapp, Zera Pulsipher, William G. Perkins, Lewis

Robison, Harrison Burgess, Jeter Clinton, John L. Dunyon, and Samuel W. Richards. Two days later the clerk of Salt Lake County—Thomas Bullock—administered to each the official oath, and the first municipal council that convened in the Great Basin was then duly organized. Its initial act was the appointment of Robert Campbell as City Recorder, Thomas Rhodes as Treasurer, and Elam Luddington as Marshal and Assessor and Collector. The rate of taxation for city purposes was fixed at one-half of one per cent. The city was divided into four municipal wards, according to the number of the Aldermen. At the first election under the charter, in April following, the only changes in the personnel of the city government were the dropping out of two of the original council—Messrs. Clapp and Dunyon—and the substitution of Robert Pierce and Enoch Reese.

The general tenor of the charters granted to the several cities was similar to the following,—the original charter of Great Salt Lake City:

AN ORDINANCE TO INCORPORATE GREAT SALT LAKE CITY.

SEC. 1. Be it ordained by the General Assembly of the State of Deseret: That all that district of country embraced in the following boundaries, to wit:—beginning at the south-east corner of the Church Pasture, about half a mile north of the Hot Spring; thence west to the west bank of the Jordan River; thence south, up to the west bank thereof, to a point in said bank directly west from the south-west corner of the five acre lots, south of said city, thence east to the aforesaid south-west corner of said five acre lots, and along the south line thereof; thence east to the base of the mountains; thence directly north to point directly east of the south-east corner of the Church Pasture; thence west to the place of beginning;—including the present surveys of said city, shall be known and designated as Great Salt Lake City; and the inhabitants thereof are hereby constituted a body corporate and politic, by the name aforesaid, and shall have perpetual succession, and may have and use a common seal, which they may change and alter at pleasure.

SEC. 2. The inhabitants of said city, by the name and style aforesaid, shall have power to sue and be sued; to plead and to be impleaded; defend and be defended, in all courts of law and equity, and in all actions whatsoever; to purchase, receive, and hold property, real and personal, in said city; to purchase, receive, and hold real property beyond the city, for burying grounds, or other public purposes, for the use of the inhabitants of said city; to sell, lease, convey, or dispose of property, real and personal, for the benefit of said city; to improve and protect such property, and to do all other things in relation thereto, as natural persons.



George E. Williams, Esq., NY

W. A. Felt

W. A. Felt, Esq., NY



SEC. 3. There shall be a City Council, to consist of a Mayor, four Aldermen, and nine Councilors, who shall have the qualifications of electors of said city, and shall be chosen by the qualified voters thereof, and shall hold their offices for two years, and until their successors shall be elected and qualified. The City Council shall judge of the qualifications, elections, and returns of their own members, and a majority of them shall form a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and compel the attendance of absent members, under such penalties as may be prescribed by ordinance.

SEC. 4. The Mayor, Aldermen, and Councilors, before entering upon the duties of their offices, shall take and subscribe an oath or affirmation, that they will support the Constitution of the United States, and of this State, and that they will well and truly perform the duties of their offices, to the best of their skill and abilities.

SEC. 5. On the first Monday of April next, and every two years thereafter, on said day, an election shall be held for the election of one Mayor, four Aldermen, and nine Councilors; and at the first election under this ordinance, three judges shall be chosen, viva voce, by the electors present. The said judges shall choose two clerks, and the judges and clerks, before entering upon their duties, shall take and subscribe an oath or affirmation, such as is now required by law to be taken by judges and clerks of other elections; and at all subsequent elections the necessary number of judges and clerks shall be appointed by the City Council. At the first election so held, the polls shall be opened at nine o'clock a. m., and closed at six o'clock p. m. At the close of the polls, the votes shall be counted, and a statement thereof proclaimed at the front door of the house at which said election shall be held; and the clerks shall leave with each person elected, or at his usual place of residence, within five days after the election, a written notice of his election; and each person so notified, shall within ten days after the election, take the oath or affirmation herein before mentioned, a certificate of which oath shall be deposited with the Recorder, whose appointment is hereinafter provided for, and be by him preserved. And all subsequent elections shall be held, conducted, and returns thereof made, as may be provided for by ordinance of the City Council.

SEC. 6. All free white male inhabitants of the age of eighteen years, who are entitled to vote for State officers, and who shall have been actual residents of said city sixty days next preceding said election, shall be entitled to vote for city officers.

SEC. 7. The City Council shall have authority to levy and collect taxes for city purposes, upon all taxable property, real and personal, within the limits of the city, not exceeding one half per cent. per annum, upon the assessed value thereof, and may enforce the payment of the same in any manner to be provided by ordinance, not repugnant to the Constitution of the United States, or of this State.

SEC. 8. The City Council shall have power to appoint a Recorder, Treasurer, Assessor and Collector, Marshal and Supervisor of Streets. They shall also have the power to appoint all such other officers, by ordinance, as may be necessary, define the duties of all city officers, and remove them from office at pleasure.

SEC. 9. The City Council shall have power to require of all officers appointed in pursuance of this ordinance, bonds with penalty and security, for the faithful performance of their respective duties, such as may be deemed expedient, and also to require all officers

appointed as aforesaid, to take an oath for the faithful performance of the duties of their respective offices.

SEC. 10. The City Council shall have power and authority to make, ordain, establish, and execute all such ordinances, not repugnant to the Constitution of the United States, or of this State, as they may deem necessary for the peace, benefit, good order, regulation, convenience, and cleanliness of said city ; for the protection of property therein, from destruction of property by fire or otherwise, and for the health and happiness thereof. They shall have power to fill all vacancies that may happen by death, resignation, or removal, in any of the offices herein made elective ; to fix and establish all the fees of the officers of said corporation, not herein established ; to impose such fines not exceeding one hundred dollars for each offense, as they may deem just, for refusing to accept of any office in or under the corporation, or for misconduct therein ; to divide the city into wards, and specify the boundaries thereof, and create additional wards ; to add to the number of Aldermen and Councilors, and apportion them among the several wards, as may be just, and most conducive to the interest of the city.

SEC. 11. To establish, support, and regulate common schools ; to borrow money on the credit of the city,—provided that no sum or sums of money be borrowed on a greater interest than six per cent. per annum,—nor shall the interest on the aggregate of all the sums borrowed and outstanding ever exceed one half of the city revenue, arising from taxes assessed on real estate within this corporation.

SEC. 12. To make regulations to prevent the introduction of contagious diseases into the city, to make quarantine laws for that purpose, and enforce the same.

SEC. 13. To appropriate and provide for the payment of the expenses and debts of the city.

SEC. 14. To establish hospitals, and make regulations for the government of the same ; to make regulations to secure the general health of the inhabitants ; to declare what shall be nuisances, and to prevent and remove the same.

SEC. 15. To provide the city with water, to dig wells, lay pump logs, and pipes, and erect pumps in the streets for the extinguishment of fires, and convenience of the inhabitants.

SEC. 16. To open, alter, widen, extend, establish, grade, pave, or otherwise improve, and keep in repair, streets, avenues, lanes and alleys ; and to establish, erect and keep in repair aqueducts and bridges.

SEC. 17. To provide for lighting of the streets, and erecting lamp posts ; and establish, support and regulate night watches ; to erect market houses, establish markets and market places, and provide for the government and regulations thereof.

SEC. 18. To provide for erecting all needful buildings for the use of the city ; and for enclosing, improving, and regulating all public grounds belonging to the city.

SEC. 19. To license, tax and regulate auctioneers, merchants, and retailers, grocers and taverns, ordinaries, hawkers, peddlers, brokers, pawn-brokers, and money changers.

SEC. 20. To license, tax and regulate hacking, carriages, wagons, carts and drays, and fix the rates to be charged for the carriage of persons, and for wagonage, cartage and drayage of property ; as also to license and regulate porters, and fix the rates of portage.

SEC. 21. To license, tax and regulate theatrical and other exhibitions, shows and amusements.

SEC. 22. To tax, restrain, prohibit, and suppress tippling houses, dram shops, gaming houses, bawdy, and other disorderly houses.

SEC. 23. To provide for the prevention and extinguishment of fires ; to regulate the fixing of chimneys, and the flues thereof, and stove pipes, and to organize and establish fire companies.

SEC. 24. To regulate the storage of gunpowder, tar, pitch, rosin, and other combustible materials.

SEC. 25. To regulate and order parapet walls, and other partition fences.

SEC. 26. To establish standard weights and measures, and regulate the weights and measures to be used in the city, in all other cases not provided for by law.

SEC. 27. To provide for the inspection and measuring of lumber, and other building materials, and for the measurement of all kinds of mechanical work.

SEC. 28. To provide for the inspection and weighing of hay, lime, and stone coal ; and measuring of charcoal, firewood, and other fuel, to be sold or used within the city.

SEC. 29. To provide for and regulate the inspection of tobacco, and of beef, pork, flour, meal ; also beer, and whisky, brandy, and all other spirituous or fermented liquors.

SEC. 30. To regulate the weight, quality, and price of bread sold and used in the city.

SEC. 31. To provide for taking the enumeration of the inhabitants of the city.

SEC. 32. To fix the compensation of all city officers, and regulate the fees of jurors, witnesses, and others, for services rendered under this or any city ordinances.

SEC. 33. The City Council shall have exclusive power within the city by ordinance, to license, regulate, suppress, or restrain billiard tables, and from one to twenty pin alleys, and every other description of gaming or gambling.

SEC. 34. The City Council shall have exclusive power within the city, by ordinance, to license, regulate, or restrain the keeping of ferries, and toll bridges ; to regulate the police of the city ; to impose fines, forfeitures and penalties, for the breach of any ordinance, and provide for the recovery of such fines and forfeitures, and the enforcement of such penalties, and to pass such ordinances as may be necessary and proper for carrying into effect and execution, the powers specified in this ordinance, provided such ordinances are not repugnant to the Constitution of the United States, or of this State.

SEC. 35. All ordinances passed by the City Council, shall, within one month after they shall have been passed, be published in some newspaper, printed in said city, or certified copies thereof, be posted up in three of the most public places in the city.

SEC. 36. All ordinances of the city may be proven by the seal of the corporation ; and when printed or published in book or pamphlet form, purporting to be printed or published by the authority of the corporation, the same shall be received in evidence in all courts, or places, without further proof.

SEC. 37. The Mayor and Aldermen shall be conservators of the peace within the limits of the city, and shall have all the powers of justices of the peace therein, both in civil and criminal cases, arising under the laws of the State. They shall, as justices of the peace, within the limits of said city, perform the same duties, be governed by the

same laws, give the same bonds and securities, as other justices of the peace, and be commissioned as justices of the peace, in and for said city by the Governor.

SEC. 38. The Mayor and Aldermen shall have exclusive jurisdiction in all cases, arising under the ordinances of the corporation, and shall issue such process as may be necessary to carry said ordinances, into execution and effect. Appeals may be had from any decision or judgment of said Mayor or Aldermen, arising under the ordinances of said city, to the Municipal Court under such regulations, as may be prescribed by ordinance; which court shall be composed of the Mayor as chief justice, and the Aldermen as associate justices; and from the final judgment of the Municipal Court to the Probate Court of Great Salt Lake County, in the same manner as appeals are taken from justices of the peace; provided the parties litigant shall have a right to a trial by jury of twelve men, in all cases before the Municipal Court. The Municipal Court shall have power to grant writs of Habeas Corpus, and try the same, in all cases arising under the ordinances of the City Council.

SEC. 39. The Municipal Court may sit on the first Monday of every month, and the City Council, at such times and places as may be prescribed by city ordinance, special meetings of which may at any time be called by the Mayor or any two Aldermen.

SEC. 40. All process issued by the Mayor, Aldermen, or Municipal Court, shall be directed to the Marshal, and in the execution thereof, he shall be governed by the same laws, as are or may be prescribed for the direction and compensation of constables in similar cases. The Marshal shall also perform such other duties as may be required of him under the ordinances of said city, and shall be the principal ministerial officer.

SEC. 41. It shall be the duty of the Recorder to make and keep accurate records of all ordinances made by the City Council, and of all their proceedings in their corporate capacity, which record shall at all times be open to the inspection of the electors of said city, and shall perform all other duties as may be required of him by the ordinances of the City Council, and shall serve as clerk of the Municipal Court.

SEC. 42. When it shall be necessary to take private property for opening, widening, or altering any public street, lane, avenue, or alley, the corporation shall make a just compensation therefor, to the person whose property is so taken; and if the amount of such compensation cannot be agreed upon, the Mayor shall cause the same to be ascertained by a jury of six disinterested men, who shall be inhabitants of the city.

SEC. 43. All jurors empanelled to enquire into the amount of benefits or damages, that shall happen to the owners of property so proposed to be taken, shall first be sworn to that effect, and shall return to the Mayor their inquest in writing, signed by each juror.

SEC. 44. In case the Mayor shall, at any time, be guilty of a palpable omission of duty, or shall wilfully and corruptly be guilty of oppression, mal conduct, or partiality, in the discharge of the duties of his office, he shall be liable to indictment in the Probate Court of Great Salt Lake County, and on conviction, he shall be liable to fine and imprisonment; and the court shall have power on the recommend of the jury, to add to the judgment of the court, that he be removed from office.

SEC. 45. The City Council shall have power to provide for the punishment of offenders and vagrants, by imprisonment in the county or city jail, or by compelling them to labor upon the streets, or other public works, until the same shall be fully paid; in all

cases where such offenders or vagrants shall fail or refuse to pay the fine and forfeitures which may be recovered against them.

SEC. 46. The inhabitants of Great Salt Lake City shall, from and after the next ensuing two years, from the first Monday of April next, be exempt from working on any road or roads, beyond the limits of said city. But all taxes devoted to road purposes, shall, from and after said term of two years, be collected and expended by, and under the direction of, the supervisor of streets, within the limits of said city.

SEC. 47. The Mayor, Aldermen, and Councilors of said city shall, in the first instance, be appointed by the Governor and Legislature of said State of Deseret; and shall hold their office until superseded by the first election.

Approved Jan. 9th, 1851.

Meantime, though the people of Deseret were yet unaware of it, Congress had finally acted upon their petition for a civil government, forwarded to Washington more than a year before. It had denied their prayer for statehood, but had passed an act to organize out of a portion of the provisional State of Deseret the Territory of Utah.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1850-1852.

UTAH TERRITORY CREATED—BRIGHAM YOUNG GOVERNOR—HOW THE NEWS REACHED DESERET—DISSOLUTION OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT—ITS ACTS RECAPITULATED—THE FIRST UTAH CENSUS—THE FIRST TERRITORIAL ELECTION—JOHN M. BERNHISEL DELEGATE TO CONGRESS—ARRIVAL OF THE FEDERAL OFFICIALS—BRANDEBURY, BROCCCHUS AND HARRIS—A DISCONTENTED TRIO—JUDGE BROCCCHUS INSULTS THE MORMON PEOPLE AT THEIR CONFERENCE—BRIGHAM YOUNG'S REPLY—THE THREE OFFICIALS LEAVE THE TERRITORY—GOVERNOR YOUNG'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT FILLMORE—REPORT OF THE "RUNAWAY" JUDGES AND SECRETARY—A CASE OF MORAL AND OFFICIAL HARI-KARI—THE GRANT LETTERS—UTAH'S FIRST LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY—ITS INITIAL ACTS—THE FIRST MURDER TRIAL IN UTAH—FILLMORE, MILLARD COUNTY, THE CHOSEN CAPITAL OF THE TERRITORY—BOX ELDER AND JUAB COUNTIES SETTLED—THE SAN BERNARDINO COLONY—A TERRITORIAL LIBRARY—PROBATE JUDGES AND THEIR JURISDICTION.

THE act of Congress creating the Territory of Utah was signed by the President of the United States—Millard Fillmore—on the 9th of September, 1850. The news of it, however, owing to the great distance and the almost utter absence of mail facilities between the frontier and the Great Basin, did not reach Deseret until January, 1851.*

Before proceeding further, let us return to Delegate Babbitt and his political errand to the nation's capital, upon which he set out in the latter part of 1849. Arriving at Washington, Colonel Babbitt sought the earliest opportunity to present to Congress the public documents of which he was the bearer, as well as his own credentials as delegate from the Provisional State of Deseret.

The memorial and the constitution with which he had been entrusted were presented to the United States Senate by Hon.

* A rumor of the fact had preceded this as early as November, 1850, but had not been deemed authentic.

Stephen A. Douglas on the 27th of December, and a month later were referred to the Committee on Territories. About the same time an anti-Mormon or anti-Deseret memorial was presented to the same body by Senator Joseph R. Underwood, of Kentucky. This memorial, which was signed by William Smith, Isaac Sheen and twelve others, represented that the persons named were the legitimate presidents of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. It also asserted that fifteen hundred Mormons, prior to the exodus from Nauvoo, had sworn a secret oath of eternal hostility to the United States government, and to avenge the blood of Joseph Smith upon this nation. William Smith was the Prophet's brother, who, as seen, had been severed from the Mormon Church at Nauvoo. The sending of such a document to Congress at this particular time may reasonably be regarded as an act of retaliation against the Church which had excommunicated him.

To what extent Congress was influenced by the Smith-Sheen memorial does not appear. It probably was not the sole nor even the main reason why the House of Representatives declined, as it did, to admit Delegate Babbitt to a seat in that body. The Committee on Elections, in its report upon his petition asking to be admitted, said:

"The admission of Mr. Babbitt would be a quasi recognition of the legal existence of the State of Deseret; and no act should be done by this house, which, even by implication, may give force and vitality to a political organization extra constitutional, and independent of the laws of the United States." The committee therefore recommended the adoption of a resolution stating that it was inexpedient to admit Mr. Babbitt to a seat in the House as a delegate from "the alleged State of Deseret." By a majority vote the resolution was passed and Colonel Babbitt was accordingly denied admission.

The Senate, however, after a delay of nearly nine months, on September 7th, 1850, passed a bill providing for the organization of the Territory of Utah. Two days later the bill passed the House and was approved by the President. It read as follows:

AN ACT TO ESTABLISH A TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT FOR UTAH.

SEC. 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:* That all that part of the territory of the United States included within the following limits, to wit: bounded on the west by the State of California, on the north by the Territory of Oregon, and on the east by the summit of the Rocky Mountains, and on the south by the thirty-seventh parallel of north latitude, be, and the same is hereby created into a temporary government by the name of the Territory of Utah; and, when admitted as a State, the said Territory, or any portion of the same, shall be received into the Union, with or without slavery, as their Constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission: *Provided*, That nothing in this act contained shall be construed to inhibit the Government of the United States from dividing said Territory into two or more Territories, in such manner and at such times as Congress shall deem convenient and proper, or from attaching any portion of said Territory to any other State or Territory of the United States.

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted: That the Executive power and authority in and over said Territory of Utah shall be vested in a Governor, who shall hold his office for four years, and until his successor shall be appointed and qualified, unless sooner removed by the President of the United States. The governor shall reside within the said Territory, shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Militia thereof, shall perform the duties and receive the emoluments of Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and shall approve all laws passed by the Legislative Assembly before they shall take effect; he may grant pardons for offences against the laws of said Territory, and reprieves for offences against the laws of the United States until the decision of the President can be made known thereon; he shall commission all officers who shall be appointed to office under the laws of the said Territory, and shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed.

SEC. 3. And be it further enacted: That there shall be a Secretary of said Territory, who shall reside therein, and hold his office for four years, unless sooner removed by the President of the United States; he shall record and preserve all the laws and proceedings of the Legislative Assembly hereinafter constituted, and all the acts and proceedings of the governor in his executive department; he shall transmit one copy of the laws and one copy of the executive proceedings, on or before the first day of December in each year, to the President of the United States, and at the same time two copies of the laws to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate, for the use of Congress. And in case of the death, removal, resignation, or other necessary absence of the governor from the Territory, the secretary shall have, and he is hereby authorized and required to execute and perform all the powers and duties of the governor during such vacancy or necessary absence, or until another governor shall be duly appointed to fill such vacancy.

SEC. 4. And be it further enacted: That the legislative power and authority of said Territory shall be vested in the governor and a Legislative Assembly. The Legislative Assembly shall consist of a Council and House of Representatives. The Council shall consist of thirteen members, having the qualifications of voters as hereinafter prescribed, whose term of service shall continue two years. The House of Representatives shall consist of twenty-six members, possessing the same qualifications as prescribed for members of the Council, and whose term of service shall continue one year. An apportionment

shall be made, as nearly equal as practicable, among the several counties or districts, for the election of the Council and House of Representatives, giving to each section of the Territory representation in the ratio of its population, Indians excepted, as nearly as may be. And the members of the Council and of the House of Representatives shall reside in and be inhabitants of the district for which they may be elected respectively. Previous to the first election, the governor shall cause a census or enumeration of the inhabitants of the several counties and districts of the Territory to be taken, and the first election shall be held at such time and place, and be conducted in such manner, as the governor shall appoint and direct; and he shall, at the same time, declare the number of members of the Council and House of Representatives to which each of the counties or districts shall be entitled under this act. The number of persons authorized to be elected having the highest number of votes in each said Council districts, for members of the Council, shall be declared by the governor to be duly elected to the Council; and the person or persons authorized to be elected having the highest number of votes for the House of Representatives, equal to the number to which each county or district shall be entitled, shall be declared by the governor to be duly elected members of the House of Representatives: *Provided*, that in case of a tie between two or more persons voted for, the governor shall order a new election to supply the vacancy made by such a tie. And the persons thus elected to the Legislative Assembly shall meet at such place and on such day as the governor shall appoint; but thereafter, the time, place and manner of holding and conducting all elections by the people, and the apportioning the representation in the several counties or districts to the Council and House of Representatives, according to the population, shall be prescribed by law, as well as the day of the commencement of the regular sessions of the Legislative Assembly: *Provided*, that no one session shall exceed the term of forty days.

SEC. 5. And be it further enacted: That every free white male inhabitant above the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been a resident of said Territory at the time of the passage of this act, shall be entitled to vote at the first election, and shall be eligible to any office within the said Territory; but the qualifications of voters and of holding office at all subsequent elections shall be such as shall be prescribed by the Legislative Assembly: *Provided*, that the right of suffrage and of holding office shall be exercised only by citizens of the United States, including those recognized as citizens by the treaty with the Republic of Mexico, concluded February second, eighteen hundred and forty-eight.

SEC. 6. And be it further enacted: That the legislative power of said Territory shall extend to all rightful subjects of legislation, consistent with the Constitution of the United States and the provisions of this act; but no law shall be passed interfering with the primary disposal of the soil; no tax shall be imposed upon the property of the United States; nor shall the lands or other property of non-residents be taxed higher than the lands or other property of residents. All the laws passed by the Legislative Assembly and governor shall be submitted to the Congress of the United States, and if disapproved shall be null and of no effect.

SEC. 7. And be it further enacted: That all township, district, and county officers, not herein otherwise provided for, shall be appointed or elected, as the case may be, in such manner as shall be provided by the governor and Legislative Assembly of the Terri-

tory of Utah. The governor shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council, appoint all officers not herein otherwise provided for ; and in the first instance the governor alone may appoint all said officers, who shall hold their offices until the end of the first session of the Legislative Assembly, and shall lay off the necessary districts for members of the Council and House of Representatives, and all other offices.

SEC. 8. And be it further enacted ; That no member of the Legislative Assembly shall hold or be appointed to any office which shall have been created, or the salary or emoluments of which shall have been increased while he was a member, during the term for which he was elected, and for one year after the expiration of such term ; and no person holding a commission or appointment under the United States, except postmasters, shall be a member of the Legislative Assembly, or shall hold any office under the government of said Territory.

SEC. 9. And be it further enacted : That the judicial power of said Territory shall be vested in a Supreme Court, District Courts, Probate Courts, and in Justices of the Peace. The supreme court shall consist of a Chief Judge and two Associate Justices, any two of whom shall constitute a quorum, and who shall hold a term at the seat of government of said Territory annually, and they shall hold their offices during the period of four years. The said Territory shall be divided into three judicial districts, and a district court shall be held in each of said districts by one of the justices of the supreme court, at such time and place as may be prescribed by law ; and the judges shall, after their appointments, respectively reside in the districts which shall be assigned them. The jurisdiction of the several courts herein provided for, both appellate and original, and that of the probate courts, and of justices of the peace, shall be as limited by law : *Provided*, that justices of the peace shall not have jurisdiction of any matter in controversy when the titles or boundaries of land may be in dispute, or where the debt or sum claimed shall exceed one hundred dollars ; and the said supreme and district courts respectively shall possess chancery as well as common law jurisdiction. Each district court, or the judge thereof, shall appoint its clerk, who shall also be the registrar in chancery, and shall keep his office at the place where the court may be held. Writs of error, bills of exception, and appeals shall be allowed in all cases from the final decisions of said district courts to the supreme court, under such regulations as may be prescribed by law ; but in no case removed to the supreme court shall trial by jury be allowed in said court. The supreme court, or the justices thereof, shall appoint its own clerk, and every clerk shall hold his office at the pleasure of the court for which he shall have been appointed. Writs of error and appeals from the final decision of said supreme court shall be allowed, and may be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, in the same manner and under the same regulations as from the circuit courts of the United States, where the value of the property or the amount in controversy, to be ascertained by the oath or affirmation of either party, or other competent witness, shall exceed one thousand dollars, except only, that in all cases involving title to slaves, the said writs of error or appeals shall be allowed and decided by the said supreme court, without regard to the value of the matter, property, or title in controversy ; and except, also, that a writ of error or appeal, shall also be allowed to the Supreme Court of the United States, from the decisions of the said supreme court created

by this act, or of any judge thereof, upon any writ of *habeas corpus* involving the question of personal freedom ; and each of the said district courts shall have and exercise the same jurisdiction in all cases arising under the Constitution and laws of the United States as is vested in the circuit and district courts of the United States ; and the said supreme and district courts of the said Territory, and the respective judges thereof, shall and may grant writs of *habeas corpus* in all cases in which the same are granted by the judges of the United States in the District of Columbia ; and the first six days of every term of said courts, or so much thereof as shall be necessary, shall be appropriated to the trial of causes arising under the said Constitution and laws ; and writs of error and appeal, in all such cases, shall be made to the supreme court of said Territory, the same as in other cases. The said clerk shall receive in all such cases the same fees which the clerks of the district courts of Oregon Territory now receive for similar services.

SEC. 10. And be it further enacted : That there shall be appointed an Attorney for said Territory, who shall continue in office for four years, unless sooner removed by the President, and who shall receive the same fees and salary as the attorney of the United States for the present Territory of Oregon. There shall also be a Marshal for the Territory appointed, who shall hold his office for four years, unless sooner removed by the President, and who shall execute all processes issuing from the said courts when exercising their jurisdiction as circuit and district courts of the United States ; he shall perform the duties, be subject to the same regulations and penalties, and be entitled to the same fees as the marshal of the district court of the United States for the present Territory of Oregon, and shall, in addition, be paid two hundred dollars annually as a compensation for extra services.

SEC. 11. And be it further enacted : That the governor, secretary, chief justice and associate justices, attorney, and marshal, shall be nominated, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appointed by the President of the United States. The governor and secretary to be appointed as aforesaid shall, before they act as such, respectively take an oath or affirmation before the district judge, or some justice of the peace in the limits of said Territory, duly authorized to administer oaths and affirmations by the laws now in force therein, or before the Chief Justice or some Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, to support the Constitution of the United States, and faithfully to discharge the duties of their respective offices ; which said oaths, when so taken, shall be certified by the person by whom the same shall have been taken, and such certificates shall be received and recorded by the said secretary among the executive proceedings ; and the chief justice and associate justices, and all other civil officers in said Territory, before they act as such, shall take a like oath or affirmation before the said governor or secretary, or some judge or justice of the peace of the Territory who may be duly commissioned or qualified, which said oath or affirmation shall be certified and transmitted by the person taking the same to the secretary, to be by him recorded as aforesaid ; and afterwards, the like oath or affirmation shall be taken, certified and recorded in such manner and form as may be prescribed by law. The governor shall receive an annual salary of fifteen hundred dollars as governor, and one thousand dollars as superintendent of Indian affairs. The chief justice and associate justices shall each receive an annual salary of eighteen hundred dollars. The secretary shall receive an annual salary of eighteen hundred dollars. The

said salaries shall be paid quarter-yearly, at the Treasury of the United States. The members of the Legislative Assembly shall be entitled to receive three dollars each per day during their attendance at the sessions thereof, and three dollars each for twenty miles' travel, in going to and returning from the said sessions, estimated according to the nearest usually traveled route. There shall be appropriated annually the sum of one thousand dollars, to be expended by the governor to defray the contingent expenses of the Territory. There shall also be appropriated annually a sufficient sum to be expended by the secretary of the Territory, and upon an estimate to be made by the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, to defray the expenses of the Legislative Assembly, the printing of the laws, and other incidental expenses; and the secretary of the Territory shall annually account to the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States for the manner in which the aforesaid sum shall have been expended.

SEC. 12. And be it further enacted: That the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah shall hold its first session at such time and place in said Territory as the governor thereof shall appoint and direct; and at said first session, or as soon thereafter as they shall deem expedient, the governor and Legislative Assembly shall proceed to locate and establish the seat of government for said Territory, at such place as they may deem eligible; which place, however, shall thereafter be subject to be changed by the said governor and Legislative Assembly. And the sum of twenty thousand dollars, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, is hereby appropriated and granted to said Territory of Utah to be applied by the governor and Legislative Assembly to the erection of suitable public buildings at the seat of government.

SEC. 13. And be it further enacted: That a Delegate to the House of Representatives of the United States to serve during each Congress of the United States, may be elected by the voters qualified to elect members of the Legislative Assembly, who shall be entitled to the same rights and privileges as are exercised and enjoyed by the delegates from the several other Territories of the United States to the said House of Representatives. The first election shall be held at such time and place, and be conducted in such manner as the governor shall appoint and direct; and at all subsequent elections, the times, places, and manner of holding the elections shall be prescribed by law. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be declared by the governor to be duly elected, and a certificate thereof shall be given accordingly: *Provided*, That said delegate shall receive no higher sum for mileage than is allowed by law to the delegate from Oregon.

SEC. 14. And be it further enacted: That the sum of five thousand dollars be, and the same is hereby appropriated out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be expended by and under the direction of the said governor of the Territory of Utah, in the purchase of a library, to be kept at the seat of government for the use of the governor, Legislative Assembly, judges of the supreme court, secretary, marshal and attorney of said Territory, and such other persons and under such regulations as shall be prescribed by law.

SEC. 15. And be it further enacted: That when the lands in said Territory shall be surveyed under the direction of the Government of the United States, preparatory to bringing the same into market, sections numbered sixteen and thirty-six in each township in said Territory shall be, and the same are hereby reserved for the purpose of being

applied to schools in said Territory, and in the States and Territories hereafter to be erected out of the same.

SEC. 16. And be it further enacted: That temporarily, and until otherwise provided by law, the governor of said Territory may define the judicial districts of said Territory, and assign the judges who may be appointed for said Territory to the several districts, and also appoint the times and places for holding courts in the several counties or subdivisions in each of said judicial districts, by proclamation to be issued by him; but the Legislative Assembly, at their first or any subsequent session, may organize, alter or modify such judicial districts, and assign the judges, and alter the times and places of holding the courts, as to them shall seem proper and convenient.

SEC. 17. And be it further enacted: That the Constitution and laws of the United States are hereby extended over and declared to be in force in said Territory of Utah, so far as the same, or any provision thereof, may be applicable.

Approved September 9, 1850.

In explanation of the reference to slavery in the opening section of the Organic Act, the reader is reminded that during the period which witnessed its passage the great question of slavery,—for which in part the war with Mexico had been undertaken and the provinces of California and New Mexico acquired,—was the reigning one in the halls of Congress. The people of California, in September, 1849, following the example of their trans-Sierran neighbors, had framed a state constitution and applied for admission into the Union. The constitution of California excluded slavery, but in that of Deseret the question was left open. During the debates in Congress over these applications for statehood, excitement ran high. The Union itself seemed imperilled; the pro-slavery party threatening that if California were admitted free, the south would secede. Just at this juncture Henry Clay's celebrated "Omnibus Bill" was introduced as a measure of compromise. It proposed the admission of California as a free state, and the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. So much it gave the north. To the south it conceded the enactment of a stringent fugitive slave law, and the organization of Utah and New Mexico as territories, with the tacit understanding that they would eventually be admitted as slave states. The bill, becoming law, satisfied, or seemed to satisfy, for a time, both parties.

But only for a time. Ten years later the inevitable conflict

came. It was written in the great book of destiny that slavery must perish; that Utah, no less than California, should be free. Utah's freedom has long been deferred, but it is none the less inevitable; as inevitable as was the death of slavery, as is the abolition, in this free land, of Territorial serfdom, and the full triumph of the patriotic prediction: "All men are equal."

The Organic Act of Utah materially reduced the size of the Territory from the original scope of the State of Deseret. We were now bounded on the north,—as before,—by Oregon, which then included Idaho; on the east by the Rocky Mountains, and on the west by California. But on the south the thirty-seventh parallel shut us in, the portion of Deseret lying south of that line of latitude being given to California and New Mexico, the latter including Arizona.

The most serious loss sustained by the settlers of the Great Basin through this change in boundary lines, was that of the strip of sea-coast lying between Lower California and $118^{\circ} 30'$ of west longitude. This took in the port of San Diego, and would have given the people of Utah open communication with the Pacific; thereby greatly facilitating their commerce and immigration. They were now hemmed in between two great mountainous walls—the Rockies and the Sierra Nevadas—in that portion of the desert basin which, as Senator Seddon of Virginia remarked, during the Congressional debates mentioned, "had been abandoned to the Mormons for its worthlessness."

Though somewhat chagrined at this event, and by what they deemed the partiality of Congress toward the people of California, the inhabitants of Deseret were still grateful for even a Territorial government, especially as President Fillmore, in appointing the Federal officers of the new dependency, did not forget the right to recognition of the founders of the commonwealth,[¶] but selected four of the seven officials from among the Mormon people. This act of courtesy, and it may be added of justice and wisdom, was very much appreciated, and won for the President the sincere and lasting gratitude of the citizens of Utah. It was for this that they

gave his name to Fillmore, the first capital of the Territory, and his surname, Millard, to the county in which that town is situated.

The President's appointments for Utah were made in September, the same month that witnessed the passage of the Organic Act. They were as follows: Brigham Young, Governor; B. D. Harris, Secretary; Joseph Buffington, Chief Justice; Perry C. Brocchus and Zerubbabel Snow, Associate Justices; Seth M. Blair, United States Attorney, and Joseph L. Heywood, United States Marshal.

Of these officials, Brigham Young, Seth M. Blair and Joseph L. Heywood—Mormons—were residents of Deseret. Judge Snow, also a Mormon, was a resident of Ohio, but was about to make Utah his permanent home. He was a brother to Erastus Snow, the Apostle. Secretary Harris was from Vermont, Judge Buffington of Pennsylvania, and Judge Brocchus of Alabama. Buffington declining his appointment, the President named in his stead Lemuel G. Brandebury, of Pennsylvania, as chief justice of Utah. These nominations were duly confirmed by the Senate of the United States.

Here is a copy of Governor Young's official appointment:

Millard Fillmore, President of the United States of America, to all who shall see these Presents, Greeting:

KNOW YE, That reposing special trust and confidence in the integrity and ability of Brigham Young of Utah, I have nominated and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, do appoint him, to be Governor of the Territory of Utah, and do authorize and empower him to execute and fulfill the duties of that office according to law. And to have and to hold the said office with all the powers, privileges, and emoluments thereunto of right appertaining, unto him, the said Brigham Young, for the term of four years from the day of the date hereof, unless sooner removed by the President of the United States for the time being.

In testimony whereof, I have caused these letters to be made patent and the seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed.



Given under my hand, at the City of Washington, the twenty-eighth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty, and of the Independence of the United States of America, the seventy-fifth.

By the President, MILLARD FILLMORE.

DAN'L WEBSTER,
Secretary of State.





SETH M. BLAIR

Seth M. Blair

SETH M. BLAIR



As stated, the news of the creation of Utah Territory did not reach Deseret until January, 1851. Even then it did not come directly, or officially, but having been published in eastern newspapers and carried in the mails to California, along with the announcement of the admission of that state into the Union, it came to the ears of certain Mormons who were then west of the Sierras, and they brought the glad tidings to the shores of the Great Salt Lake. The first to reach Salt Lake City with the news was Henry E. Gibson, one of the party of Elders who, under Apostle Charles C. Rich, went to California in the fall of 1849. Mr. Gibson, who is now a resident of Ogden, in a courteous reply to a letter of enquiry addressed to him by the author, says:

“In company with C. C. Rich, George Q. Cannon and others, in all twenty-five men, I left Salt Lake City October 12th, 1849, by way of a southern route—which had not yet been located—for Sacramento. On my return from California, in the fall of 1850, in company with Captain Jefferson Hunt, Marsh Hunt, Mr. Fifield and son, John Berry, James Brooks and John Mackey, we laid over for one month to recruit our animals in the vicinity of Los Angeles. While there I obtained New York papers—I think the *Tribune*—which came by the Panama route and contained the information that Utah Territory had been organized, and Brigham Young appointed Governor. We left Los Angeles about the 20th of December and I arrived in Salt Lake City on the 27th of January, 1851. My traveling companions had all stopped in the settlements south of Salt Lake, I think, all except John Mackey. The same day of my arrival Thomas Bullock, a clerk of Brigham Young’s, called on me at Horace Gibbs’ residence in the Seventeenth Ward, and I gave him the newspapers containing the account of the appointment of Governor Young and the organization of the Territory, with the understanding that it was to be published in the *Deseret News*.”

President Young, at the time of Mr. Gibson’s arrival, was absent from the city. In company with Heber C. Kimball, Jedediah M. Grant, Amasa M. Lyman and others he had started ten days before

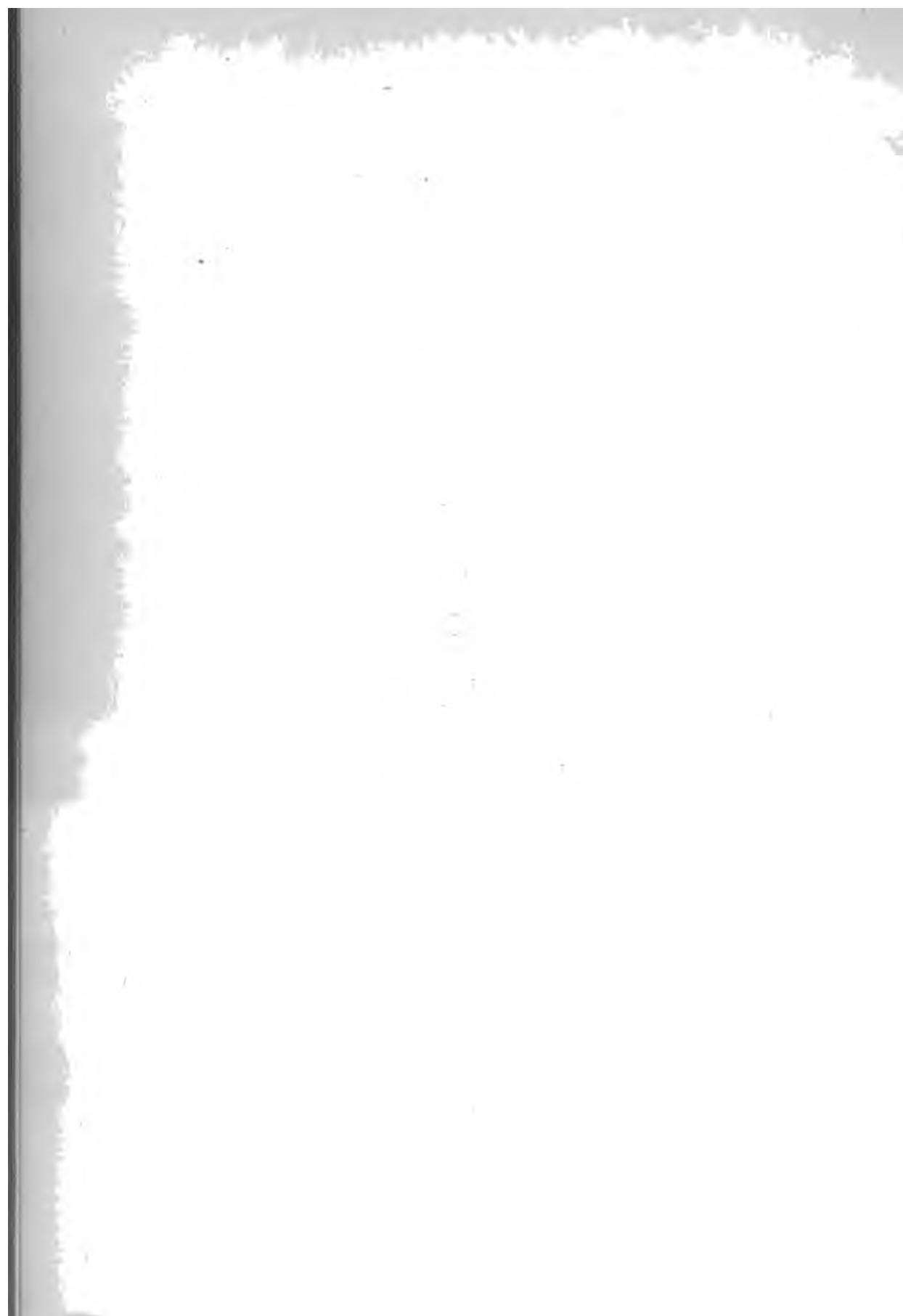




Blair, Seth M.

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on a preaching tour through the northern settlements. They had organized several bishoprics in Davis County and the City of Ogden, had made Lorin Farr president of the Weber Stake of Zion, and were on their way home, when they were met at Judson Stoddard's, in Davis County, by General Wells, who informed the President of his appointment as Governor of Utah. This was on the 28th of January. General Wells had come at the head of a company of cavalry, with a brass band, to greet his chief, who was now escorted to the city "amid the firing of cannon and other demonstrations of rejoicing."

Deeming the news of his appointment reliable, though not yet officially notified of the fact, President Young at once took the oath of office and entered upon the discharge of his duties as Governor of Utah. The oath he subscribed was as follows:

UTAH TERRITORY, }
SALT LAKE CITY, }

I, Brigham Young, Governor of said Territory, do solemnly swear, that I will support the Constitution of the United States, and perform the duties pertaining to the office of Governor of Utah Territory, according to the best of my skill and abilities.

So help me, God.

BRIGHAM YOUNG.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this third day of February, A. D. 1851.

DANIEL H. WELLS, Chief Justice, Deseret.

On the 26th of March, Governor Young addressed a special message to the General Assembly of Deseret, suggesting the propriety of their making such arrangements as would facilitate and render most convenient the transition from the Provisional to the Territorial form of government. Acting upon this suggestion, the Assembly in joint session, two days later, unanimously passed the following preamble and resolutions:

PREAMBLE.

Whereas, In the winter and spring of the year of our Lord, 1849, the people of this Territory did form and establish a Provisional State Government, until the United States Congress should otherwise provide by law for the government of this Territory; and

Whereas, It was under this authority and by virtue thereof, that this body have acted and legislated, for and in behalf of the people of said State, now Utah Territory; and

Whereas, The United States Congress has finally legislated in behalf of this Territory, by passing an act for the organization of the Territory of Utah; making appropriations for public buildings, and extending the Constitution of the United States over said Territory; and

Whereas, Previous to the first election under said law, the census has to be taken, and apportionments made, which will necessarily consume much time; and

Whereas, The public buildings for said Territory are very much needed, and the United States Congress having made an appropriation of twenty thousand dollars towards defraying the expense thereof;—and in order to facilitate the speedy erection of said public buildings for the use of the Territory, and further promote the mutual and easy organization of said Territorial government;—

Therefore, Be it resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Deseret:

1. That we cheerfully and cordially accept the legislation of Congress in the Act to establish a Territorial Government for Utah.

2. That we welcome the Constitution of the United States—the legacy of our fathers—over this Territory.

3. That all officers under the Provisional State Government of Deseret, are hereby requested to furnish unto their successors in office every facility in their power, by returning and delivering unto them public documents, laws, ordinances, and dockets, that may or can be of any use or benefit to their said successors in office.

4. That Union Square, in Great Salt Lake City, be devoted for the use of public buildings of said Territory.

5. That Governor B. Young be our agent to make drafts upon the treasury of the United States for the amount appropriated for said buildings, and to take such other measures as he shall deem proper for their immediate erection.

6. That we appoint an architect to draft designs, and a committee of one, to superintend the erection of said buildings.

7. That Truman O. Angell, of said city, be said architect, and Daniel H. Wells, of said city, the committee; and that they proceed immediately to the designing and erection of said buildings.

8. That, whereas, the State House in Great Salt Lake City having been originally designed for a “Council House,” and erected by and at the expense of the “Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,” for the purpose, as well as to accommodate the Provisional Government; that we now do relinquish unto said Church the aforesaid building, tendering unto them our thanks for the free use thereof during the past session.

9. That we fix upon Saturday, the 5th day of April next, for the adjustment and final dissolving of the General Assembly of the State of Deseret.

H. C. KIMBALL, President of the Council.

J. M. GRANT, Speaker of the House.

T. BULLOCK, Clerk.

Accordingly, on the 5th of April, 1851, the General Assembly was finally dissolved, and the provisional government of the State of Deseret merged into that of the Territory of Utah.

Among the more notable acts of the General Assembly under the old regime were the following:

An ordinance incorporating the University of the State of Deseret. Approved February 28th, 1850.

An ordinance prohibiting the sale of arms, ammunition, or spirituous liquors to the Indians. Approved March 28th, 1850.

An ordinance to control the waters of the Twin Springs and Rock Springs in Tooele Valley and County, for mills and irrigating purposes. Approved December 9th, 1850. This grant was to Ezra T. Benson, who, by his employes—herdsmen and mill-builders—had pioneered Tooele Valley the year before.

An ordinance concerning City Creek and Canyon. This ordinance was worded thus: "Be it ordained by the General Assembly of the State of Deseret: That Brigham Young have the sole control of City Creek and Canyon; and that he pay into the public treasury the sum of five hundred dollars therefor." Approved December 9th, 1850.

An ordinance granting the waters of North Mill Creek Canyon and the water of the next canyon north, to Heber C. Kimball. Approved January 9th, 1851. This appropriation of waters was for running "a saw mill, grist mill and other machinery." It was provided that the grant should not interfere with the use of said water for irrigation whenever and wherever necessary.

An ordinance in relation to the timber in the mountains west of Jordan. Approved January 9th, 1851. The grantee in this case was George A. Smith.

An ordinance in relation to the timber in the canyons and mountains between Salt Lake Valley and Tooele. This grant, approved January 9th, 1851, was to Ezra T. Benson.

An ordinance pertaining to North Cottonwood Canyon. Approved January 18th, 1851. The control of said canyon was given to Willard Richards.*

* These grants, it should be understood, were not permanent, but temporary. Hon. George Q. Cannon, on retiring from Congress after the passage of the Edmunds Law in 1882, says upon this subject: "At no time and under no circumstances was any action of

An ordinance to incorporate Great Salt Lake City. Approved January 9th, 1851.

An ordinance to incorporate Ogden City. Approved February 6, 1851.

An ordinance to incorporate the City of Manti. Approved February 6, 1851.

An ordinance to incorporate Provo City. Approved February 6, 1851.

An ordinance to incorporate Parowan City. Approved February 6, 1851.

An ordinance to incorporate the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Approved February 8th, 1851.

An ordinance regulating the manufacturing and vending of ardent spirits. Approved February 12, 1851. By this act the establishment of distilleries and the vending of ardent spirits were prohibited, except at such time in the future as the Governor might deem it expedient to grant a license for such purposes under proper restrictions.

A resolution concerning the Washington Monument. Approved February 12, 1851. Therein the Governor was authorized and requested to procure a block of marble from the best specimens of stone to be found in the State, for a contribution to the Washington Monument, then in course of erection at the nation's capital. The stone was to be suitably sculptured at the State's expense and

this kind taken with a view to bestow the ownership or title upon any person who might occupy the land, or to whom any grant might be given. But our canyon roads had to be made, and it required some action on the part of the Legislature to induce men to build costly roads into our mountains, and to build bridges over our canyon streams. I have known canyon roads there costing over \$12,000 to be swept away in a single storm. Grants of this kind were given in the early days of this Territory for such purposes, and also for herd grounds and other purposes that local rights might be preserved. * * We lived in Utah Territory twenty years before the land laws were extended over us ; we had to do the best we could. As soon as these laws were extended over our Territory we then obtained title to our lands."

forwarded to the Washington Monument Committee as soon as practicable.*

The Provisional Government being dissolved, Governor Young, on the 1st of July, 1851, issued a proclamation calling for the election of the Territorial Legislature. The choosing of a delegate to Congress was set to take place simultaneously. An enumeration of the inhabitants of the Territory had previously been made, at the Governor's order, by Thomas Bullock and his assistants. This enumeration, which excluded Indians, but included twelve colored free males and an equal number of colored free females, who were passing through the Territory at the time, was tabulated as follows :

RETURN OF THE NUMBER OF INHABITANTS IN UTAH TERRITORY ON
1st APRIL, 1851.

RECAPITULATION.

			MALES.	FEMALES.	TOTAL.
1st. Great Salt Lake County	-	-	3119	3036	6155
2nd. Davis County	-	-	596	532	1128
3rd. Weber County	-	-	691	452	1143
4th. Utah County	-	-	1125	880	2005
5th. Sanpete County	-	-	197	168	365
6th. Iron County	-	-	191	169	360
7th. Tooele County	-	-	85	67	152
8th. Green River Precinct	-	-	22	24	46
Total	-	-	6026	5328	11354

Great Salt Lake City,
Utah Territory,
June 26, 1851.

* Among other enactments of the Provisional Government in 1850-51, were the following : " To encourage the establishment of stage lines," " Granting Little Cottonwood Canyon to Benjamin L. Clapp and Charles Down," " In relation to County Courts," " For establishing Probate Courts and defining the duties thereof," " A criminal code," " In relation to the militia of the State of Deseret," " Authorizing the judges of the several counties of the State to grant mill and other water privileges, and to control the timber in their respective counties," " Granting block No. 102 (Union Square) in Great Salt Lake City, to the State of Deseret, for the purpose of erecting a state house upon it," " In reference to gambling."

† This was in accordance with a law regulating elections, enacted by the General Assembly of Deseret, Nov. 12, 1849.

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J. M. Pembroke



J. M. Bemhiser

Kanesville on the frontier. The new-comers were all given a cordial welcome.

Secretary Harris had brought with him from Washington the sum of \$24,000, appropriated by Congress for the *per diem* and other expenses of the Legislature. Colonel Babbitt, who had also returned, brought \$20,000, the Congressional appropriation toward the erection of public buildings for the Territory.

Governor Young, soon after the arrival of the Federal Judges, by virtue of the authority given him in the organic act, defined the three judicial districts of the Territory, and assigned the three officials thereto. The First District comprised the City and County of Salt Lake, the County of Tooele, and the adjacent country east and west to the boundaries of the Territory, including Bridger's precinct; the Second District embraced the counties of Davis and Weber, and the adjacent country east, west and north to the boundaries of the Territory, and the Third District the counties of Utah, Sanpete and Iron and the adjacent parts east, west and south to the boundaries of the Territory. Chief Justice Brandebury was assigned to the First District, Associate Justice Snow to the Second, and Associate Justice Brocchus to the Third. These assignments were made on the 8th of August.

Judge Brocchus, if report did not belie him, entered upon, or rather surveyed, his official duties in Utah, a disappointed man. Though accepting the position of Associate Justice for the Territory, he had aspired, it seems, to something greater, and had hoped that the Mormon people would help him to attain it. There was nothing at all wrong in this, nor was it anything surprising. The salary of an Associate Justice was only \$1800 per annum, and the social prestige of the position—especially among the sage-brush and cacti of southern Utah—being, like the salary, somewhat limited, it was no wonder if the ambition of Judge Brocchus soared to something more lucrative and at the same time more illustrious. Many in those days were tempted to believe, owing to the meagre inducement held out, that none but third or fourth rate men, unless coming to reside

permanently in the Territory, could be persuaded to accept such an office. There were those who thought that this was Judge Buffington's reason for declining the appointment which Judge Brandebury subsequently accepted. Be this as it may, it was not long after the arrival of Judge Brocchus,—who seemed to possess great influence over the Chief Justice and Secretary,—that all three began to show signs of discontent, complaining among other things of the smallness of their salaries, which had been fixed by Congress in the organic act.

But the disappointment of Judge Brocchus, who was supposed to be the author of most of the discontent, was believed to be in the fact that he had aspired to be Utah's delegate to Congress, and had been much chagrined at learning, just before reaching Salt Lake City, that the election for delegate had taken place, and the honor he coveted had been bestowed upon another. Brocchus is said to have remarked at Kaneshville, before starting across the plains, that his only purpose in going to Utah was to run for Congress. He hinted to the Mormons whom he met there, and with whom he traveled west, that certain dangers impended over them at Washington, and that he was anxious to be a political savior to their people. It is stated that in his electioneering he even went so far as to threaten that if the people of Utah did not send him to Congress he would use all his influence at the capital against them. Thus he went on until met by the intelligence that so saddened him,—the news of Dr. Bernhisel's election.

Certain it is that within a very short time after his arrival in Utah, and before even visiting the district to which he had been assigned by the Governor, Judge Brocchus announced his intention of returning east. He succeeded in planting the same desire in the breasts of the Chief Justice and Secretary. As stated, one complaint made by the trio was of the smallness of their salaries. An effort was made by prominent Mormons to have this cause of discontent removed. A petition to Congress having been prepared, asking that the salaries of the three judges be increased, down went

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the name of Brigham Young, heading the list of its signers. This petition was sent east early in September, Delegate Bernhisel conveying it to Washington.

Still the three officials were not satisfied ; at least Brocchus was not, for he soon afterward called upon Governor Young, and reminding him that he was about to leave the Territory, requested the privilege of addressing a large audience of the people in relation to the Washington Monument fund, whose interests he claimed to represent. The Mormon President cheerfully acquiesced. Said he to the Judge: "I will invite you to speak at our approaching conference. It is a religious meeting, I suppose you are aware; but I wish well to your cause." The matter was thus arranged that Judge Brocchus should be one of the speakers at the semi-annual conference of the Mormon Church, there to present to the people the subject of the Washington Monument, which had already received some attention from the Provisional Government of Deseret.

The fall conference convened that year early in September, the meetings being held, as usual, in the "Old Bowery." On the stand, besides the First Presidency, the Apostles and other Church dignitaries, were Judge Brocchus, Chief Justice Brandebury, and Secretary Harris, who had been invited to occupy seats of honor on the occasion.

Judge Brocchus being, as he himself admitted, "respectfully and honorably introduced" by President Young, arose and addressed the large assembly. His discourse, which was a rambling dissertation on a variety of topics, occupied, according to his own statement, over two hours. He began by expressing his sorrow for the past sufferings of the Mormon people, and referred tearfully to his kind reception and treatment by the citizens of Utah. He then enlarged upon himself, remarking that certain calumnies had pursued him from the east, but that the proof of his virtue lay in the fact that so virtuous a man as President Fillmore had appointed him to office. Next he indulged in a eulogy of George Washington and other Revolutionary heroes, and of Zachary Taylor, whom he regarded as "a second

Washington," and a greater man than Andrew Jackson. He then referred to Brigham Young, and changing his tone, began a covert attack upon the Mormon leader and the power and influence that the people permitted him to wield. He advocated party divisions, and pleaded with the ladies—"the sweet ladies"—of the congregation to transfer their smiles from such men as Brigham Young to men like George Washington and Zachary Taylor—men who could "handle the sword."

By this time the patience of his audience, unused to such pointless drivel, was pretty well exhausted, and the orator, continuing in the same strain, was finally groaned. This incensed him, and he forthwith began assailing the congregation and the people generally. He accused them of a want of patriotism, and of prejudice against the Constitution and the laws, referring now to some remarks by General Wells on the 24th of July—a report of which he had obtained—in which the General had criticised the past course of the Federal Government toward the Mormons.* He then quoted a remark of Governor Young's on Zachary Taylor, in which the former had expressed the opinion that Brocchus' patron saint and ideal hero was in Hades, and put this down also to the score of

* The following is a selection from the speech of General Wells, referred to by Judge Brocchus: "It has been thought by some that this people, abused, maltreated insulted, robbed, plundered, murdered, and finally disfranchised and expatriated, would naturally feel reluctant to again unite their destiny with the American republic." * * * "No wonder that it was thought by some that we would not again submit ourselves (even while we were yet scorned and ridiculed) to return to our allegiance to our native country. Remember, that it was by the act of our country, not ours, that we were expatriated; and then consider the opportunity we had of forming other ties. Let this pass, while we lift the veil and show the policy which dictated us. That country, that constitution, those institutions, were all ours; they are still ours. Our fathers were heroes of the Revolution. Under the master spirits of an Adams, a Jefferson, and a Washington, they declared and maintained their independence; and, under the guidance of the Spirit of truth, they fulfilled their mission whereunto they were sent from the presence of the Father. Because demagogues have arisen and seized the reins of power, should we relinquish our interest in that country made dear to us by every tie of association and consanguinity." * * * "Those who have indulged such sentiments concerning us, have not read Mormonism aright; for never, no never, will we desert our country's cause; never will we be found

Mormon disloyalty.* He then intimated that it was his purpose, on reaching Washington, to use his influence against Governor Young and effect his removal from office.

At this point the ladies in the congregation began to hiss the speaker. Still continuing, he now touched for the first time the subject upon which he had requested permission to speak. Addressing the ladies he said: "This reminds me that I have a commission from the Washington Monument Association to ask of you a block of marble as the test of your loyalty to the government of the United States. But in order for you to do it acceptably, you must become virtuous, and teach your daughters to become virtuous, or your offering had better remain in the bosom of your native mountains."

The speaker's voice was here drowned in a spontaneous outburst of public indignation. The meeting arose *en masse*, and the orator, unable to make himself heard above the din which his gross insult had created, now took his seat. It was thought that Brandebury or Harris would reply to Judge Brocchus and apologize for his conduct, but as they remained silent, and were apparently in full sympathy with what he had said, President Young, in response to a general call from the congregation, arose and answered. The gist of the President's reply to Brocchus, as remembered and reproduced by

arrayed by the side of her enemies, although she herself may cherish them in her own bosom. Although she may launch forth the thunderbolts of war, which may return and spend their fury upon her own head, never, no never, will we permit the weakness of human nature to triumph over our love of country, our devotion to her institutions, handed down to us by our honored sires, made dear by a thousand tender recollections."

Captain Stansbury, on Mormon loyalty, says: "Whether in the pulpit, in public addresses, in official documents, or in private intercourse, the same spirit of lofty patriotism seemed to pervade the whole community. At the same time, it should not be concealed that a stern determination exists among them to submit to no repetition of the outrages to which they were subjected in Illinois and Missouri."—*Stansbury's Expedition*, page 146.

* Evidently it was treasonable, according to Judge Brocchus, to have any but a good opinion of General Taylor, whom he so admired. Daniel Webster was "treasonable" enough to style the hero of the Mexican War "an ignorant frontier colonel," and there were many other Americans, besides Daniel Webster and Brigham Young, who failed to see eye to eye with Judge Brocchus regarding his "second Washington."

Jedediah M. Grant, in his pungent letters to the public a few months later, was as follows:

But for this man's personalities, I would be ashamed not to leave him to be answered by some of our small spouters—sticks of his own timber. Such an orator, I should suppose, might be made by down-east patent, with Comstock's phonetics and elocution primers; but, I ask you all, have we ever before listened to such trash and nonsense from this stand? "Are you a judge," he said, turning to him, "and can't even talk like a lawyer, or a politician, and haven't read an American school history? Be ashamed, you illiterate ranter," said he, "not to know your Washington better than to praise him for being a mere brutal warrior. George Washington was called first in war; but he was first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen. He had a big head and a great heart. Of course he could fight. But, Lord! what man can't. What man here will dare to say, with women standing by, that he is a bit more a coward than Washington was? Handle the sword! I can handle a sword as well as George Washington. I'd be ashamed to say I couldn't. But you, standing there, white and shaking now, at the hornet's nest you have stirred up yourself—you are a coward, and that is why you have cause to praise men that are not, and why you praise Zachary Taylor. President Taylor you can't praise—you find nothing in him. Old General Taylor! what was he? A mere soldier, with regular army buttons on; no better to go at the head of brave troops than a dozen I could pick up between Leavenworth and Laramie. And, for one, I'll not have Washington insulted by having him compared to Taylor, for a single breath of speech. No, nor what is more, President and General Andrew Jackson crowded down and forgotten, while I am with this people—even if I did not know that one is in one place (of punishment) and the other in another (of reward). What you have not been afraid to intimate about our morals, I will not stoop to notice, except to make my particular personal request of every brother and husband present, not to give your back what such impudence deserves. You talk of things 'you have on hearsay,' since your coming among us. I'll talk of hearsay, then—the hearsay that you are discontented, and will go home, because we cannot make it worth your while to stay. What it would satisfy you to get out of us I think it would be hard to tell; but I am sure it is more than you'll get. If you or anyone else is such a baby-calf, we must sugar your soap to coax you to wash yourself of Saturday nights. Go home to mammy, straightway, and the sooner the better!"

Then ensued the following correspondence between Governor Young and Judge Brocchus:

B. YOUNG TO P. E. BROCCCHUS.

GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, Sept. 19, 1851.

DEAR SIR: Ever wishing to promote the peace, love and harmony of the people, and to cultivate the spirit of charity and benevolence to all, and especially towards strangers, I propose, and respectfully invite your honor, to meet our public assembly at the Bowery, on Sunday morning next, at 10 a.m., and address the same people that you addressed on

the 8th inst., at our General Conference; and if your honor shall then and there explain, satisfy, or apologize to the satisfaction of the ladies who heard your address on the 8th, so that those feelings of kindness that you so dearly prized in your address can be reciprocated by them, I shall esteem it a duty and a pleasure to make every apology and satisfaction for my observations which you as a gentleman can claim or desire at my hands.

Should your honor please to accept of this kind and benevolent invitation, please answer by the bearer, that public notice may be given, and widely extended, that the house may be full. And believe me, sir, most sincerely and respectfully, your friend and servant,

BRIGHAM YOUNG.

Hon. P. E. Brocchus, Ass'te. Justice.

P. S.—Be assured that no gentleman will be permitted to make any reply to your address on that occasion.

B. Y.

P. E. BROCCHUS TO GOVERNOR YOUNG.

GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, Sept. 19, 1851.

DEAR SIR: Your note of this date is before me. While I fully concur in, and cordially reciprocate, the sentiments expressed in the preface of your letter, I must be excused from the acceptance of your respectful invitation, to address a public assembly at the Bowery tomorrow morning.

If, at the proper time, the privilege of explaining had been allowed me, I should, promptly and gladly, have relieved myself from any erroneous impressions that my auditors might have derived from the substance or tone of my remarks. But as that privilege was denied me, at the peril of having my hair pulled, or my throat cut, I must be permitted to decline appearing again in public on the subject.

I will take occasion here to say, that my speech, in all its parts, was the result of deliberation and care—not proceeding from a heated imagination, or a maddened impulse, as seems to have been a general impression. I intended to say what I did say; but, in so doing, I did not design to offer indignity and insult to my audience.

My sole design, in the branch of my remarks which seems to be the source of offense, was to vindicate the Government of the United States from those feelings of prejudice and that spirit of defection which seemed to pervade the public sentiment. That duty I attempted to perform in a manner faithful to the government of which I am a citizen, and to which I owe a patriotic allegiance, without unjustly causing a chord to vibrate painfully in the bosom of my hearers. Such a duty, I trust, I shall ever be ready to discharge with the fidelity that belongs to a true American citizen—with firmness, with boldness, with dignity—always observing a due respect towards other parties, whether assailants or neutrals.

It was not my intention to insult, or offer disrespect to my audience: and farthest possible was it from my design, to excite a painful or unpleasant emotion in the hearts of the ladies who honored me with their presence and their respectful attention on the occasion.

In conclusion, I will remark that, at the time of the delivery of my speech, I did

not conceive that it contained anything deserving the censure of a just-minded person. My subsequent reflections have fully confirmed me in that impression.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

PERRY BROCCCHUS.

To his Excellency Brigham Young.

Two more letters were written by the Governor to the Judge, who did not reply in writing to either. A few excerpts from these will suffice :

It was true, sir, what I said, at the close of your speech, and I repeat it here, that my expressions may not be mistaken—I said in reference to your speech, ‘ Judge Broccchus is either profoundly ignorant—or wilfully wicked—one of the two. There are several gentlemen who would be very glad to prove the statements that have been made about Judge Broccchus, and which he has attempted to repel ; but I will hear nothing more on either side at this conference.’

And why did I say it? To quell the excitement which your remarks had caused in that audience ; not to give or accept a challenge, but to prevent anyone (of which there were many present wishing the opportunity) and everyone from accepting your challenge, and thereby bringing down upon your head the indignation of an outraged people, in the midst of a conference convened for religious instruction and business, and which, had your remarks continued, must have continued the excitement, until there would have been danger “ of pulling of hair and cutting of throats,” perhaps, on both sides, if parties had proved equal—for there are points in human actions and events, beyond which men and women cannot be controlled.

* * * * *

Charity would have induced me to hope, at least, that your speech, in part, was prompted by the impulse of the moment ; but I am forbid this pleasing reflection by your note, wherein you state that ‘ my speech, in all its parts, was the result of deliberation and care, not proceeding from a heated imagination or a maddened impulse.’ ‘ I intended to say what I did say.’ Now, if you did actually ‘ intend to say what you did say,’ it is pretty strong presumptive testimony that you were not ignorant, for if you had been ignorant, from whence arose your intentions? And if you were not ignorant you must have been wilfully wicked ; and I cannot conceive of a more charitable construction to put upon your conduct on that occasion than to believe you designedly and deliberately planned a speech to excite the indignation of your hearers to an extent that would cause them to break the bonds of propriety by pulling your hair or cutting your throat, willing, no doubt, in the utmost of your benevolence to die a martyr’s death, if you could only get occasion to raise the hue and cry, and re-murder a virtuous people, as Missouri and Illinois have so often done before you. Glorious philanthropy this ; and corresponds most fully with the declaration which, it is reported, on pretty good authority, that Judge Broccchus made while on his journey to the valley, substantially as follows : “ If the citizens of Utah do not send me as their delegate to Washington, by God, I’ll use all my influence against them, and will crush them. I have the influence and the power to do it, and I will accomplish it if they do not make me their delegate.”

* * * * *

One item more from your note reads thus : " My sole design in the branch of my remarks which seems to be the source of my offense, was to vindicate the government of the United States from those feelings of prejudice, and that spirit of defection which seemed to pervade the public sentiment, etc." Let me inquire what "public sentiment " you referred to? Was it the sentiments of the States at large? If so, your honor missed his aim, most widely, when he left the city of Washington to become the author of such remarks. You left home when you left Washington. If such "prejudice and defection" as you represent, there existed, there you should have thundered your anathemas, and made the people feel your "patriotic allegiance ;" but, if ever you believed for a moment—if ever an idea entered your soul that the citizens of Utah, the people generally whom you addressed on the 8th, were possessed of a spirit of defection towards the general government, or that they harbored prejudices against it unjustly, so far you proved yourself "profoundly ignorant" of the subject in which you were engaged, and of the views and feelings of the people whom you addressed ; and this ignorance alone might have been sufficient to lead you into all the errors and fooleries you were guilty of on that occasion. But had you known your hearers, you would have known, and understood, and felt that you were addressing the most enlightened and patriotic assembly, and the one furthest removed from "prejudice and defection" to the general government that you had ever seen, that you had ever addressed, or that would be possible for you or any other being to find on the face of the whole earth. Then, sir, how would it have been possible for you to have offered your hearers on that occasion a greater insult than you did. The most refined and delicate ladies were justly incensed to wrath against you for intimating that their husbands were ever capable of being guilty of such baseness as you represented, "prejudice and defection" towards a constitution which they firmly believe emanated from the heavens, and was given by a revelation, to lay the foundation of religious and political freedom in this age—a constitution and union which this people love as they do the gospel of salvation. And when you, sir, shall attempt to fasten the false and odious appellation of treason to this community, even ignorantly, as we had supposed you did it, you will find plenty, even among the ladies, to hurl the falsehood back to its dark origin, in tones of thunder ; but if, as you say, you know (or else how could the whole have been "the result of deliberation and care") the plea of ignorance ceases again to shield you, and you stand before the people in all the naked deformity of "wilful wickedness." Who can plead your excuse? Who, under such circumstances, can make an apology? I wonder not that you should excuse yourself from the attempt, "or decline appearing again in public on the subject."

* * * * *

Another important item in the course of your remarks, on the 8th instant, in connection with the expose of your own exalted virtue—you expressed a hope that the ladies you were addressing would "become virtuous." Let me ask you, most sincerely, my dear sir, how could you hope thus? How could you hope that those dear creatures, some of whose acts of benevolence to the stranger drew tears from your eyes while you were yet speaking—how could you hope—what possible chance was there for you to hope—they would become virtuous? Had you ever proved them unvirtuous? If so, you could have but a

faint hope of their reformation. But, if you had not proved them unvirtuous, what testimony had you of their lack of virtue? And if they were unvirtuous, how could they "become virtuous?" Sir, your hope was of the most damning dye, and your very expression tended to convey the assertion that those ladies you then and there addressed were prostitutes—unvirtuous—to that extent you could only hope, but the probability was they were so far gone in wickedness you dare not believe they ever could become virtuous. And now, sir, let your own good sense, if you have a spark left, answer—could you, had you mustered all the force that hell could lend you—could you have committed a greater indignity and outrage on the feelings of the most virtuous and sensible assemblage of ladies that your eyes ever beheld? If you could tell me how. If you could not, you are at liberty to remain silent. Shall such insults remain unrequitted, unatoned for?

Brocchus, though he did not answer these final letters, admitted that it was because he could not successfully do so, and personally requested Governor Young to apologise for him to the people.

He still adhered, however, to his intention of leaving the Territory, an intention now shared by his colleagues, the Chief Justice and Secretary. Accordingly, toward the last of September they set out for Washington. Mr. Day, one of the Indian sub-agents, went also.

Their departure did not cause much sorrow among the people of Utah, with whom they had rendered themselves so unpopular; though many regretted, and none more sincerely than Governor Young, the unpleasant episode which preceded their going. For that, however, he felt that the officials themselves, and not he nor the people were responsible. That the speech of Judge Brocchus at the conference was not only premeditated by himself, as he admitted, but was the result of a conspiracy on the part of him and his associates, to subserve a plot yet to follow, the Mormon leader felt pretty well assured.

The general sentiment regarding the "runaways"—for such was now their familiar appellation—was expressed in the following skit from the poetic pen of Eliza R. Snow:

"Though Brocchus, Day and Brandebury,
And Harris, too, the Secretary,
Have gone—they went! But when they left us,
They only of themselves bereft us."

This was not strictly the case, however, for Harris, the Secretary, had taken with him the \$24,000 appropriated by Congress for the Utah Legislature, which had been called and was then in session;* also the Territorial seal, and various records and documents, which he purposed delivering to the authorities at Washington. An effort had been made by the Governor and Legislature, on learning of the Secretary's design, to prevent what they deemed an illegal removal of the public funds and property. By resolution the United States Marshal was instructed to take into his custody all government funds and property in charge of the Secretary, and was also directed to present to him for payment an order for \$500, to cover the incidental expenses of the Legislature. Harris, however, refused to surrender or pay anything. He claimed that the election of the Legislature was illegal, owing to the incomplete census, and other things preceding and attending the election, and that he had "private instructions, designed for no eye but his own, to watch every movement and not pay out any funds unless the same should be strictly legal according to his own judgment."

The Governor had then appealed to the three Federal Judges, asking for a legal opinion as to the funds and property in possession of the Secretary, and respecting his design of leaving the Territory, in which, according to the organic act, he was required to reside during tenure of office. The Judges replied that the Secretary, being an agent of the United States, was amenable to that government only, and could not be interfered with by any branch of the Territorial government regarding the manner in which he discharged his duty. They also stated that the Supreme Court of the Territory had already foreshadowed an opinion upon the right of the Secretary to the control and disposal of the funds and property in question, by granting an injunction "to prevent Horace S. Eldredge, Esq., and all others acting by or under the authority of the assembly purporting to be

* The first Legislative Assembly of Utah Territory convened at the Council House, in Salt Lake City, on Monday, September 22, 1851.

the Legislative Assembly of the Territory," from taking or interfering with said funds and property.

This was indeed the case. Judges Brandebury and Brocchus had organized and held a session of the Supreme Court at Salt Lake City, before the Governor or the Legislature had fixed the time and place for holding said court, and had rendered a decision, from which their associate, Judge Snow, had dissented, on the ground of the illegality of the session.

Governor Young, the day after the departure of the two Judges and the Secretary, addressed a communication to the President of the United States, setting forth the facts in controversy. We deem this document worthy of reproduction:

GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, September 29, 1851.

To His Excellency the President of the United States:

SIR.—It is now over one year since "an act to establish a Territorial Government for Utah" became a law of Congress. Information of this fact reached this place in November following, and about the first of January authentic information was received of the appointments of the Territorial officers by the President; this news being confirmed, on the 3rd day of February, I took the oath of office as Governor of the Territory, in accordance with the provisions of the Organic Act. Owing to the great distance from this place to the seat of the General Government, I considered it of the first importance that the preliminary arrangements for the organization of the Territory should be accomplished as soon as possible, in order that a delegate might be legally returned to the Congress of the United States before the lateness of the season should render the (at any time) long and arduous journey dangerous, if not impracticable; hence my anxiety to proceed with as little delay as possible in obtaining the enumeration of the inhabitants, preparatory to appointing the election districts, and apportioning the members of Council and House of Representatives to be elected from each.

Having been appointed Census Agent, to take the census of Deseret, and owing to the total miscarriage of instructions and blanks, which had not,—neither, indeed, have yet arrived, the taking of that census had been delayed for a season, but now having been required to cause the enumeration to be taken for the use of the Territory, and despairing of the blanks coming on, I proceeded to take the census, and appointed my assistants to make out two sets of returns, one for the United States, as census agent for Deseret, and one for Utah, which required not the full census, but merely the enumeration of the inhabitants; this was sufficiently accomplished to enable me to make out an apportionment about the first of July, which I did, and issued my proclamation declaring the same. This being previous to the arrival of the Secretary, of course his seal and signature was not attached. (See Proclamation No. 1.) The reason inducing this order has been recited above, that the election might come off in time, that whoever should be elected as delegate

to Congress might be enabled to go before the inclement season should set in. Although the appointments were made early in the fall, yet no non-resident officer made his appearance until the ensuing summer, and some of them not until about the first of August.

Upon the arrival of a majority of the Supreme Court, I again issued my proclamation districting the Territory into three judicial districts, and assigning the judges to their several districts. This proclamation bears the impress of the seal of the Territory and signature of Mr. Harris. See Proclamation No. 3.

Learning to my very great regret that the Secretary, Mr. Harris, and Judge Brandebury and Associate Judge Brocchus intended to return to the States this fall, I called upon them personally to ascertain the fact and if possible induce them to remain. They however assured me that it was their intention to leave, and Mr. Harris also declaring that he should carry with him all the funds in his hands for the payment of the Legislative expenses of the Territory as also the seal, records, documents, etc., pertaining to his office, plainly indicating that it was his intention to essentially vacate said office, so far as Utah was concerned, and anticipate by leaving with the funds the non-payment of the Legislative Assembly. I considered this course illegal, wholly unauthorized and uncalled for, by any pretext whatever.

I therefore concluded, that I would use all legal efforts, that should seem practicable for the retention of the property and money belonging to the United States in the Secretary's hands, designed for the use of this Territory. I therefore issued my Proclamation declaring the result of the election, and convening the Legislative Assembly on the 22nd of the present month.

This proclamation was dated on the 18th inst., thus showing but a hurried notice; but notices had been sent previously to the members elect, and when the day arrived all of the council were present, and only one member of the house absent. It is but due to myself to say that this proclamation was delayed from the fact of a misunderstanding with the Secretary, that he would make out the proclamation of the members elect, and prepare the proclamation, which, failing to do, I caused it to be done, and sent it to him for his signature and impress of the seal of the Territory, intending for him to keep the manuscript thus furnished, and return a copy suitable for publication. Much to my astonishment he placed the seal and signature to the manuscript thus furnished, not even filing a copy for record. It was published however. See Proclamation, No. 4.

The Legislature convened in accordance therewith, with the exception of one member of the house from Iron County. The Secretary did not attend to furnish a roll of members. I therefore had this duty to perform, and they were called and qualified by his honor Judge Snow.

My message is the next document in order. See No. 5.

On the 24th inst., the Legislative Assembly passed a joint resolution making it the duty of the United States Marshal to proceed forthwith and take into his custody all of the aforesaid funds, property, etc. See No. 6. This resolution was presented to Mr. Harris, as also an order for \$500.00 to defray the incidental expenses of the Legislative Assembly. See No. 7. He refused to comply with the requirements of each as per No. 8. At this time September 26th, I addressed a note to the Supreme Court, who, I understood were then in session, asking their opinion in regard to my duty—having reference to the

organic act which requires the Governor to see that the laws are faithfully executed and requiring the said Secretary to reside in said Territory, etc. See No. 9. After awaiting a reply to this note until the day fixed for their departure had far advanced, I directed the United States district attorney to file a petition which would cause them to give their opinion. See No. 10 for copy of petition and No. 11 for the opinion and answer. Having determined to abide the decision of the Judges, I accordingly stayed all further proceedings, and on yesterday, the 28th, I understand the Secretary, Mr. Harris, and the two Judges, Mr. Brandebury and Mr. Brocchus, left this city on their return to the United States.

For a reply to Mr. Harris' decision, No. 8, I refer you to file No. 12. Thus, sir, I have given you a plain and unvarnished tale of all our proceedings pertaining to Governmental affairs, with the exception of report upon Indian affairs, which will be made to the proper department.

If your Excellency will indulge me in a few remarks, I will proceed and make them. Mr. Harris informed me in a conversation which I had with him, that he had *private instructions designed for no eye but his own to watch every movement and not pay out any funds unless the same should be strictly legal* according to his own judgment. The Supreme Court organized and held a session, as will appear by reference to a certified copy of proceedings No. 13, without waiting for the Legislative authority fixing the time, and apparently having no other object than to shield and protect Mr. Harris in leaving with the funds and property designed for the use and benefit of this Territory. It has been and is said of myself and of the people over whom I have the honor to preside, that they frequently indulge in strictures upon the acts of men who are entrusted with Governmental affairs and that the Government itself does not wholly escape. Now, sir, I will simply state what I know to be true: that no people exist who are more friendly to the government of the United States than the people of this Territory. The Constitution they revere, the laws they seek to honor. But the non-execution of those laws, in times past, for our protection, and the abuse of power in the hands of those entrusted therewith, even in the hands of those whom we have supported for office, even betraying us in the hour of our greatest peril and extremity, by withholding the due execution of laws designed for the protection of all the citizens of the United States. It is for this we have cause of complaint, not the want of good and wholesome laws, but the execution of the same in the true meaning and spirit of the Constitution. The foregoing is a case in point. What good and substantial reason can be given that the people of this Territory should be deprived, for probably near a year to come, of a Supreme Court, of the official seal, of a Secretary of State, of the official publication of the laws, and other matters pertaining to the office of Secretary? Is it true that officers coming here by virtue of an appointment by the President, have *private instructions*, that so far control their actions as to induce the belief that their main object is not the strict and legal performance of their respective duties, but rather to *watch for iniquity*, to catch at shadows and make a man an "offender for a word; to spy out our liberties and by manifold misrepresentations seek to prejudice the minds of the people against us? If such is the case, better, far better, would it be for us to live under the organization of our Provisional Government, and entirely depend upon our own resources as we have hitherto done until such time as we can be admitted as a

State, than thus to be tantalized with the expectation of having a legal government which will extend her fostering care over all her offspring. In infancy, if ever, it is necessary to assist the rising state.

If it be true that no legal authority can be exercised over a co-ordinate and even a subordinate branch of the Government by the Legislature thereof, then indeed we may expect the harmony of Government to be interrupted, to hear the discordant sounds of irresponsible and law-defying agents, desecrating by their acts the very name of *American Liberty*.

In the appointment of new officers, if you will pardon me for making a suggestion, I would propose that such men be selected as will reside within the Territory, or have a general and extended knowledge of men and things, as well as of the elementary and fundamental principles of law and legislation. Men who have lived and practiced outside as well as indoors, and whose information extends to the duties of a Justice of the Peace, as well as the well-known *passages and aisles* of the court room.

In relation to our present unfortunate position pertaining to the Supreme Court, I can only hope that early the ensuing season we may be favored with a quorum. As regards the funds, if an arrangement could be made authorizing Mr. Livingston, a merchant in this place, to receive the money appropriated to meet the Legislative expenses, he would most probably make such advances as might be necessary after being advised of the privilege of so doing.

The Legislative Assembly are yet in session, of their acts and doings I shall take the liberty of making report, the same as would have been the duty of the Secretary, had he remained. I cannot conceive that it can, or ought to be, in the power of any subordinate officer, to subvert, or even retard, for any length of time, the ordinary motion of the wheels of Government; although I am equally satisfied that it was and is the intention of a portion of these aforesaid officers to entirely subvert and overthrow this government of Utah. But of this I have no fears, as I know they can have no good and sufficient apology for the course they have, and are pursuing.

The money that was appropriated for the year ending June 30th, 1851, should have been used to defray the expenses of the legislation of 1850 and 1851, and the government might have been organized had the officers been as efficient in coming here as they are now in going away. The Legislature can now, as heretofore, do without their compensation and mileage, and find themselves; they were all unanimously elected (with one exception) as was also our Delegate to Congress, the Hon. Dr. John M. Bernhisel. We have sought to obtain an authorized Government, and the people have been well satisfied with the Government in regard to all their acts in relation thereto, so far as I am acquainted; and if the men appointed had endeavored to be active in the discharge of their duties, all would have been well. Mr. Harris takes exceptions to everything that has been done. Did he take hold, upon his arrival at this place, and endeavor to assist in the organization of this Government, as a Secretary should do? Not at all; never was he the man to do the first thing, either by suggestion or otherwise, unless, perhaps, it was occasionally to set his hand and Seal of the Territory to some document that had been prepared for him. Have either of the Judges who are returning ever done anything towards the organization of the Territory? They organized the Supreme Court, as I think, chiefly to assist Mr. Harris in leaving with the funds, and I believe Judge Brandebury appointed a clerk of

the district. Judge Brocchus had determined on returning this fall previous to his arrival, as I am credibly informed, and their both leaving at this time, just when the time has arrived for them to act, postpones indefinitely all courts in their respective districts. Judge Brocchus has never been in his district that I know of. Thus, so far as the public interests are concerned, it would have been quite as well if neither of these gentlemen or Mr. Harris had ever troubled themselves to cross the plains.

Whatever may be your decision upon all of these matters, be assured that it is, and has been my intention to discharge faithfully every duty pertaining to my office, and that I shall receive very gratefully any instructions that you will please to give.

Awaiting most anxiously to hear from you, I have the honor to be very respectfully and truly yours,

BRIGHAM YOUNG.

On reaching Washington Judge Brocchus and his colleagues rendered a report to the Government in which they alleged that they had been compelled to leave Utah on account of the lawless acts and seditious tendencies of Brigham Young and the majority of the residents; that the Mormon Church overshadowed and controlled the opinions, actions, property and lives of its members,—disposing of the public lands on its own terms, coining and issuing money at will, openly sanctioning polygamy, exacting tithes from members and onerous taxes from non-members, penetrating and supervising social and business circles, and requiring implicit obedience to the council of the Church as a duty paramount to all the obligations of morality, society, allegiance and law.

So far, their report was of a tenor well calculated to win for its authors, from the masses, applause, and for the Mormons reprobation. But they very unwisely added—either verbally or in writing—that in Utah “polygamy monopolized all the women, which made it very inconvenient for the Federal officials to reside there.”

This unhappy statement was the dead fly in the ointment, causing the whole to emit an odor extremely offensive in the nostrils of authority. Even Congressmen not particularly noted as paragons of chastity were disgusted at this open confession of libidinous desires on the part of the three officials. They soon found themselves utterly without influence at Washington, and were ordered by Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, to forthwith return

to the posts they had deserted, or else resign. They chose the latter course and retired from office, realizing, no doubt, as did everyone else, that they had committed moral and official *felo de se*. Brandebury was succeeded as Chief Justice of Utah by Lazarus H. Reed, of New York; Brocchus as Associate Justice by Leonidas Shaver, and Harris as Secretary by Benjamin G. Ferris, who received their appointments in August, 1852. Judge Snow served out his full term and was succeeded by Associate Justice George P. Stiles.

One potent factor in the discomfiture and defeat of Judge Brocchus and his coadjutors was a series of letters that appeared,—one in the New York *Herald*, and all in a pamphlet circulated throughout the east,—over the signature of Jedediah M. Grant, Mayor of Salt Lake City. Mayor Grant, who was a member of the Utah Legislature, had been authorized by Governor Young and the General Assembly on the 1st of October to repair to the City of Washington, as an agent of the citizens of Utah, to confer and co-operate with Delegate Bernhisel in his official duties at the capital. In other words he was sent east for the especial purpose of spiking the guns which the Mormon leader foresaw would be turned against him and his people by the absconding Judges and Secretary. Mayor Grant did his work most effectively; not in the way that the gentlemanly and diplomatic Delegate, Dr. Bernhisel, would have done it, but in a manner peculiar to brave, brusque Jedediah M. Grant; a man as devoid of fear as he was of policy or scholastic culture. Quick-witted, vigorous and incisive, he in conjunction with Colonel Thomas L. Kane, whom he visited at Philadelphia, produced the letters referred to, in which the runaway officials were roundly scored and ridiculed, and their anti-Utah efforts pretty well counteracted. It was the polygamy clause of their own report, however, which dug their official graves and erected the tomb-stone over their political remains.

Colonel Kane, it seems, had previously done the Mormon leader a good turn—which was but one of many such—both before and after his appointment as Governor of Utah. The appended

correspondence between President Fillmore and Colonel Kane will show in what way the service to which we refer was rendered:

WASHINGTON, July 4, 1851.

MY DEAR SIR:—I have just cut the enclosed slip from the *Buffalo Courier*. It brings serious charges against Brigham Young, Governor of Utah, and falsely charges that I knew them to be true. You will recollect that I relied much upon you for the moral character and standing of Mr. Young. You knew him, and had known him in Utah. You are a democrat, but I doubt not will truly state whether these charges against the moral character of Governor Young are true.

Please return the article with your letter.

Not recollecting your given name, I shall address this letter to you as the son of Judge Kane.

I am, in great haste, truly yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Mr. Kane, Philadelphia.

PHILADELPHIA, July 11th, 1851.

MY DEAR SIR:—I have no wish to evade the responsibility of having vouched for the character of Mr. Brigham Young of Utah, and his fitness for the station he now occupies. I reiterate without reserve, the statement of his excellent capacity, energy and integrity, which I made you prior to his appointment. I am willing to say I volunteered to communicate to you the facts by which I was convinced of his patriotism, and devotion to the interests of the Union. I made no qualification when I assured you of his irreproachable moral character, because I was able to speak of this from my own intimate personal knowledge.

If any show or shadow of evidence can be adduced in support of the charges of your anonymous assailant, the next mail from Utah shall bring you their complete and circumstantial refutation. Meanwhile I am ready to offer this assurance for publication in any form you care to indicate, and challenge contradiction from any respectable authority.

I am, Sir, with high respect and esteem, your most obedient servant,

THOMAS L. KANE.

The President.

Utah's first Legislative Assembly convened, as stated, on the 22nd of September, 1851. Its members were as follows:

COUNCIL.

Salt Lake County.—Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, Daniel H. Wells, Jedediah M. Grant, Ezra T. Benson, Orson Spencer.

Davis County.—John S. Fullmer.

Weber County.—Lorin Farr, Charles R. Dana.

Utah County.—Alexander Williams, Aaron Johnson.

Sanpete County.—Isaac Morley.

Iron County.—George A. Smith.

HOUSE.

Salt Lake County.—Wilford Woodruff, David Fullmer, Daniel Spencer, Willard Snow, William W. Phelps, Albert P. Rockwood, Nathaniel H. Felt, Edwin D. Woolley, Phinehas Richards, Joseph Young, Henry G. Sherwood, Benjamin F. Johnson, Hosea Stout.

Davis County.—Andrew L. Lamereaux, John Stoker, William Kay.

Weber County.—James Brown, David B. Dille, James G. Browning.

Tooele County.—John Rowberry.

Utah County.—David Evans, William Milier, Levi W. Hancock.

Sanpete County.—Charles Shumway.

Iron County.—Elisha H. Groves.*

The Legislature organized by electing Willard Richards President of the Council, and William W. Phelps, Speaker of the House of Representatives. Howard Coray was Secretary of the Council, and James Cragan Sergeant-at-arms. In the House, Albert Carrington was Clerk, and William H. Kimball Sergeant-at-arms. Brigham H. Young was public printer.

One of the first acts of the Assembly, after the departure of the runaway Judges and Secretary, was to memorialize the Government at Washington in relation to appointments to fill the places thus deserted. The memorial asked that the new appointees be residents of the Territory, and that they be selected as soon as possible. Pending the action of the President and Senate in this matter

* Of the Councilors, Ezra T. Benson and Jedediah M. Grant resigned late in September to go east, and Orson Pratt and Edward Hunter were elected November 15th to fill their places. Of the Representatives Willard Snow also resigned about the same time as Councilors Benson and Grant, and John Brown succeeded him on November 15th. The same day George Brimhall was elected a member of the House, from Iron County, making the number of Representatives twenty-six, as required by the Organic Act.

Willard Richards on the 15th of October was appointed by Governor Young Secretary of Utah *pro tem*.

A joint resolution was passed by the Legislature on the 4th of October, declaring of full force and effect the laws made by the Provisional Assembly of Deseret, such as did not conflict with the act of Congress creating the Territory. This measure preserved the several city charters, and the charter of the Deseret University, previously granted by the Provisional Government. It also confirmed the act incorporating the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

To meet, in a measure, the emergency which had arisen through the unceremonious departure of the two Federal Judges, their associate, Judge Snow, was authorized by the Legislature to hold courts in all the judicial districts. The First District was made to comprise Salt Lake, Davis, Weber, Tooele and Utah counties, and those parts of the Territory lying north, east and west of said counties. The Second District consisted of Millard and Sanpete counties, with all parts lying south of the south line of latitude of Utah County, and north of the south line of latitude of Millard County, within Utah, and the Third District of Iron County and all districts of country lying south of the south line of latitude of Millard County, within the Territory.*

The law authorizing Judge Snow to serve in all the judicial districts, required him to reside in the first, and hold court therein as follows: On the first Monday in January and July at Salt Lake City; on the first Monday of April at Ogden, and the first Monday of October—excepting in 1851, when the October court should be held at Salt Lake City—at Provo. Manti and Fillmore, in the Second District, were to have their courts respectively on the first Monday in November and May, and Parowan, in the Third District, on the first Monday in June. Each session was to be kept open at least one

* Millard County had just been created by the Legislature, being named, as stated, for President Millard Fillmore.

week, and might adjourn to any other place in the district, if the business of the court should so require. These provisions were to remain in force until the President and Senate of the United States, who were duly informed of all that was done, should supply a full bench of the Supreme Court of Utah, after which Judge Snow was to serve only in the First District.

Judge Snow held the first United States District Court at Salt Lake City. He examined and passed upon the proceedings of the Governor in calling the Legislative Assembly; holding them to be legal though somewhat informal. His decision was duly reported to the Department of State, and sustained by the Secretary, Daniel Webster. Webster also sanctioned Governor Young's appointment of a temporary Secretary for the Territory, and the bills signed by Mr. Richards, as well as his salary for services in that capacity, were allowed and paid.

At the October Term of the District Court occurred the trial of Howard Egan for the killing of James Monroe, the seducer of Egan's wife. This was the first murder trial in Utah.* The homicide occurred on or near Silver Creek, eastern Utah, in September, 1851. Monroe, after his crime, had gone to the frontier and was returning west with a train of merchandise for John and Enoch Reese, when he met his death. Egan, who had been absent in California, returning and receiving his wife's penitent confession, resolved to kill the destroyer of his household peace. Accordingly, he went out to meet Monroe, confronted him, and shot him dead.

Judge Brocchus and his colleagues, in their report to the Government, after leaving the Territory, charged that James Monroe, a citizen of Utica, New York, while on his way to Salt Lake City, was murdered by a Mormon, and that the murderer was not arrested. This of course had reference to the Egan-Monroe homicide, the trial in which case took place during the month following the tragedy.

* The first criminal trial by jury occurred in January, 1851. Several persons en route for California were convicted of stealing and imprisoned, but after partly serving out their terms they were pardoned by the Governor and went on their way.

Howard Egan was one of the original Utah pioneers. James Monroe, though formerly of Utica, New York, was at this time a resident of Utah, and had been a Mormon.

The prosecution of the case, before Associate Justice Snow, was conducted by the United States Attorney, Seth M. Blair. The defendant was represented by Hon. George A. Smith and William W. Phelps, Esq. The following selections from Apostle Smith's address to the jury are valuable as showing the view taken by the Mormons of the crime of seduction and its proper punishment:

I am not prepared to refer to authorities on legal points, as I would have been had not the trial been so hasty; but as it is, I shall present my arguments upon a plain, simple principle of reasoning. Not being acquainted with the dead languages, I shall simply talk the common mountain English, without references to anything that may be technical. All I want is simply truth and justice. This defendant asks not his life, if he deserves to die; but if he has done nothing but an act of justice, he wishes that justice awarded to him.

* * * * *

It was admitted on the part of the prosecution, that James Monroe, who is alleged in this indictment to have been killed by Howard Egan, had seduced Egan's wife; that he had come into this place in the absence of her husband, and had seduced his family, in consequence of which, an illegitimate child had been brought into the world; and the disgrace which must arise from such a transaction in his family, had fallen on the head of the defendant. This was admitted by the prosecution.

* * * * *

In England, when a man seduces the wife or relative of another, the injured enters a civil suit for damages, which may perhaps cost him five hundred pounds, to get his case through; and, as a matter of course, if he unfortunately belongs to the toiling million, he may get twenty pounds as damages. In this case, character is not estimated, neither reputation, but the number of pounds, shillings, and pence alone bear the sway, which is common in courts of all old and rotten governments.

In taking this point into consideration, I argue that in this Territory it is a principle of mountain common law, that no man can seduce the wife of another *without endangering his own life*. * * * What is natural justice with this people? Does a civil suit for damages answer the purpose, not with an isolated individual, but with this whole community? No! it does not! The principle, the only one that beats and throbs through the heart of the entire inhabitants of this Territory, is simply this: *The man who seduces his neighbor's wife must die, and her nearest relative must kill him!*

* * * * *

If Howard Egan did kill James Monroe, it was in accordance with the established principles of justice known in these mountains. That the people of this Territory would have regarded him as accessory to the crime of that creature, had he not done it, is also

a plain case. Every man knew the style of old Israel, that the nearest relation would be at his heels to fulfill the requirements of justice.

* * * * *

I come before you, not for the pence of that gentleman, the defendant, but to plead for the honor and rights of this whole people, and the defendant in particular; and, gentlemen of the jury, with the limited knowledge I have of law, were I a jurymen, I would lie in the jury-room until the worms should draw me through the key-hole, before I would give in my verdict to hang a man for doing an act of justice, for the neglect of which he would have been damned in the eyes of this whole community.

At the conclusion of the addresses Judge Snow charged the jury and after due deliberation they returned a verdict of "not guilty."

It was about this time that a board of commissioners, appointed by Governor Young under authority of the Legislature, left Salt Lake City for Pauvan Valley—Millard County—to select a site for the proposed capital of the Territory. The Legislature, by resolution, had previously located the seat of government within that county, but the exact spot had not yet been determined. The commissioners were Orson Pratt, Albert Carrington, Jesse W. Fox, William C. Staines and Joseph L. Robinson. Governor Young, Hon. Heber C. Kimball, Hon. George A. Smith and others went also, to assist in the selection. They directed their course to Chalk Creek, in Pauvan Valley, to which place Anson Call, of Davis County, and later one of the founders of Parowan, had been directed by President Young to lead a colony. Chalk Creek was about one hundred and fifty miles south of Salt Lake City. There, on the 29th of October, a site was selected for the capital and a city laid out. That city, as previously ordered by the Legislature, was named Fillmore.*

Box Elder County had been settled in March of this year by Simeon Carter and others, and in September Joseph L. Heywood and a few families had begun a settlement on the present site of Nephi, Juab County.

A colony organized at Payson, Utah County, and led by Amasa

* Millard County was chosen as the place for the capital owing to its central geographic location, but was afterwards abandoned for that purpose as the bulk of the population was contained in the northern counties.



Am. Staines



W. H. H. H.

M. Lyman and Charles C. Rich, had started late in March for southern California, and had reached their destination in June. This colony numbered about five hundred souls. Their purpose was to found an outfitting post, similar to Kanesville, to facilitate Mormon emigration from the west. In September they purchased the ranch of San Bernardino, containing one hundred thousand acres of land, situated about fifty miles east of Los Angeles, and seventy miles from the Bay of San Pedro. They there founded a settlement and named it San Bernardino.

By this time Colonel John Reese and others were at Genoa, the nucleus of Carson County, then in this Territory, but now in the State of Nevada. The late Hampden S. Beatie, a well known citizen of Utah, was one of the pioneers of Carson County.

During the winter of 1851-2 preparations were made for the opening of a Territorial Library, Congress having appropriated five thousand dollars for that purpose, and a judicious selection of books having been made in the east and forwarded to Utah by Delegate Bernhisel. In February the library was opened in the Council House at Salt Lake City, William C. Staines being the Territorial Librarian.

Acts were now passed by the Legislature,—which, but for brief periods of adjournment, had been in session since the previous September,—providing for the complete organization of the various counties and relating to the judiciary in general. Probate Judges were elected by the Legislature and commissioned by the Governor, as follows:

Salt Lake County,—Elias Smith.

Weber County,—Isaac Clark.

Davis County,—Joseph Holbrook.

Utah County,—Preston Thomas.

Tooele County,—Alfred Lee.

Juab County,—George H. Bradley.

Sanpete County,—George Peacock.

Millard County,—Anson Call.

Iron County,—Chapman Duncan.

Besides the powers usually possessed by probate courts,—the settlement of estates of decedents, the guardianship of minors, etc.,—these courts were invested with general civil, criminal and chancery jurisdiction; a measure deemed expedient by the Legislature at the time, but out of which grew a controversy between the district and probate courts, which was finally settled by Congressional enactment.* The act giving general jurisdiction to the probate courts received the Governor's signature on the 4th of February, three days prior to the appointment of the probate judges named.

Another bone of contention, which Congress removed at the same time that it did the other, was an act approved March 3rd, 1852, creating the offices of Territorial Marshal, Attorney-General and District Attorneys. By this law it was made the duty of the Territorial Marshal or his deputies to execute all orders or processes of the Supreme or District courts in all cases arising under the laws of the Territory, and the duty of the Attorney-General or District Attorneys to attend to all legal business on the part of the Territory, before the courts, where the Territory was interested. The original incumbents of these offices were: James Ferguson, Territorial Attorney; Horace S. Eldredge, Marshal; Andrew S. Siler, District Attorney, Second District; James Lewis, District Attorney, Third District. The United States having already appointed a Marshal and a District Attorney for Utah, it may readily be seen how further conflict of authority might and did result.

The action of the Legislature in bestowing such unusual powers upon the probate courts,—virtually giving them concurrent jurisdiction with the district courts,—was deemed imperative at the time owing to the absence of two of the three Federal Judges from the Territory; thus throwing too great a burden upon Judge Snow, who, since October, 1851, had been serving, according to direction, in all the districts. It was also clearly within the powers granted to the Legislature by the organic act, a fact admitted by Congress when it

* The Poland Law, passed June 23, 1874.

confirmed in the Poland Law the decisions and decrees of the probate courts of Utah in all their adjudications. The creation of the offices of Territorial Marshal, Attorney-General and District Attorneys, to attend to the Territory's legal business, was partly due to the fact that the Comptroller of the United States Treasury, Hon. Elisha Whittlesey, had informed the Legislature, through Judge Snow, that the general government would only defray the expenses attendant upon the settlement of United States business in the courts, and that the Territory must assume the cost of its own.

Owing to the controversy which soon arose, the Legislature contemplated, as early as 1852-3, amending its laws so as to limit the jurisdiction of the probate courts and abolish the Territorial offices in question. But on account of the continued practice of some of the Federal Judges, of absenting themselves for long periods from the Territory, thus leaving litigants without recourse to their tribunals, matters were permitted to remain *in statu quo*. The controversy between the rival courts and officials was continued for over twenty years, when it was finally settled by the Poland Law.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1852—1853.

A GREAT PACIFIC RAILWAY WANTED—THE GOVERNOR AND LEGISLATURE OF UTAH PETITION CONGRESS FOR ITS CONSTRUCTION—CELESTIAL MARRIAGE PROCLAIMED TO THE WORLD AS A MORMON DOCTRINE—ORSON PRATT PREACHES THE FIRST SERMON ON POLYGAMY—HIS MISSION TO WASHINGTON—"THE SEER"—UTAH'S OFFERING TO THE WASHINGTON MONUMENT—GOVERNOR YOUNG ON MANUAL TRAINING AND HOME INDUSTRIES—HIS VIEWS OF SLAVERY—FERAMORZ LITTLE AND THE MAIL SERVICE—THE PIONEER MERCHANTS OF UTAH—DRAMATIC BEGINNINGS—THE SALT LAKE TEMPLE BEGUN—ARRIVAL OF THE NEW FEDERAL OFFICIALS.

A TEMPORARY isolation, we have maintained, was all that Brigham Young and his people expected to secure in settling in the Great Basin behind the bulwarks of the Rocky Mountains. It has become so fashionable, however, to believe otherwise; to think and even say that the Mormons were chagrined at finding themselves, so soon after leaving American soil, again within the boundaries of the great and growing Republic, that an unsupported assertion to the contrary would probably gain little credence.

But the proofs of the fact are abundant. Like Falstaff's reasons, they are "as plenty as blackberries," if one will but stop at the bush of history long enough to pick them. In that event it will be found that these proofs, unlike those reasons, are sound and genuine.

It has already been shown that the Mormon people, in the very midst of their persecutions in Illinois, had no desire to migrate beyond the bounds of the Union. They came out of the United States because they were compelled to; having first petitioned in vain the president of the nation and the governors of the several commonwealths for an asylum of peace and safety within their borders. It was to get beyond the reach of mobocracy and

threatened massacre that they passed reluctantly over the borders of the Union into Mexico. It was temporary, not permanent isolation that they sought, when, instead of being allured by the brighter worldly prospects that beacons from the Pacific Coast, they decided to settle in a desert land and colonize the shores of America's dead sea. The chagrin they felt was when they found themselves, by act of Congress, more completely isolated than they desired,—hemmed in between two mighty walls, two great mountain ranges,—having no open communication with the Pacific or with the world at large.

It has also been shown that the Mormon Pioneers, while crossing the plains in the spring of 1847, traversed for hundreds of miles a route subsequently selected as a portion of the road-bed of the Union Pacific Railway. But they did more. They actually marked out, or their leader did, the route over which it was foreseen that a great national railroad from the Missouri River to the Pacific Coast would some day most likely pass. Says George A. Smith, in a letter written many years later to the New York *Evening Post*: "I crossed the plains with Brigham Young on his pioneer journey in 1847. We were looking for a railroad route as well as a wagon road, and in company with him I made many a detour from the wagon road to find passes where a railroad could be constructed through the mountains. We then expected that ten or fifteen years would be sufficient to complete the road."

This portion of Apostle Smith's letter was in answer to a statement contained in a certain book sent him by the editor of the *Post* to review. That statement was as follows: "The former policy of this people (the Mormons) was seclusive, and consequently strongly opposed to all railroad enterprises; but when inevitable fate pushed the Union Pacific and Central Pacific lines across the continent, directly through their Territory, they wisely concluded to make the innovation profitable, as it was unavoidable."

Having partly answered this statement, as above, Apostle Smith next referred to an event which took place in Utah in the spring of 1852. Of that event we will now speak.

On the 3rd of March of that year, nearly seventeen years before "inevitable fate" succeeded in pushing the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railway lines across the continent to their welding-point at Promontory, the following memorial was addressed to Congress by the Governor and Legislature of Utah :

MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF A NATIONAL
CENTRAL RAILROAD TO THE PACIFIC COAST.

APPROVED MARCH 3, 1852.

*To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States,
in Congress assembled :*

Your memorialists, the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, respectfully pray your honorable body to provide for the establishment of a national railroad from some eligible point on the Mississippi or Missouri River to San Diego, San Francisco, Sacramento or Astoria, or such other point on or near the Pacific coast, as the wisdom of your honorable body may dictate.

Your memorialists respectfully state that the immense emigration to and from the Pacific requires the immediate attention, guardian care and fostering assistance of the greatest and most liberal government on the face of the earth. Your memorialists are of the opinion that not less than five thousand American citizens have perished on the different routes within the last three years, for the want of proper means of transportation.

That an eligible route can be obtained your memorialists have no doubt. Being extensively acquainted with the country, we know that no obstruction exists between this point and San Diego, and that iron, coal, timber, stone and other materials exist in various places on the route, and that the settlements of this Territory are so situated as to amply supply the builders of this road with materials and provisions, for a considerable portion of the route, and to carry on an extensive trade after the road is completed.

Your memorialists are of opinion that the mineral resources of California and these mountains can never be fully developed to the benefit of the people of the United States without the construction of such a road ; and upon its completion the entire trade of China and the East Indies will pass through the heart of the Union, thereby giving our citizens the almost entire control of the Asiatic and Pacific trade, pouring into the lap of the American states the millions that are now diverted through other commercial channels : and last, though not least, the road therein proposed would be a perpetual chain or iron band which would effectually hold together our glorious Union, with an imperishable identity of mutual interest, thereby consolidating our relations with foreign powers in times of peace, and our defense from foreign invasion by the speedy transmission of troops and supplies in times of war. The earnest attention of Congress to this important subject is solicited by your memorialists, who in duty bound will ever pray.

At the same session of the Legislature, Congress was petitioned for the establishment of a trans-continental telegraph line.

Like George Stephenson, when bringing before the British Parliament his locomotive railway innovations, Dr. Bernhisel, when submitting the above memorial to the American Congress, was smiled at and told that he was a hundred years ahead of the age. Nothing daunted, the Utah delegate humorously invited the nation's legislators to ride over the road on its completion and come and visit him at Salt Lake City. Twenty years later some of them actually did so, but it is questionable if they would have had the privilege that early, had not the people of Utah, by their Legislature,—then overwhelmingly Mormon—repeatedly petitioned Congress for the construction of the great railway, until finally it was authorized. As another proof that the Mormons were in earnest in this matter,—that they really wanted a railway to pass through Utah, and were disappointed because its advent was so long delayed, we present the following excerpt from Governor Young's message to the Legislature, dated December 12th, 1853 :

Since my last communication to your Honorable Body, nothing of serious importance has occurred, except the hostilities of the Utah Indians, to disturb the usual peace and quiet routine of the business affairs pertaining to our Mountain Government. The annual pilgrim host have come, and passed on to the land of gold, unobtrusively, and with unprecedented harmony, leaving occasional representatives here and there, who, either through choice or necessity, tarry awhile in the valleys of the mountains, awaiting the moving trains of another season, to escort them to rejoin their brethren at the shrine of their worship, the shining dust of the new-born star.

The immigration to this Territory has been considerable, amounting, it is estimated, to about ten thousand souls ; of these, a portion are from the Northern European States, and the British Isles, a very fair division to Utah, of the annual foreign immigration to the States, when we consider her far inland position.

Utah ! fair Utah ! behold her in the midst of the snow-capped mountains, narrow vales or extended plains ; no navigable river penetrates her surface, nor proceeds from her mountain fastnesses, on which to bear to her bosom the commerce of the nations.

The iron horse has not yet found his way along her narrow vales nor yet have the lightning wires conveyed to her citizens the latest news. In silent grandeur she reposes, content in her internal resources, unacquainted with the hurried excitement of the day or the passing wonder of the fleeting moment. For weeks, aye months, the ox trains drag their heavy weights along with whatever mail matter might have been entrusted in a day long since past and forgotten. Perhaps there are no people in this age of rapid communication, so isolated as ourselves.

In our internal intercourse, we have frequent exchanges with each other, but outside of this narrow compass, from two to seven months frequently intervene without a word from any source beyond the limit of the Great Basin.

It would seem probable that if the authorities at Washington could only realize themselves in our position in this respect they would exercise a little clemency and use a little exertion to let us hear from them as often as twice a month, if not weekly. We are not very nomadical in our pursuits and may usually be found somewhere in the vicinity of the Great Salt Lake, although it is said that we have wandered to the Gallipagos. Having no intention of straying so far, just at present, I propose that Congress be advised of the fact that we are still hereabouts, and may easily be found on enquiry. It might also be well to suggest to the department, that it would be as well, that is, if they wish to accommodate us with the mails, to let their contracts to such persons as make bids with the expectation of fulfilling them, and who will provide suitably to do it with some prospect of success.

The contracts heretofore would never justify extra expense, consequently the contractor's feeble attempts of course prove fruitless, and we have been left without a solitary mail, for over a half a year at a time.

We recognize in the Pacific Railway a work worthy the attention of a great and enterprising people; and pass where it will we cannot fail to be benefitted by it. The present overflowing coffers of the public treasury, seem a propitious omen for its speedy accomplishment, if Congress exercises that wisdom for the benefit of the nation, which will secure to herself the greatest political, as well as pecuniary advantages possessed in the century in which we live. It is of incalculable convenience and profit in times of peace, and indispensable in war. In addition to throwing into the lap of the nation the treasures and commerce of the Eastern Continent, and the Pacific isles, its accomplishment cannot fail by reason of furnishing so rapid a conveyance, to carry influence and power from one extremity of the Union to the other, and make her the arbiter of the world. It will greatly increase the commerce on the seas and afford it the most powerful protection.

Owing to the death of the deeply lamented Captain Gunnison and a portion of his party, who were engaged in exploring a route for this road, through this region of country, it is possible that its advantages may measurably be lost sight of, or remain unknown until a location of some route is made. I have therefore thought proper to call your attention to this subject, hoping that the interest which is known to exist in favor of this route, will not permit it to suffer for the want of proper representation to Congress.

Pursuant to the Governor's suggestion, during the month following the delivery of the message in question, a mammoth mass meeting convened at Salt Lake City and took steps toward memorializing Congress for the construction of a railway from the Missouri River via South Pass and Salt Lake Valley to the Pacific.

In the summer of 1852 the tenet of celestial or plural marriage—commonly called polygamy—which was destined to become in after

years the leading question of the so-called "Utah Problem," was for the first time publicly proclaimed by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. It had been practiced, as seen, at Nauvoo, and subsequently at Winter Quarters and in Utah; but up to this time the Church had never enunciated it. The practice, however, had long been evident, even to strangers visiting Utah; little or no effort being made by the Saints to conceal it. It had also been much commented upon, not only by such critics as Judge Brocchus and his colleagues, and others equally inimical to the Mormons, but by friendly visitors as well. Many had recorded and published their observations and impressions regarding the Latter-day Saints and their peculiar marital institution. Among the fairest writers may be mentioned Captain Stansbury and Lieutenant Gunnison, of whom we have before spoken. It will be well to give here a few extracts from Stansbury's fair and unprejudiced view of this feature of the Mormon faith. Says he:

But it is in their private and domestic relations that this singular people exhibit the widest departure from the habits and practice of all others denominating themselves Christian. I refer to what has been generally termed the "spiritual wife system," the practice of which was charged against them in Illinois, and served greatly to prejudice the public mind in that State. It was then, I believe, most strenuously denied by them that any such practice prevailed, nor is it now openly avowed, either as a matter sanctioned by their doctrine or discipline. But that polygamy does actually exist among them cannot be concealed from any one of the most ordinary observation, who has spent even a short time in this community. I heard it proclaimed from the stand, by the President of the Church himself, that he had the right to take a thousand wives, if he thought proper; and he defied anyone to prove from the Bible that he had not. At the same time, I have never known any member of the community to avow that he himself had more than one, although that such was the fact was as well known and understood as any fact could be.

If a man, once married, desires to take him a second helpmate, he must first, as with us, obtain the consent of the lady intended, and that of her parents or guardians, and afterward the approval of the seer or president, without which the matter cannot proceed. The woman is then "*sealed*" to him under the solemn sanction of the Church, and stands, in all respects, in the same relation to the man, as the wife that was first married. The union thus formed is considered a perfectly virtuous and honorable one, and the lady maintains, without blemish, the same position in society to which she would be entitled were she the sole wife of her husband. Indeed, the connection being under the sanction of the only true priesthood, is deemed infinitely more sacred and binding than any marriage among the gentile world, not only on account of its higher and more

sacred authority, but inasmuch as it bears directly upon the future state of existence of both the man and the woman; for it is the doctrine of the Church, that no woman can attain to celestial glory *without the husband*, nor can *he* arrive at full perfection in the next world, without at least one wife; and the greater the number he is able to take with him, the higher will be his seat in the celestial paradise.

All idea of sensuality, as the motive of such unions, is most indignantly repudiated; the avowed object being to raise up, as rapidly as possible, "a holy generation to the Lord," who shall build up His kingdom on the earth. Purity of life, in all the domestic relations, is strenuously inculcated; and they do not hesitate to declare, that when they shall obtain the uncontrolled power of making their own civil laws, (which will be when they are admitted as one of the States of the Union,) they will punish the departure from chastity in the severest manner, even by death.

As the seer or president alone possesses the power to approve of these unions, so also he alone can absolve the parties from their bonds, should circumstances in his judgment render it at any time either expedient or necessary. It may easily be perceived, then, what a tremendous influence the possession of such a power must give to him who holds it, and how great must be the prudence, firmness, sagacity, and wisdom required in one who thus stands in the relation of confidential adviser, as well as of civil and ecclesiastical ruler, over this singularly constituted community.

Upon the practical working of this system of plurality of wives, I can hardly be expected to express more than a mere opinion. Being myself an "out-sider" and a "gentile," it is not to be supposed that I should have been permitted to view more than the surface of what is in fact as yet but an experiment, the details of which are sedulously veiled from public view. So far, however, as my intercourse with the inhabitants afforded me an opportunity of judging, its practical operation was quite different from what I had anticipated. Peace, harmony, and cheerfulness seemed to prevail, where my preconceived notions led me to look for nothing but the exhibition of petty jealousies, envy, bickerings, and strife. Confidence and sisterly affection among the different members of the family seemed pre-eminently conspicuous, and friendly intercourse among neighbors, with balls, parties, and merry-makings at each others' houses, formed a prominent and agreeable feature of the society. In these friendly reunions, the president, with his numerous family, mingled freely, and was ever an honored and welcome guest, tempering by his presence the exuberant hilarity of the young, and not unfrequently closing with devotional exercises the gayety of a happy evening.

* * * * *

To this irreconcilable difference, not in speculative opinions only, but in habits, manners, and customs necessarily growing out of them, may, I think, in a great measure, be attributed the bitter hostility of the people among whom they formerly dwelt, and which resulted in their forcible expulsion.

Lieutenant Gunnison, upon the same subject, writes:

Thus guarded in motive and denounced as sin for other considerations than divine, the practical working of the system, so far as now extended, has every appearance of decorum.

The romantic notion of a single love is derided, and met by calling attention to the case of parental affection ; where the father's good will is bestowed alike on each of his many children ; and they pretend to see a more rational application of a generous soul in loving more than one wife, than in the bigotry of a partial adhesion.

It was during a special conference of the Church, held at Salt Lake City on the 28th and 29th of August, that the public avowal of plural marriage was made. The conference convened in the building which afterwards became known as the "Old Tabernacle," though it was then quite new, having been completed for dedication on the 6th of the preceding April. It stood upon the south-west corner of Temple Block, on the site now occupied by the handsome and stately Assembly Hall. It was built chiefly of adobes. Its dimensions were 126 by 64 feet, the interior being arched without a pillar. It was capable of seating between two and three thousand people. The "Old Bowery" was now no more, having been unroofed and taken apart and much of its material used in constructing the new place of worship.

There on the 29th of August, 1852, the revelation on Celestial Marriage, first recorded from the lips of the Prophet Joseph Smith on July 12th, 1843, was read to the assembled Saints and sustained by the uplifted hands of the large congregation as a doctrine of their faith and a revelation from the Almighty. The same day Apostle Orson Pratt preached to the conference the first authorized public discourse on the subject of plural marriage. Thousands of copies of the revelation were published and circulated throughout the Union and carried by missionaries to various parts of the world. One of these is preserved in the Deseret Museum. It is the proof revised by Editor Willard Richards, and authenticated by James McKnight, at that time foreman of the *Deseret News*.

At this conference Orson Pratt received an appointment to preside over the branches of the Church in the Eastern States and Canada; his headquarters to be at the city of Washington, where he was directed to establish a paper advocating the cause of the Saints. In that paper—*The Seer*—was duly set forth, among other tenets, the

polygamic principle of the Mormon faith. Thus was plural marriage proclaimed to the world.

The year 1852 was notable not only for the continued extension and growth of the Utah settlements, but also for improvements of different kinds projected and forwarded at various points. A chain of Mormon towns and villages now extended from the neighborhood of Bear River on the north, to within twenty-five miles of the southern rim of the Great Basin. The Santa Clara region was about being occupied. Settlements were also forming east and west of Salt Lake Valley, though not so rapidly as in other directions. In the west, on Mary's River—now in Nevada—the Indians were very troublesome, robbing and killing travelers, stealing cattle and committing various other depredations. A settlement in that vicinity was contemplated, in order to bring the savages under civilizing influences and preserve peaceful relations with them.

Mountains of coal and iron had previously been discovered in southern Utah, but now furnaces were erected and pig iron manufactured in Iron County. This led to the formation of the Deseret Iron Company, which was chartered by the Legislature during the following winter.

Near Manti, in Sanpete County, a fine quality of beautiful white building stone—oolite—had been found and was now being quarried. The present temple at Manti is composed of this stone, which at one time was thought to be more suitable for building purposes than any other rock in Utah. The granite quarries in Little Cottonwood Canyon, which furnished the stone for the Salt Lake Temple, were just being developed.

During 1852 William Ward, a young architect and sculptor, a native of Leicester, England, but then a resident of Utah, carved out of the Manti rock several handsome specimens of his handiwork. One of these was a block for the Washington Monument, a contribution from the Territory previously authorized by the Legislature. The stone was three feet long, two feet wide and six-and-a-half inches thick. In the centre was the emblematic bee-

hive and under it the word "Deseret." Over the hive was the All-seeing Eye. The whole was surmounted and flanked with foliage and other symbols, beautifully wrought by the sculptor's chisel. This stone, when completed, was forwarded to Washington, and in due time found its place, among similar offerings from the various States and Territories, in the grand and lofty structure reared to the memory of the Father of his Country. Ward the sculptor also carved the stone lion still to be seen on the front portico of the famous Lion House in Salt Lake City.*

Public buildings were erected this year at Salt Lake, Fillmore, Parowan and other places. The principal improvement at Fillmore was the construction of one wing of the State House. Among the new buildings at Salt Lake City was the Social Hall, which superseded the Old Bowery as the local temple of the drama. The building of a wall around Temple Block, begun sometime before, was continued, and a woolen mill and a sugar factory were projected. Grist and saw mills had long since been in operation all over the Territory. Cutlery establishments, potteries and various other industries were also running successfully.

Governor Young and other leaders of the community were very strenuous at this period upon the subjects of manual training and home manufacture. Said the Governor, in his message to the Legislature in January of that year: "Deplorable indeed must be the situation of that people whose sons are not trained in the practice of every useful avocation, and whose daughters mingle not in the hive of industry. * * * Produce what you consume; draw from the native elements the necessities of life; permit no vitiated taste to lead you into indulgence of expensive luxuries, which can only be obtained by involving yourselves in debt. Let home industry produce every article of home consumption."

At the Governor's suggestion, appropriations were made by the

* Mr. Ward, after many years absence from Utah, has lately returned to the Territory, and now resides in Salt Lake City.

Legislature to encourage the local manufacturing interests. He also asked for protective legislation to foster the infant industries. The total revenue of the Territory for the past year, from an assessed valuation of taxable property fixed at \$1,160,883.80, was \$26,670.58 ; over ten thousand dollars of which was still out. Of the amount collected, not more than one-tenth was paid in cash, wheat being the chief article substituted. Nearly ten thousand dollars were expended for printing, surveys, roads, bridges, and the manufacturing and educational interests of the Territory.

Governor Young's views upon the question of slavery cannot fail to be interesting to the general reader. Said he in his message to the Legislature from which we last quoted :

The practice of purchasing Indian children for slaves is a trade carried on by the Mexican population of New Mexico and California. These traders of late years have extended their traffic into the limits of this Territory. This trade I have endeavored to prevent, and this fall, happening to encounter a few of them in my travels as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, strictly prohibited their further traffic. The majority of them appeared satisfied, and after making an exchange of property in the settlements, returned to their own country ; unfortunately, however, a few of them still determined to carry on their nefarious traffic ; they have been arrested and are now on their trial in this city.

It is unnecessary for me to indicate the true policy for Utah in regard to slavery. Restrictions of law and government make all servants ; but human flesh to be dealt in as property is not consistent or compatible with the true principles of government. My own feelings are that no property can or should be recognized as existing in slaves, either Indian or African. No person can purchase them without their becoming as free, so far as natural rights are concerned, as persons of any other color ; under the present law and degraded situation of the Indian race, so long as the practice of gambling away, selling and otherwise disposing of their children, as also sacrificing prisoners, obtains among them, it seems indeed that any transfer would be to them a relief and a benefit. Many a life by this means is saved ; many a child redeemed from the thralldom of savage barbarity and placed upon an equal footing with the more favored portions of the human race. If in return for favors and expenses which may have been incurred on their account, service should be considered due, it would become necessary that some law should provide the suitable regulations under which all such indebtedness should be defrayed. This may be said to present a new feature in the traffic of human beings, it is essentially purchasing them into freedom instead of slavery ; but it is not the low, servile drudgery of Mexican slavery, to which I would doom them, not to be raised among beings scarcely superior to themselves, but where they could find that consideration pertaining not only to civilized, but humane and benevolent society.

So shall the benevolence of the human heart be called into action, to promote the improvement of the down-trodden race whose fathers long swayed the destiny of empires; so shall the condition of the poor, forlorn, destitute, ignorant savage, or African, as the case may be, become ameliorated and a foundation laid for their advancement in the scale of useful, exalting existence; useful to themselves, to their nation, and all who shall come within the purview of their influence.

Thus will a people be redeemed from servile bondage, both mental and physical, and placed upon a platform upon which they can build, and extend forth as far as their capability and natural rights will permit; their thralldom will no longer exist, although the seed of Canaan will inevitably carry the curse which was placed upon them until the same authority which placed it there shall see proper to have it removed. Service is necessary; it is honorable; it exists in all countries, and has existed in all ages; it probably will exist in some form in all time to come.

It has long since ceased to become a query with me who were the most amenable to the laws of righteousness, those who through the instrumentality of human power brought into servitude human beings, who naturally were their own equals, or those acting upon the principle of nature's law, brought into this position or situation those who were naturally designed for that purpose, and whose capacities are more befitting that than any other station in society. Thus, while servitude may and should exist, and that, too, upon those who are naturally designed to occupy the position of "servants of servants," yet we should not fall into the other extreme and make them as beasts of the field, regarding not the humanity which attaches to the colored race; nor elevate them, as some seem disposed, to an equality with those whom Nature and Nature's God has indicated to be their masters, their superiors, nor yet again drag into servitude through the circumstance of penury or misfortune those who are our equals, peradventure of a common parentage with ourselves; but rather let us build upon a foundation which the God of Nature has furnished, observing the law of natural affection for our kind, and subserve the interests of our fellows by extending the principles of true liberty to all the children of men, in accordance with the designs of their Creator.

Most of the settlements of the Territory were now supplied with post offices. Hon. Willard Richards was post-master of Salt Lake City. Between that point and Independence, Missouri, a monthly mail service—or the contract for one—had been established in July, 1850. Colonel Samuel H. Woodson, of Independence, was the contractor with the United States Post Office Department for this service, probably the first one between the Missouri River and Salt Lake Valley performed under contract with the general government. It was to run for four years. That it was poorly conducted is evident from the fact, previously mentioned, that the news of the creation of Utah Territory, in September, 1850, did not reach Salt Lake City

until January, 1851, and then came via California by private messenger.

Since the summer of 1851, however, a sub-contract had been in operation between Colonel Woodson and Feramor Little, the latter a Mormon and a citizen of Utah. By the terms of this contract, Mr. Little—who associated with him his two brothers-in-law, Charles F. Decker and Ephraim K. Hanks—was to carry the mail between Salt Lake City and Fort Laramie for two years and eleven months, the balance of the term for which Colonel Woodson had contracted. The carriers from east and west, between the Missouri and the Rocky Mountains, were to meet at Laramie on the 15th of each month. From this on, though the enterprise was both difficult and dangerous, the arrival and departure of the mails from Salt Lake City were more regular. At first the entire distance between Forts Laramie and Bridger—four hundred miles—was run without a change of animals, but a trading post having been established at Devil's Gate, on the Sweetwater, Mr. Little kept relays of animals at that point. On their initial eastern trip, early in August, 1851, Messrs. Little and Hanks had encountered Judge Brocchus and his party on their way to Salt Lake City.

Other improvements at the Mormon metropolis in 1852 were the erection of several merchants' stores on East Temple or Main Street, which was already becoming the business centre of the city. The first store of any consequence had been opened by Messrs. Livingston and Kinkead in 1849. They were non-Mormons. Their stock of goods was valued at \$20,000. The most convenient building to be obtained for their purpose was a long, low adobe house, belonging to the pioneer John Pack, which stood until several years ago on the north-east corner of the block where the Seventeenth Ward meeting-house now stands. That old adobe house was then one of the largest buildings in the city. Following this pioneer firm, Holliday and Warner, in 1850, opened a store in a small adobe school-house, east of the Eagle Gate, and subsequently in a building that for many years stood opposite the south gate of Temple

Block, and which was used successively as a store, as soldiers' barracks, a department of the University, and finally as the Deseret Museum. William H. Hooper, who married a Mormon girl and joined the Church, had charge of Holliday and Warner's mercantile business in Salt Lake City. Then came John and Enoch Reese, who had a store near the Council House, which has also since disappeared. J. M. Horner and Company opened for a short time in the *Deseret News* building, where Hooper and Williams soon succeeded them. Livingston and Bell, successors to Livingston and Kinkead, Gilbert and Gerrish, and others were later firms. William Nixon, called "the father of Utah merchants," from the fact that so many of the future commercial men of the Territory were in his employ, also conducted a flourishing business in Salt Lake City in 1852. Nixon was a Mormon and a native of England. The Walker Brothers and Henry W. Lawrence, then Mormons; George E. Bourne, John and James Needham, John Chislett, David Candland and other well known mercantile men were also in the field, either as employers or employed. William Jennings, the future merchant prince, was also in Utah at this time, beginning at the very bottom round of the ladder, up which he rapidly climbed to commercial eminence.

Among the advertisements of those days preserved in the early files of the *Deseret News* or some old way-bill to the mines, are many that now read very quaintly. For instance, John and Enoch Reese in 1851 announce that "We have constantly on hand all necessary articles of comfort for the wayfarer; such as flour, hard bread, butter, eggs and vinegar. Clothing—buckskin pants, whip lashes, as well as a good assortment of store goods, at our store near the Council House."

Marsena Cannon, the pioneer photographer, father to Deputy-Marshall Bowman Cannon, expresses the "opinion that he can satisfy any taste as to the matter of a likeness." The price of photographs was then from four to five dollars apiece, but a year later fell to two-and-a-half dollars each, or "two persons taken on the same plate four dollars."

Alexander Neibaur, surgeon-dentist from Berlin and Liverpool, informs the public that he examines and extracts teeth, besides keeping constantly on hand a supply of the best matches, manufactured by himself.

William Hennefer caps the climax by announcing that in connection with his barber shop he has just opened an eating house, where his patrons will be accommodated with every edible luxury that the Valley affords.

William Nixon is particular to point out the exact locality of his "shop;" it being "at Jacob Houtz' house, on the south-east corner of Council House Street and Emigration Street, opposite to Mr. Orson Spencer's." He states that the goods he carries will be sold cheap for cash, wheat or flour. This indicates in part the mixed character of the currency of that period. Those humorists who assert that theatre and ball tickets were paid for in those days with pumpkins and potatoes, were not far wide of the truth.

What was then called "cheap" may be gathered from the following partial list of prices:

An inferior cooking stove cost from \$75 to \$150.

Glass sold for \$15 to \$18 per half box.

Foolscap and letter paper, \$10 to \$12 per ream.

Brown shirting and sheeting, 20 to 30 cts. per yard.

Hickory shirting, 25 to 30 cts.

Kentucky jeans, 75 cts. to \$1.25.

Cotton flannel, 30 to 40 cts.

Prints, 25 to 50 cts.

All kinds of manufactured steel and iron goods commanded high prices.

Wheat brought from 75 cts. to \$1.00 per bushel.

On New Year's day, 1853, the Social Hall, recently erected, was dedicated and formally opened; not with a dramatic performance, but with a sociable and a ball; speeches, picnic and vocal and instrumental music being interspersed. A distinguished company was present. President Heber C. Kimball called the assembly to

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Wm. Jennings





order and Apostle Amasa M. Lyman offered the dedicatory prayer. President Young is not mentioned by the *News* reporter as being present, but he is well known to have been the projector of the building. His well-known saying, "The people must have amusements," with the interest that he ever manifested in furnishing pure and wholesome recreations for the community, were only another evidence of the practical wisdom and superior good sense of the founder of Utah. There were also present the members of the Deseret Dramatic Association, then under the presidency of Alonzo H. Raleigh. James Ferguson, soldier, lawyer, orator and actor, the "leading man" of the talented organization, and the silver-tongued declaimer and speech-maker of those days, delivered an eloquent address to those assembled, congratulating them on the completion and opening of the first hall erected in Salt Lake City for the practice of the dramatic art. John Kay and family, Horace K. Whitney, William C. Dunbar, Mrs. Mary Wheelock, and a minstrel combination called "The African Band," were among the vocalists and reciters of the occasion. At the close of the ball in the evening President Jedediah M. Grant dismissed the assembly with prayer.

The first dramatic performance given in the Social Hall was on the evening of Monday, January 19th, 1853. The play was that historic and romantic favorite, Pizarro, so popular in the "fifties" and "sixties." The brilliant and capable Ferguson sustained the role of Rolla, and John Kay impersonated Pizarro. The rest of the main cast, as remembered and furnished by Hon. John T. Caine, was as follows: Alonzo, Joseph M. Simmons; Las Casas, J. M. Barlow; Atalaba, James W. Cummings; High Priest, James Smithies; Soldier, Philip Margetts; Old Peruvian, Robert Campbell; Child, H. B. Clawson, Jr.; Cora, Mrs. M. G. Clawson; Elvira, Mrs. Coray.

* Porter convulsed his audience and the *dramatis personæ* at one time in this very play, Pizarro. His speech, addressed to the Old Peruvian: "Another word, grey-headed ruffian, and I strike," being uttered, Porter, turning nervously toward the prompter, asked in a loud whisper: "Shall I stick him?"

Hiram B. Clawson at times played Alonzo, and Porter Rockwell essayed the Spanish soldier.*

The first play ever produced in Utah, however, antedated the original Social Hall performance by at least two years. It was in the Old Bowery in 1850, or 1851—authorities differ as to which—that the Musical and Dramatic Company, the original Thespian organization of the Rocky Mountains, presented the drama of "Robert Macaire," with the following cast:

Macaire,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	John Kay.
Jacques,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Hiram B. Clawson.
Pierre,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Philip Margetts.
Marie,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Miss Orum.
Clementina,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Miss M. Judd.

John Kay's Macaire, and Hiram Clawson's Jacques—the only parts in the piece affording much opportunity—are said to have been unrivalled. Miss Judd, who played Clementina in this pioneer presentation, afterwards became Mrs. Margaret G. Clawson, for many years a favorite local comedienne. As for Philip Margetts, the popular comedian of today, the whole Pacific slope has heard of him.

Utah's first dramatic company was organized at the house of William Clayton in the Seventeenth Ward, Salt Lake City. Robert Campbell was its President, and A. M. Musser, Secretary. The *corps dramatique*, a portion of whom appeared in the initial performance at the Bowery, were: Hiram B. Clawson, James Ferguson, Philip Margetts, John Kay, Horace K. Whitney, Robert Campbell, Robert T. Burton, George D. Grant, Edmund Ellsworth, Henry Margetts, Edward Martin, William Glover, and William Clayton. The ladies were Miss Orum, Miss Judd and Miss Mary Badlam. The orchestra consisted of William Pitt, violin and flute; Jacob F. Hutchison, violin and clarionette; James Smithies, cello, and others. Messrs. Kay, Burton, Clayton and Whitney when not taking part upon the stage, also assisted in the orchestra. The Musical and Dramatic Company was succeeded by the Deseret Dramatic Associa-



A. H. Raleigh



tion, organized in 1851 with A. H. Raleigh as president. For it the Social Hall was erected in 1852. Until ten years later, when the Salt Lake Theatre was opened, the Social Hall continued to be the chief altar in Utah upon which incense was burned to the dramatic muse.*

The spring of 1853 was rendered locally memorable by witnessing the inception of the great Mormon Temple at Salt Lake City, a structure unsurpassed, if not unequalled for beauty and sublimity, by any other edifice in America. The preliminary steps toward the erection of this magnificent architectural pile were taken on the 14th of February. On the morning of that day the First Presidency, the Apostles, and other dignitaries of the Church repaired to Temple Block, where the ceremony of consecrating the ground, preparatory to excavating for the foundations of the building, took place in the presence of assembled thousands. The Presidency, having pointed out the exact spot where the edifice should stand, Truman O. Angell, the architect, and Jesse W. Fox, surveyor, at once began to lay off the grounds. By 11 a. m. the survey was completed. After music by the bands, President Young delivered an address, and the consecrating prayer was offered by President Heber C. Kimball. The Twelve Apostles assisted in breaking the ground for the foundations. Mayor Grant and other city officials also took part in the proceedings; Marshal Little and the police being present to preserve order and guard against accidents.

The ceremony of laying the corner-stones of the Temple was reserved for the 6th of April, the twenty-third anniversary of the Church. On that day, which fell upon Wednesday, the city swarmed with people from all parts of the Territory, assembling, as was their wont, to the general conference at the metropolis. The day was delightful, and every countenance reflected the glad smile that beamed from the face of universal nature. The occasion was one of deep and thrilling interest to all.

* The Utah Legislature held several sessions at the Social Hall in the "fifties."

General Wells, who was also Superintendent of Public Works, had detailed Captains David Pettigrew and Philemon C. Merrill, with companies of guards, to take part in the day's proceedings, and Captain Leonard W. Hardy and the city police were ordered out for the same purpose by Mayor Grant, who was marshal of the day.

The conference having been duly opened at the Tabernacle, a procession was formed at the vestry door in the following order: Martial music, colors; Nauvoo Brass Band, colors; Ballo's Band, colors; Captain Pettigrew with Relief Guards, colors; singers; First President and counselors and aged patriarchs; The Twelve Apostles, first presidency of the Seventies, and president and counselors of the Elders' quorum; president of the High Priests' quorum and counselors, with the president of the stake and the High Council; Presiding Bishop, with his counsel, and the presidents of the lesser priesthood and their counsel; architects and workmen, selected for the day, with banner representing "Zion's Workmen;" Captain Merrill, with Relief Guards in uniform.

Says the report taken at the time: "The procession then marched through the line of guards to the south-east corner of the Temple ground, the singers taking their position in the centre, the Nauvoo brass band on the east bank, Captain Ballo's band on the west bank, and the martial band on the mound southwest. Captains Pettigrew, Hardy, and Merrill, with their commands, occupied the front of the bank (which was sixteen feet deep), and moving from corner to corner with the laying of the several stones, prevented an undue rush of the people, which might, by an excavation, have endangered the lives of many; Presidents Young, Kimball and Richards, with Patriarch John Smith, proceeded to lay the south-east corner stone, and ascended the top thereof, when the choir sang. President Young delivered the chief oration, and Heber C. Kimball offered the consecration prayer.

"The procession again formed and moved to the south-west corner, when the presiding bishop, Edward Hunter, his counsel, and the various presidents of the lesser priesthood, with their associates,





Genl W Tappan



laid the south-west corner stone, when, from its top, Bishop Hunter delivered the oration and Bishop Alfred Cordon offered the consecration prayer.

"The procession again formed and moved to the north-west corner stone, accompanied with martial music, when John Young, president of the high priests' quorum, with his counsel, and the president of the stake, with the high council, proceeded to lay the stone. That being done, they ascended the stone and President John Young delivered the oration, and George B. Wallace offered the consecration prayer.

"The procession again formed and proceeded to the north-east corner stone, which was laid by the Twelve Apostles, the first Presidency of the seventies and the presidency of the elders' quorum. The Apostles then ascended the stone, and Elder P. P. Pratt delivered the oration, and Orson Hyde offered the consecration prayer."

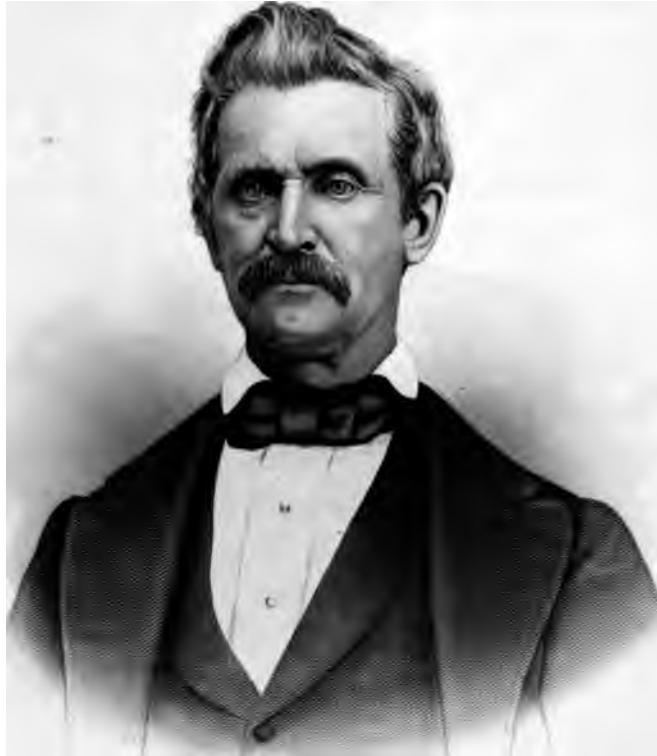
Thus was begun the great Salt Lake Temple, now nearing completion after a lapse of nearly forty years. From the first, work upon the edifice,—which has been much interrupted,—proceeded slowly; the poverty of the people and the difficulty of obtaining building materials being among the main causes. Until the advent of the railway, every rock that went into the building was hauled by oxen from the mountains southeast of Salt Lake City, a distance of nearly twenty miles. It was at first decided to build the temple of adobes and rock from Red Butte, and a wooden railway was laid to that canyon for the purpose, but subsequently the Cottonwood granite was chosen. John Sharp, afterwards Bishop and railway magnate, opened the Cottonwood quarries and superintended for many years the quarrying and hauling of the temple rock. The chiseling of these huge granite blocks into the various forms devised by the architect's plans, with other necessary work about the grounds and building, has furnished employment from the start to mechanics and laborers who were continually arriving in the yearly immigrations from abroad.

The architect of this temple, who not only drew the original plans, but had general oversight of the construction from its beginning until his death in 1887, was Truman O. Angell, brother-in-law to President Brigham Young. His successor, the present temple architect, is Joseph Don Carlos Young, one of the President's sons. The early carpenters and builders about Temple Block were under Miles Romney, father of Bishop George Romney, of Salt Lake City; the blacksmiths were under Thomas Tanner, the pioneer artilleryman, the painters under William Pitt, Captain of the Nauvoo brass band, and the machinists under Nathan T. Davis. But if all who have had a hand in the construction of the great edifice were to be mentioned, a volume would scarcely suffice to hold the names.

On the 5th of June, 1853, Hon. Lazarus H. Reed, the new Chief Justice of Utah, arrived at Salt Lake City, and on the day following took the oath of office, administered to him by Governor Young. Associate Justice Shaver and Secretary Ferris had arrived, the latter in the summer, and the former in the autumn of 1852. Of his reception by the Mormon leader, Judge Reed said, in a letter written soon after his arrival:

I waited on His Excellency, Governor Young, exhibited to him my commission, and by him was duly sworn and installed as Chief Justice of Utah. I was received by Governor Young with marked courtesy and respect. He has taken pains to make my residence here agreeable. The Governor, in manners and conversation, is a polished gentleman, very neat and tasty in dress, easy and pleasant in conversation, and I think, a man of decided talent and strong intellectual qualities. * * * I have heard him address the people once on the subject of man's free agency. He is a very excellent speaker; his gesture uncommonly graceful, articulation distinct, and speech pleasant.

* * * The Governor is a first rate business man. As civil Governor of the Territory and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, we would naturally suppose he had as much to do as one man could well attend to; but in addition to those employments, he is also President of the Church—a station which is no sinecure by any means. His private business is extensive; he owns several grist and saw mills, is extensively engaged in farming operations, all of which he superintends personally. I have made up my mind that no man has been more grossly misrepresented than Governor Young, and that he is a man who will reciprocate kindness and good intentions as heartily and as freely as any one, but if abused, or crowded hard, I think he may be found exceedingly hard to handle.



Truman C. Angell.



Judge Shaver wrote letters in a similar strain, and he and the Chief Justice, by their friendly epistles and fair speeches, dispelled much of the prejudice engendered by their predecessors and others. This won for them the respect and love of the Mormon people, by whom they were highly esteemed.

Benjamin G. Ferris, the new Secretary of the Territory, unlike his colleagues, had no friendship for the Saints. He spent much of his time in Utah collecting materials for an anti-Mormon book which he afterwards published. After a six months' sojourn in Salt Lake City, he followed the example of his predecessor, Secretary Harris, and abruptly left the Territory. His wife also wrote a book against the Saints. Mr. Ferris was succeeded temporarily as Secretary, by Hon. Willard Richards—again appointed by the Governor to fill an interim—and eventually by Colonel Almon W. Babbitt, appointed by the President of the United States.

CHAPTER XXV.

1853—1854.

ANOTHER INDIAN WAR—CAUSES OF THE OUTBREAK—PEDRO LEON AND HIS ASSOCIATES—GOVERNOR YOUNG PROCLAIMS AGAINST THE MEXICAN SLAVE-TRADERS—PURCHASE OF FORT BRIDGER—WALKER ON THE WAR PATH—INDIAN RAIDS IN UTAH AND SANPETE VALLEYS—THE WAR BECOMES GENERAL—COLONEL GEORGE A. SMITH GIVEN COMMAND OF THE SOUTHERN UTAH MILITARY DISTRICTS—GOVERNOR YOUNG'S LETTER TO CHIEF WALKER—THE GUNNISON MASSACRE—END OF THE WALKER WAR—OTHER EVENTS OF 1853-4—SUMMIT, GREEN RIVER, AND CARSON COUNTIES CREATED—UTAH SETTLEMENTS AT THE CLOSE OF 1853—JOHN C. FREMONT AT PAROWAN—DEATH OF PRESIDENT WILLARD RICHARDS—A GRASSHOPPER VISITATION.

ANOTHER Indian war broke out in Utah in the summer of 1853. It was known as the Ute or Walker war, so named from the fact that Walkara, or to give him his full English title, Joseph Walker, the restless and belligerent chief of the Ute nation, was at the bottom of the trouble, and at the very head and front of the hostiles.

We say that Walker was at the bottom of the trouble. This statement may need some qualification. His was the visible hand, without doubt; but that other agencies were at work inciting him to hostility seems just as certain.

As early as November, 1851, the *Deseret News*, then the only paper published in Utah, had called attention to the fact that one Pedro Leon and a party of about twenty Spanish Mexicans were in Sanpete Valley trading horses for Indian children, firearms, etc., and that they held licenses, spurious or genuine, signed by James S. Calhoun, Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs for New Mexico, purporting to authorize them to trade with the Utah Indians. One of these licenses was made out to Pedro Leon. It was signed by Superintendent Calhoun, and dated at Santa Fe, New Mexico,

August 14th, 1851. It authorized Leon to trade with the Utah Indians without reference to locality. But there was another, a blank license, in the possession of the party, dated July 30th, of that year, signed by the same official, authorizing its holder, whose name was not given, to "proceed to Salt Lake country, in the Territory of Utah, for the purpose of trading with the Utah Indians in said region." Editor Richards commented on these facts as follows :

We have not seen or heard His Excellency, Governor Young, upon the subject, he being confined to his house by sickness, but we shall speak our own sentiments on this matter ; and first, the license given to Pedro Leon to trade with the Utah Indians, was designed, as we believe, to be confined to the Utah Indians in New Mexico, and that said Pedro has exceeded his license in coming within the limits of Utah Territory ; and if we are mistaken in these premises, the next most reasonable conclusion is, that some other person than James S. Calhoun, as Governor and Superintendent of Indian affairs in New Mexico, has issued such license, and if this be a wrong conclusion and said Calhoun is Governor and Superintendent in said Territory, that he ought to try and watch his boys a little closer and keep them out of other dominions.

And again, if the said J. S. Calhoun is Governor and Superintendent of Indian affairs of New Mexico, and has issued a blank license to any honest man, or scoundrel, who may please to put his name to it and by the authority of that license, go to "Salt Lake country, in the Territory of Utah, and trade in said country, and in no other place, and with no other than Utah Indians," he has transcended the limits and authority of his office, he has violated his oath, trampled upon the Constitution and laws of the United States. and set at defiance every righteous principle that binds together the states and territories of our Union. But if said blank be a forgery, and there be any such man as J. S. Calhoun, it belongs to him or his friends to ferret out and expose the forger.

Again, the purchase and removal of Indian children from Utah Territory to any other state or territory, or the removal of Indian children without purchase to any other territory by any such means or process, as appears to have been contemplated by said men, is kidnapping in the eyes of the U. S. laws, and ought to be treated so in any United States court.

It is well understood that the Navahoe Indians are at war with the United States, and it is strongly presumed that those traders are endeavoring to purchase arms and ammunition for the purpose of supplying the Navahoe Indians, in exchange for horses, mules, blankets, etc. Now if we are correct in our supposition, for any one to furnish arms and ammunition to said Indians to fight against the United States, would be treason, according to the letter of the Constitution ; and for any one to sell arms or ammunition to said traders, having reasonable proof of their designs, would be giving aid and comfort to the enemies of the nation, and equally entitle them to a traitor's halter.

We have no objections to the Spaniards, Mexicans, or any other nation coming to our midst, buying tea, sugar, coffee, or molasses, buying, selling or swapping horses,

mules, or any other animals or property, which will tend to the public good ; but from what we have heard of the affair before us, we feel to raise our warning voice to all men within our limits, and especially to the citizens of Utah Territory, to beware how they furnish arms or ammunition to any tribe of Indians whatsoever, and especially to any tribe at war with the United States, or to any man or set of men of whom it can be reasonably supposed they have any disposition to furnish munitions of war to hostile tribes. And we further counsel that no person whatsoever be guilty of trafficking in human blood, or of selling Indians or Indian children to be transported out of the Territory or from one part of the Territory to another.

This vigorous setting forth of the case, with the warning contained therein, seems to have had little effect upon the haughty spirits of the Mexican slave-traders, who continued their traffic in Indian children and firearms, and declared that they would ask no odds of the authorities of the Territory. One fellow, clothed from head to heel in buckskin, and with enough knives and pistols on his person to furnish a small arsenal, asserted that he would do just as he thought proper in the matter, and that he had a band of four hundred Mexicans on the Sevier, who would back him up and do his bidding. When expostulated with upon his unlawful course and warned of the consequences, he flippantly remarked, "Catching is before hanging," and paid no further attention to the remonstrances of the settlers. His "four hundred Mexicans" subsequently proved to be a band of one hundred and fifty Yampa Utes, a portion of the savage horde that two years later followed the chief Walker in his destructive raids upon the southern settlements.

Pedro Leon and some of his associates were arrested and tried before a Justice of the Peace at Manti during the winter of 1851-52, and subsequently their case came up before Judge Zerubbabel Snow in the First District Court. His Honor in summing up the case stated the following as the material facts:

"In September last, twenty-eight Spaniards left New Mexico on a trading expedition with the Utah Indians, in their various localities in New Mexico and Utah. Twenty-one of the twenty-eight were severally interested in the expedition. The residue were servants. Among this company were the Spaniards against whom these suits

were brought. Before they left, Pedro Leon obtained a license from the Governor of New Mexico to trade on his own account with the Utah Indians, in all their various localities. Another member of the company also had a license given to blank persons by the Governor of New Mexico. The residue were without license. They proceeded on their route until they arrived near the Rio Grande, where they exchanged with the Indians some goods for horses and mules. With these horses and mules, being something more than one hundred, they proceeded to Green River, in this Territory, where they sent some five or six of their leading men to see Governor Young, and exhibit to him their license; and as the Spanish witness said, if that was not good here, then to get from him another license. Governor Young not being at home, but gone south, they proceeded after and found him November 3rd at Sanpete Valley. Here they exhibited to the Governor their license, and informed him they wished to sell their horses and mules to the Utah Indians, and buy Indian children to be taken to New Mexico. Governor Young then informed them that their license did not authorize them to trade with the Indians in Utah. They then sought one from him, but he refused to give it, for the reason that they wanted to buy Indian children for slaves. The Spaniards then promised him they would not trade with the Indians but go immediately home. Twenty of the number, with about three-fourths of the horses and mules, left pursuant to this promise and have not been heard from since. The eight who were left behind are the men who are parties to these proceedings."

Judge Snow decided against the eight defendants, who were shown to have violated the law, and the Indian slaves in their possession, a squaw and eight children, were liberated, and the Mexicans sent away.

It was thought that this would end the trouble, but it did not. Some of the slave-traders felt revengeful, and forthwith went to work stirring up the savages against the Utah settlers. These tactics called forth, early in 1853, the following proclamation from Governor Young:

PROCLAMATION BY THE GOVERNOR.

Whereas it is made known to me by reliable information, from affidavits, and various other sources, that there is in this Territory a horde of Mexicans, or outlandish men, who are infesting the settlements, stirring up the Indians to make aggressions upon the inhabitants, and who are also furnishing the Indians with guns, ammunition, etc., contrary to the laws of this Territory and the laws of the United States:

And Whereas it is evident that it is the intention of these Mexicans or foreigners to break the laws of this Territory and the United States, utterly regardless of every restriction, furnishing Indians with guns and powder, whenever and wherever it suits their designs, convenience, or purposes:

Therefore, I, BRIGHAM YOUNG, Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Territory of Utah, in order to preserve peace, quell the Indians and secure the lives and property of the citizens of the Territory, hereby order and direct as follows:

1st. That a small detachment consisting of thirty men, under the charge of Captain Wall, proceed south through the entire extent of the settlements reconnoitering the country and directing the inhabitants to be on their guard against any sudden surprise.

2nd. That said reconnoitering officer communicate with the expedition now traveling south, as often as any information of importance is obtained, that I may be kept advised of every transaction.

3rd. The officer and party hereby sent upon this service are hereby authorized and directed to arrest and keep in close custody every strolling Mexican party, and those associating with them, and other suspicious persons or parties that they may encounter, and leave them safely guarded at the different points of settlement to await further orders, as circumstances shall transpire and the laws direct.

4th. The Militia of the Territory are hereby instructed to be in readiness to march to any point to which they may be directed at a moment's notice.

5th. All Mexicans now in the Territory are required to remain quiet in the settlements and not attempt to leave under any consideration, until further advised; and the officers of the Territory are hereby directed to keep them in safe custody, treating them with kindness and supplying their necessary wants.

6th. While all the people should be on their constant guard, they are also requested to remain quiet and orderly, pursuing their various avocations until such times as they may be called upon to act in their own defense.

7th. The officer in command of the reconnoitering detachment is hereby directed to move with caution, that he may not be taken in ambush or surprise; to preserve his men and animals, and still be as expeditious in his movements as possible; and the people at the various settlements are hereby requested to furnish him such aid and assistance as shall be necessary.



Done at the City of Provo, in the County of Utah, this 23rd day of April, A. D. 1853.

By the Governor, BRIGHAM YOUNG.

BENJ. G. FERRIS, Secretary.

The presence of the Governor in Provo at this time is explained by the fact that his Excellency with a small party had just set out upon a tour through some of the southern settlements, and had reached Provo when it became expedient to issue the proclamation.

Governor Young strongly suspected that Colonel Bridger was much opposed to the formation of settlements in this region, and that he had a hand in inciting the Indians against the colonists in 1850. Probably this was one reason why the Governor, early in 1853, negotiated with the proprietors of Fort Bridger for the purchase of that property, which transfer being made, Colonel Bridger left the Territory never to return. He died some years later at St. Louis.

For about a year before the beginning of the Walker war, that chief, it is said, who at times could be pleasant and gracious, had worn a surly air, and was believed to be looking for a pretext to declare war upon the settlers. Possibly he burned to avenge the disasters of that portion of his tribe who had participated in the fights at Fort Utah and Table Mountain. At all events he was now "spoiling for a fight," and if a good excuse were not soon forthcoming his fertile fancy was quite capable of producing one to his liking. But the excuse came; the desired provocation was given, and Walker at once took to the war-path, as naturally and doubtless with the same sense of delight as a caged bird feels on regaining its freedom, or as a speckled denizen of the waters, which some disciple of Walton has landed high and dry, experiences when it succeeds in slipping through the hands of its captor and bounding back into its native brook where alone it can live and thrive.

The Walker war began about in this way. A resident of Springville, in Utah County, seeing an Indian whipping his squaw, took her part and inflicted upon the wife-beater a severe castigation. From the effects of this, it is said, the Indian died. This was about the middle of July, 1853. At that time Walker, with his brother Arapeen and their bands, were encamped on Pe-teet-neet Creek, at the mouth of the canyon just above Payson. The savage who had been

whipped was one of their tribe. Walker, highly incensed, at first threatened Springville, but finding the people of that place on the alert, as they anticipated trouble, he turned his attention elsewhere. Arapeen undertook to strike the first blow in revenge. On the 18th of July, with a number of warriors, he rode down to Fort Payson, whose inhabitants, thinking no evil, received the red men kindly, and as usual gave them food. The Indians made no hostile movement until they started back to camp in the evening, when they shot and killed Alexander Keel, who was standing guard near the fort. Knowing well what would follow, Arapeen hastened back to his brother and told him what had been done. Walker immediately ordered his followers to pack their wigwams and retreat up Payson Canyon, which they did. Several families of settlers were then living in the canyon. Upon these the savages fired as they passed, but were evidently in too great a hurry, fearing pursuit, to do serious execution.

The people of Payson on their part, expecting a general attack from the Indians, at once flew to arms. They also sent messengers to Provo to apprise the military authorities there of what had occurred, and request immediate reinforcement. Colonel P. W. Conover, who still commanded the militia in Utah County, hastily gathered about a hundred and fifty men, and proceeded at once to Payson. He arrived there July 20th. Troops from Spanish Fork and Springville were already on the ground.

A council of war convened, consisting of Colonel Conover and his associate officers, and it was decided to follow in the track of the savages, who, it was feared, intended to attack the Sanpete settlements. Leaving the infantry to garrison the Payson fort, the cavalry, under Colonel Conover and Lieutenant Markham, at once set out for Manti. These movements were doubtless in accordance with orders from headquarters. General Wells, at Salt Lake City, having been apprised of the situation, had despatched Lieutenant-Colonel William H. Kimball with a hundred mounted men to join Colonel Conover at Payson.

Meantime, simultaneous attacks had been made by Indians at various points. At Springville, in a second assault upon that settlement, William Jolley was shot and wounded in the arm. At Nephi, in Juab County, cattle were stolen and the guard fired upon, while similar depredations were committed at Pleasant Creek and Manti, in Sanpete County.

Colonel Conover, on reaching Sanpete, left some of his men at each settlement to protect it against the Indians, who were now raiding and running off stock in all directions. Arriving at Manti and securing that place against attack, Conover's command divided and companies were sent out to scour the surrounding country in quest of the redskins. One of these detachments, under Lieutenant-Colonel Jabez Nowlin,—who it will be remembered was wounded in the two days' fight at Provo,—came upon a band of twenty or thirty Indians near Pleasant Creek on the 23rd of July. Being hailed by an interpreter and asked if they were friends or foes, the savages admitted that they were enemies, and without waiting to be attacked fired upon the troopers. Nowlin then ordered a charge, and the Indians, after the first fire, broke and fled, leaving six or seven of their number dead upon the field. Nowlin's company sustained no loss.

Colonel Conover now despatched messengers to Salt Lake City to request further orders from General Wells. The messengers sent were Clark Roberts, of Provo, and John W. Berry, of Spanish Fork. Leaving Manti in the afternoon of the 23rd, they reached Summit Creek—Santaquin—in Utah County, next morning. They found the place deserted, the settlers, fearing attack and massacre, having sought safety at Payson. As the messengers rode through the town they were fired upon by Indians concealed in some of the houses. Berry was shot in the left wrist, and Roberts through the shoulder. Putting spurs to their horses they rode at full speed toward Payson, hotly pursued by the Indians, from whom, however, they succeeded in escaping.

On the 25th of July, Colonel George A. Smith was given

command of all the militia in the Territory south of Salt Lake City, with instructions to take prompt and thorough measures for the defense and safety of the various settlements. The policy he was directed by Governor Young to pursue was to gather all the inhabitants into forts, corraling their stock and surrounding it with armed guards. No acts of retaliation or offensive warfare upon the red men were to be permitted; but on the contrary a conciliatory course towards them was to be maintained. At the same time vigilant watch was to be kept, and such Indians as were caught attempting to steal or kill, were to be summarily punished. These instructions Colonel Smith executed with his usual fidelity, and though it entailed much labor upon the settlers to put themselves in a proper state of defense, the wisdom of the policy, evident at the outset, was speedily confirmed. Those who failed to follow the instructions suffered heavily from the raids of the Indians.

A paragraph from Colonel Smith's orders to the settlers at that time is here inserted:

IX. To all we wish to say, that it is evident that the Indians intend to prey and subsist upon our stock and will shoot and kill whenever and wherever they can. It is therefore expected that these orders will be rigidly enforced and complied with, and the small settlements in Pe-teet-neet Canyon, and all such exposed places must be evacuated and the inhabitants of all weak settlements and stronger ones upon their borders should not be permitted to wander out any distance from the forts alone, or after dark, but keep themselves secure, and not permit any sense of security to lull them into a spirit of carelessness or indifference to their safety. * * * Let every enterprise be guarded; * * * and look out that you are not surprised in harvesting and haying in the fields, or in hauling between the fields and the stack-yards; and as soon as may be thresh the wheat and safely store it, and be careful that you save hay sufficient for the winter if you should have to keep up stock, or in case any emergency should arise. We do not expect that any person will complain or think it hard to comply with these instructions, for it is for their good and salvation for them to do so. The safety of the settlements depends upon it, and we expect them to be complied with, whether it suits every individual circumstance or not, and the commandants of the various military districts and authorities of the various settlements are required to carry them out.

On the same day that Colonel Smith was given command of the southern military districts, Governor Young addressed the following vigorous and characteristic letter to Walker, the Utah chief:

GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, July 25, 1853.

Capt. Walker :

I send you some tobacco for you to smoke in the mountains when you get lonesome. You are a fool for fighting your best friends, for we are the best friends, and the only friends that you have in the world. Everybody else would kill you if they could get a chance. If you get hungry send some friendly Indian down to the settlements and we will give you some beef-cattle and flour. If you are afraid of the tobacco which I send you, you can let some of your prisoners try it first and then you will know that it is good. When you get good-natured again, I would like to see you. Don't you think you would be ashamed? You know that I have always been your best friend.

BRIGHAM YOUNG.

On the 10th of August, Lieutenant R. Burns and a company of ten men, encamped at a small settlement on Clover Creek—Mona—in Juab County, were attacked by Indians, and during the fight that followed, Isaac Duffin was slightly wounded in the knee. Two of the soldiers had their horses killed, and one Indian was sent to "the happy hunting grounds." About this time Colonel Conover was ordered back from Sanpete to guard the settlements of Utah County and assist in putting them in a better condition of defense.

The vicinity of "The Summit," in Parley's Canyon, was the scene of the next Indian outrage. On the 17th of August, four men,—John Dixon, John Quayle, John Hoagland and John Knight,—were hauling lumber from Snyder's saw-mill in Parley's Park, when they were fired upon by Indians in ambush and two of them instantly killed. These were John Quayle and John Dixon. Hoagland was wounded in the arm, but was able to help Knight detach two of their horses, upon which they rode with all speed to Salt Lake City. Barely escaping with their lives, they left their wagons, four horses, two mules, and the dead bodies of their companions behind them. Their savage assailants did not linger long in the neighborhood of the massacre, not even long enough to scalp or otherwise mutilate the dead, according to their custom. Taking the animals they hastily decamped, and though followed by an armed party from Salt Lake City, as soon as the news of the killing reached there, they were nowhere to be found, though diligently sought for in all the surrounding region. Another John Dickson, the spelling of whose

name slightly differed from that of the man killed in Parley's Canyon, had been shot by Indians near Snyder's Mill a short time before.

The situation now became so serious that traveling from settlement to settlement, unless accompanied by a strong guard, was extremely perilous. Though the Utah Indians had taken the initiative, other tribes or parts of tribes were also beginning to engage in the war, shooting and stealing stock in various sections of the Territory. Governor Young, on the 19th of August, issued a proclamation forbidding the sale of fire-arms and ammunition to the Utah Indians and calling upon the officers of militia in the several districts to hold their commands in readiness to march at any moment against the murderous marauders.

Colonel George A. Smith returned to Salt Lake City from Iron County on the 22nd of August. He reported that the southern settlements generally were in an excellent state of defense, and that the inhabitants were on the alert in relation to the savages. He had been assisted in his labors by Apostle Franklin D. Richards, who was traveling through southern Utah on public business, and returned north with Colonel Smith. Two days later Lieutenant-Colonel William H. Kimball, who had also rendered important service in Iron County, came back from the south. He and his men had been followed and closely watched by Indians for several days, but heeding the Governor's instructions they had not taken the offensive, and the savages, seeing that they were prepared, did not attack them.

As a means of defense and an example to other settlements during the Indian troubles of 1853, the authorities at Salt Lake City decided to build "a Spanish wall" around the town. The project was first mentioned by President Young in a meeting of the Bishops held at the Council House in the latter part of August. The City Council then took up the matter and that same month a committee consisting of Albert Carrington, Parley P. Pratt and Franklin D. Richards submitted a report to the Council suggesting the line of the proposed wall around the city. It was to stand twelve feet high and be six feet through at the base, tapering to a thickness, half way up,

of two-and-a-half feet, and preserving the same thickness to the summit. Gates and bastions were to be placed at suitable intervals, and the wall, which was to be built entirely of earth, was to be about nine miles long. It was never completed, but fragments of the portion finished may yet be seen on the northern outskirts of the city, a reminder of the early days that witnessed its erection. Subsequently many of the outlying settlements of the Territory built similar walls for their protection.

Still the Indian war went on. At Fillmore, on the 13th of September, William Hatton, while standing guard, was shot and killed by the savages—Pauvants—who, catching from the Utes the infection of the hour, had begun stealing and killing in that locality.

On September 26th, Colonel Stephen Markham and his men had a brush with the redskins near Nephi, Juab County, in which C. B. Hancock was wounded, and a number of Indians killed. Six days later, in another skirmish at the same place, eight more savages were slain and two or three captured.

A party of four men,—William Reed, James Nelson, William Luke and Thomas Clark,—about the last of September, started from Manti, Sanpete County, with a couple of teams loaded with wheat for Salt Lake City. They had reached Uintah Springs, a little east of Salt Creek Canyon, when, early on the morning of October 1st their camp was attacked by Indians and all four were killed. The savages had time in this instance to complete their fiendish work, mutilating the bodies of their victims to such a degree that when found they could scarcely be recognized.

At Manti, on October 4th, William Mills and John E. Warner were killed near a grist-mill on the outskirts of town, and on the 14th the Indians got in more of their bloody work at Santaquin, in Utah County, where a few men, engaged in harvesting, were fired upon by about thirty savages and one of their number killed and scalped. This was F. F. Tindrel. Stealing what stock they could the assailants hastily fled.

Saw-mills, grist-mills, and other buildings temporarily aban-

done by the settlers were burned by the dusky marauders at different points, and quite a number of small settlements during the summer were entirely broken up, the inhabitants gathering into the larger towns and forts for protection. At Allred's settlement, in Sanpete, where the people had been somewhat slow in following the advice of President Young in relation to building a fort and corralling their stock, the Indians, in one raid, ran off two hundred head of cattle. Said the President, of this event, which excited his anger, not only against the Indians, but against the tardy settlers: "After the cattle were stolen a messenger arrived here in about thirty hours to report the affair and obtain advice. I told Brother Wells, you can write to them and say: Inasmuch as you have no oxen and cows to trouble you, you can go to harvesting and take care of yourselves."

On the 26th of October occurred the Gunnison massacre on the Sevier. The facts of this lamentable tragedy are as follows:

It seems that Captain Stansbury, with whom Lieutenant Gunnison visited Salt Lake Valley in 1849, after completing his survey of the lake and its vicinity, decided to explore, on his return east in the summer of 1850, a route for a transcontinental railway. He had probably drawn some of the inspiration of his idea from Governor Young, who, as before related, had marked out the future path of the iron horse across the continent while coming west in the spring of 1847. Stansbury, on completing his exploration, recommended the following route: From a point near Independence, Missouri, by way of Republican River and the south fork of the Platte to Laramie Plains, thence across North Platte and through South Pass to Fort Bridger and Kamas Prairie. There the road might fork, one branch passing through Parley's Park and Canyon to Salt Lake City, and the other running down the Timpanogas Valley. This had nothing to do with the Gunnison massacre, except that Lieutenant or Captain Gunnison—for meanwhile he had become a captain—returned to Utah in 1853 for a similar purpose to that effected by Stansbury three years before. Gunnison was engaged in surveying a great railway route across this Territory,

when he and a portion of his party were massacred by Indians on the Sevier River.

Captain Gunnison came to Utah in charge of the "Central Pacific Railroad Surveying Expedition," which, however, had no connection with the Central Pacific Railway afterwards projected and pushed through to this Territory from California. The route surveyed by Gunnison was from the east and considerably to the south of the one marked out by Captain Stansbury.* After leaving the Huerfano River and threading the Pass of Coochetopa, it crossed the Green and Grand River valleys to the Wasatch Pass, west of which it turned northward to Lake Utah and beyond. But poor Gunnison, after passing the Wasatch and turning north and west, following down the Sevier, had proceeded no farther than the lake into which that river empties, when his terrible fate overtook him.

Besides Captain Gunnison, the principal members of the expedition were Lieutenant E. Beckwith of the U. S. Topographical Engineers; R. H. Kern, topographer; J. A. Snyder, his assistant; F. Creutzfeldt, botanist; S. Homans, astronomer; Dr. James Schiel, surgeon and geologist, and Captain R. M. Morris, who with a small company of mounted riflemen acted as escort and guard to the expedition. There were also a number of employes. William Potter, a Mormon and a resident of Manti, was Gunnison's guide.

Lieutenant Beckwith's account of the disaster that befell a portion of the party was substantially as follows: On the 24th of October, Captain Gunnison and his party encamped on the east bank of Sevier River, about fifteen miles above the point where it empties into the lake. Next morning, taking a number of his men, the Captain crossed to the west bank of the stream and followed down toward the lake, for the purpose of making a reconnoissance of that sheet of water. At the same time he requested Lieutenant Beckwith, Captain Morris and the main portion of the expedition to explore the

* Gunnison, however, in "The Mormons," indicates the same railway route described by Stansbury.

country up the river towards Sevier Canyon. Two days later they were to meet at some point near the canyon. The parties separated, and on the 25th each traveled about fourteen miles, breaking their way through sand and sage-brush. Thus they were about twenty-eight miles apart that evening. The day had been cold and stormy, and some snow fell, but the night was clear though still cold. Gunnison camped in a bend of the river, under one of the banks, where they were protected from the chilly winds by an enclosure of willows almost surrounding them at nearly thirty yards distance—"a sheltered nook from the storm, with inviting grass for their horses." The spot was just at the head of Sevier Lake, where on the morrow the reconnoissance was to begin. That morrow came; but, alas! it witnessed work far different to what was contemplated.

The Indian war was still in progress, though the Utes were beginning to tire of the strife, in which they had received more than a Roland for an Oliver, and Walker, though ashamed to confess it, having for the time being drunk his fill from the bloody beaker of hatred and revenge, was becoming anxious for peace. But the demon he had conjured up could not all at once be controlled. As stated, other tribes besides the Utes were now on the war path, and even if Walker could hold his own bands in check, the others were beyond his influence and authority.

The Pauvantes, in the Sevier River region, had a grievance; a greater one than that which had precipitated the Walker war. Anson Call, who then presided at Fillmore, stated that in the summer or fall of 1853 a company of emigrants from Missouri, on their way to California, stopped at that settlement. The whole Territory at the time was in a state of alarm over the prevailing Indian troubles, and these emigrants seemed anxious to take a hand in the strife. They threatened to kill the first Indian who came into their camp. Mr. Call remonstrated with them, arguing that some of the Indians were friendly, and that it would not only be bad policy to make enemies of them, but downright criminal to slay them except in self-defense. The Missourians, however, seemed to consider it of no more conse-





Anson Call



quence than the slaughtering of buffalo on the plains, or as their fellow-citizens of an earlier period had regarded the massacre of the Mormons at Haun's Mill. They still adhered to their determination, and after leaving Fillmore put it into deadly effect. Some of the friendly Pauvantes came into their camp, when they were at once assaulted, two of them killed and three others wounded. The Pauvantes were enraged, and no reparation being made for this murder of their kindred, Indian-like they sought revenge. By that time the emigrants were beyond their reach ; they therefore, according to custom, attacked the next party of white men who came their way. That party was the ill-fated Gunnison and his comrades, who camped in the afternoon of October 25th, at the head of Sevier Lake, thirty-five miles from Fillmore, in the midst of the Pauvant Indian country. Anson Call stated that he met Captain Gunnison shortly before his death, and told him of the killing of the Indians by the emigrants, whereupon the Captain expressed deep regret and remarked : "The Indians are sure to take their revenge."

The following account of the murder of the Pauvantes is from a book entitled "Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West," by S. N. Carvalho, an artist who accompanied Colonel Fremont on his last expedition across the Rocky Mountains, in 1853-4. Mr. Carvalho spent three months in Utah and then went on to California. Says he: "Today I met Mr. Hildreth, one of the brothers who commanded a large emigrant party, and whose unprovoked and fatal attack upon the Parvain Indians, near Fillmore, caused that tribe to murder Captain Gunnison and officers, a description of which I have already given. Mr. Hildreth says that his brother, (the commander,) and himself had left camp to hunt, and when they returned they were informed of the unfortunate and premature attack of some of his people upon the Indians. It seems that a small number of Parvain Indians came into camp armed with bows and arrows, begging food and clothing at sun-down. They were ordered out of camp; they refused. They were told if they gave up their bows and arrows they might remain, and one of the

men used force to obtain the bow from an Indian. In the scuffle the American was wounded, whereupon without any further provocation, a number of rifles were discharged at the Indians, killing several, among whom was an old chief. Captain Hildreth at once raised camp and proceeded on his journey for fear of the consequences. This fatal event would not have occurred if Captain Hildreth had been in camp, and he lamented the occurrence."

Gunnison's party, after separating from Lieutenant Beckwith and the main body, included, besides himself, Messrs. Kern, Creutzfeldt and Potter, already mentioned; James Bellows, an employe, and a corporal with six men of Captain Morris' command. The night preceding the massacre wore away in peace, the usual vigilance of guards being maintained, and long before sunrise the camp was astir preparing for the labors of the day. The sun had not yet risen, and most of the men were at breakfast, when suddenly a volley of rifle shots, mingled with arrows, was poured in among them, while simultaneously rang out the terrible war-whoop of a numerous band of savages, who had crept unseen, unheard, upon the fated camp, and from the willowy ambush devoted it to destruction. At the first fire but one man fell mortally wounded, and a call to arms was immediately sounded. The little band fought gallantly, returning the fire of the invisible foe, killing, it is said, one Indian and wounding another. But to maintain a successful stand under the circumstances was impossible. Volley after volley came from the willows, and soon, of the twelve members of the party eight had fallen, some in the open space of the encampment, and others beyond, shot while attempting to escape.

Among the first to fall was Captain Gunnison, who, after the opening fire, rushed from his tent, and raising his hands called out to the Indians that he was their friend. In vain. The firing continued, and he fell pierced with arrows and rifle balls. William Potter, the guide, was slain also, as were Messrs. Kern and Creutzfeldt, and privates Liptrott, Caulfield and Merhteens. Only four escaped. Reaching the horses, most of which had stampeded at

the first fire, these four mounted and rode away, leaving the camp, the surveying instruments and the dead bodies of their companions in the hands of the foe. Not far from camp one of the horses fell, throwing its rider under some bushes, where he lay concealed for several hours, the Indians passing within a few feet of him. At noon, all being still, he ventured forth and made his way up the river to rejoin his comrades.

Among the four who escaped was the Corporal. Riding with all speed, and at first hotly pursued by the Indians, he reached the spot where the whole party on the 25th had divided. There his horse gave out, but being no longer pursued he continued afoot, running most of the fourteen miles still intervening between him and Lieutenant Beckwith's camp. He arrived there at half-past 11 a. m., exhausted and barely able to communicate the frightful news of the massacre. Half an hour later Captain Morris, Lieutenant Baker, Dr. Schiel, and a brother to the murdered Potter started with the riflemen for the fatal spot. Lieutenant Beckwith and a few teamsters remained to bring up the train. Late in the afternoon Captain Morris' party, having picked up the remaining survivors, arrived at the scene of the massacre. All was silent. A number of the bodies of the slain were found, but not all. Some of the surveyors' instruments and notes were also missing, as well as the arms and ammunition of the slaughtered party. Two Indians were seen in the distance and pursued by Lieutenant Baker and Mr. Potter, but nightfall being near they escaped in the darkness. Next morning the search for the bodies was renewed, and with eventual success. Captain Gunnison's body was minus one arm, cut off at the elbow, and both of Mr. Creutzfeldt's arms were missing. The wolves as well as the Indians had been at the corpses, which in consequence were horribly mutilated.

President Call, of Fillmore, at the request of Lieutenant Beckwith, furnished men to convey the tidings of the tragedy to Governor Young and the authorities at Salt Lake City. Apostles Erastus Snow and Franklin D. Richards, who were passing Fillmore at the time,





THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Dinick, Baker, Huntington

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO





them to President Call. The scene of the massacre was next visited, and the scattered bones gathered up and buried, most of them where they lay. Those of Captain Gunnison and the guide Potter were interred at Fillmore. A lock of Gunnison's hair was sent, as a memento, to Governor Young, who forwarded it to the Captain's widow. Lieutenant Beckwith took charge of the Surveying Expedition, and completed the work begun and in part executed by Captain Gunnison.

The trouble with the Pauvant Indians ended with the Gunnison massacre; a result doubtless due to the prompt action and conservative policy of Governor Young, well and wisely executed by Anson Call, Dimick B. Huntington and others. Several months later, after a few more hostile acts, such as the burning of houses and mills at various points, and the running off of some stock, but with little or no additional bloodshed, the Walker war also came to an end.

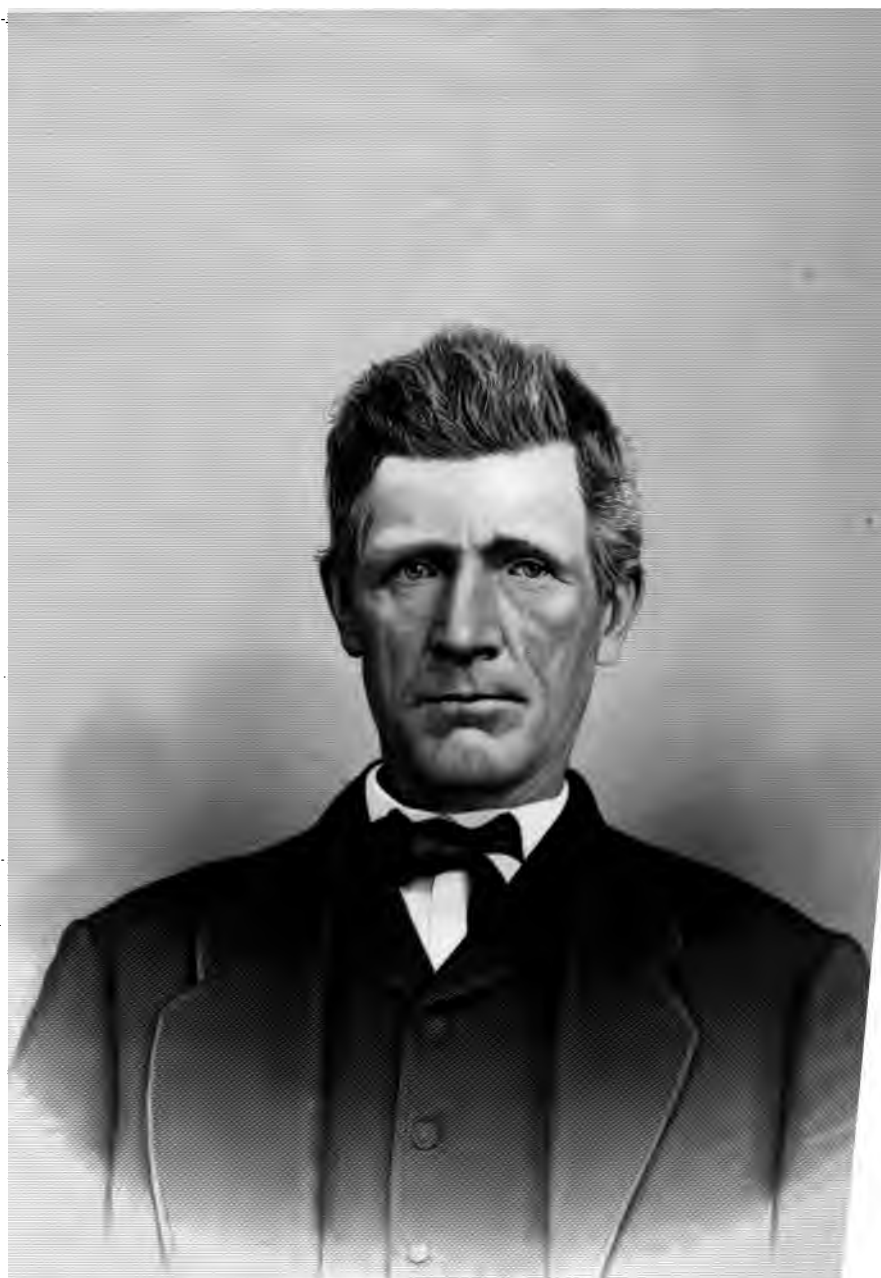
In the spring of 1854, Governor Young, General Wells and other prominent officials took a tour through the southern part of the Territory, during which they came in contact with some of the native tribes, and did all in their power to placate the hostiles and put out what sparks remained of the still smouldering strife. "It is cheaper to feed the Indians than fight them," was a favorite maxim of Brigham Young's, and in his capacity of Superintendent of Indian Affairs this was the policy—as wise as it was humane—that he strove ever to pursue. Accordingly, he took with him upon this journey several wagon-loads of presents, especially designed for Walker and his bands, who were now known to be anxious, though too proud to sue for peace.

A meeting between Governor Young and the Utah chieftain was finally brought about in May, on Chicken Creek, in Juab County. Walker was attended by his braves, and the Governor by his official escort. Kanosh, the Pauvant chief, and some of his warriors were also present. After a long talk and the smoking of the peace calumet, a treaty was entered into and the war formally closed. The Ute chief claimed that he was not responsible for the late

troubles, which he said were due to the fierce tempers of some of his young warriors, whom he could not control. The statement, whether credited or not, passed unchallenged, the Governor's party being quite as anxious as the Indians for a cessation of hostilities. Yet an incident occurred at this very meeting, which, though apparently of little moment, had its ill effect not been at once retrieved, might have led to more trouble. The two parties sat facing each other from opposite sides of a tepee in which the council was held, and the presents brought by the Governor were being distributed. Among the gifts was quite a quantity of tobacco. This, General Wells was asked to dispense to the assembled braves. He did so, taking the sack which contained it and tossing to each of the warriors a plug of the compressed weed so delightful to the senses of most savages, and, it may be added, of most civilized men as well. The General's action, though not meant to offend, was very displeasing to the dignified Ute chieftain. His eyes blazed with anger, and he refused to lift his piece of tobacco from where it lay. Some one directed his attention to it, whereupon he remarked that he was not a dog, to have a present thrown to him, like a bone to a cur. General Wells good-naturedly made amends for his oversight, and taking a new plug of tobacco presented it to Walker with a polite bow. The chief's anger was at once dispelled, and the proceedings continued amicably to the close. Walker remarked on this occasion that Governor Young was a big chief, but that he was a big chief, too, and illustrated the principle of their equality by holding up both his thumbs, one as high as the other.

So ended the Walker war, during which about a score of white people had been killed, as well as many Indians. Several small settlements, as stated, had been broken up, the inhabitants seeking refuge in the forts and larger towns, leaving their houses and improvements to the mercies of the marauders, who had not hesitated to apply the torch to them. Among the settlements which had suffered most severely in this respect were Santaquin, in Utah County, and Spring City—Allred's settlement—in Sanpete. The latter,





John Nebeker

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during the winter of 1853-4 was burned to the ground. Besides the losses incurred by the settlers, which were estimated at \$200,000, the war had cost the Territorial treasury about \$70,000. This and other amounts due from Government to the people of the Territory on account of Indian outbreaks, Congress was very tardy in appropriating, causing much dissatisfaction in Utah. In fact only a portion of this money has ever been appropriated and paid by the general government.

Among the notable events that took place in Utah during the prevalence of the Indian troubles of 1853-4 may be mentioned in the order of their occurrence the following:

August 1st, 1853.—The re-election of Hon. John M. Bernhisel as delegate to Congress.

September 3rd.—A terrible flood in Iron County, which did much damage to property.

October 6th-9th.—During the Mormon Conference at Salt Lake City men and families were called to strengthen the settlements north, south and east of Salt Lake Valley. Among those sent upon these missions were George A. Smith and Erastus Snow, with fifty families to Iron County; Wilford Woodruff and Ezra T. Benson with fifty families to Tooele Valley, and Lyman Stevens and Reuben W. Allred with fifty families for each of the Sanpete settlements. Lorenzo Snow was directed to select another fifty and go with them to Box Elder County, and Joseph L. Heywood was to lead an equal number to Juab County. Orson Hyde was given a mission to raise a company and found a new settlement on Green River. This company started in November. It was composed of two parties from Salt Lake and Utah valleys, John Nebeker and Isaac Bullock being prominent members. It founded Fort Supply on Smith's fork of Green River. Prior to this President Young, as stated, had purchased the Fort Bridger ranch, which was the first property owned by Mormons in the Green River country.

Early in 1853 Summit County was settled by Samuel Snyder, who had previously built saw-mills in Parley's Park. It was in the

vicinity of these mills, the reader will remember, that some of the murders committed by Indians took place during that summer.

A list of the various settlements in Utah at the close of 1853 is here given:

Salt Lake County: Salt Lake City, Butterfield (now Herriman), West Jordan, Mill Creek, Big Cottonwood, South Cottonwood, Little Cottonwood and Willow Creek (now Draper).

Davis County: North Canyon (Sessions' Settlement), Centerville, North Cottonwood (Farmington) and Kay's Ward.

Weber County: Ogden, East Weber (Uintah), Willow Creek and Box Elder (Brigham). The latter two are now in Box Elder County.

Utah County: Provo, Dry Creek (Lehi), American Fork, Pleasant Grove, Mountainville (Alpine), Springville, Palmyra, Pe-teet-neet (Payson), Summit Creek (Santaquin) and Cedar Valley.

Sanpete County: Manti and Pleasant Creek (Mt. Pleasant).

Juab County: Salt Creek (Nephi).

Tooele County: Tooele and Grantsville.

Millard County: Fillmore.

Iron County: Parowan and Cedar.

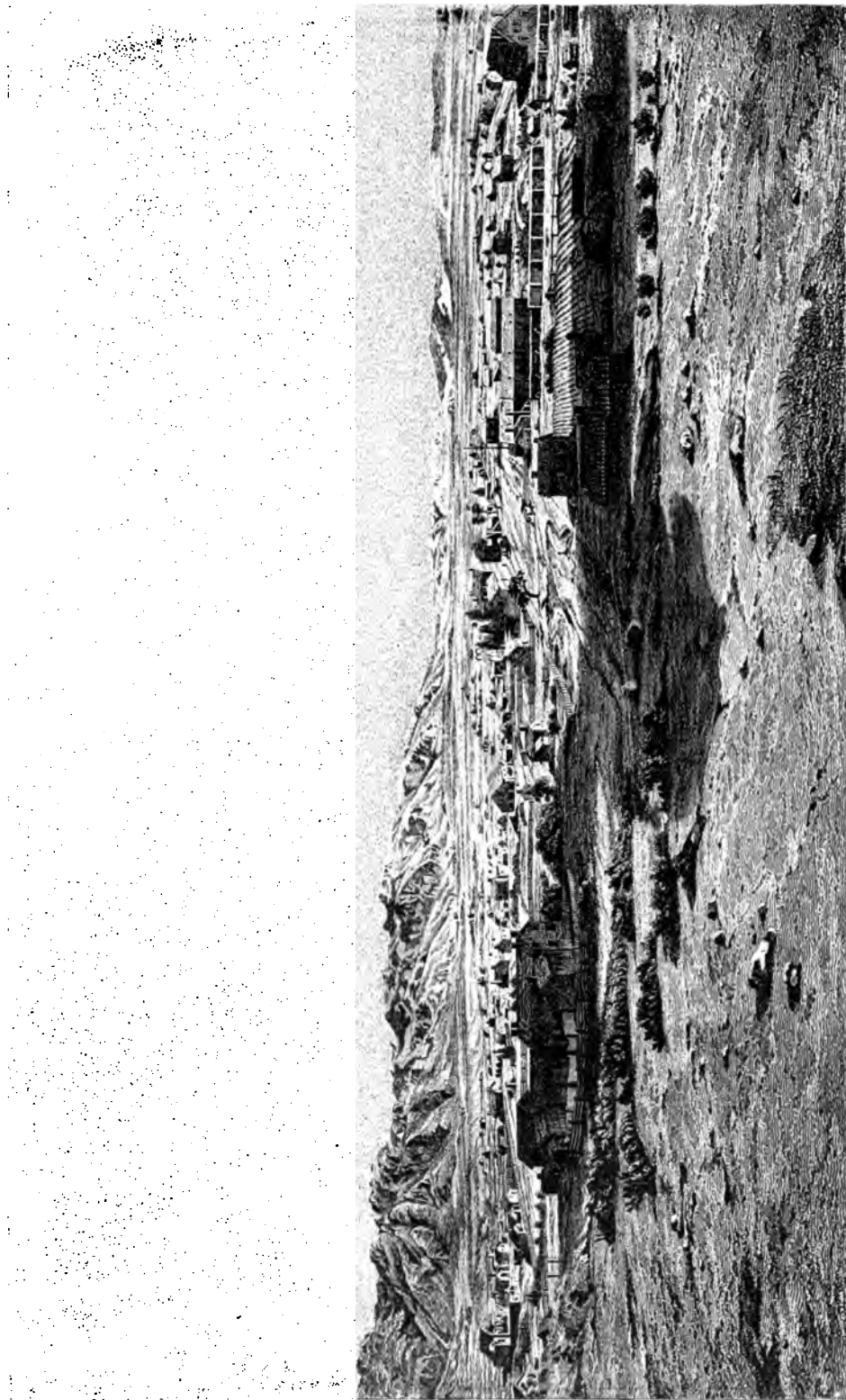
Utah's population at this time was about twenty thousand souls.

In January, 1854, the Utah Legislature created the counties of Summit, Green River, and Carson.

On the 31st of that month a mass meeting was held at Salt Lake City to again agitate the question of a great national railway from the Missouri River to the Pacific Coast. A memorial was prepared and sent to Washington, asking Congress to authorize the construction of such a railway, and that the line be made to run via South Pass and Salt Lake City.

February 7th. This day John C. Fremont, the famous explorer, passing through Utah from the east, arrived at Parowan in Iron County. He was accompanied by nine white men and twelve Delaware Indians. They were perishing with hunger and cold, and were assisted over the mountains into the settlement by the people of that county. One man had fallen from his horse, dead, before





Great Salt Lake City in 1853, Looking South.



reaching the settlement. Fremont was no friend to the Mormons, but they received him kindly and administered to his needs, supplying him with provisions and fresh animals which enabled him to pursue his journey. His party remained at Parowan nearly two weeks, resting and recuperating, and then continued on to California. Mr. Carvalho, the artist of the expedition, remained three months in Utah, as related, gathering materials for his book from which we have quoted.

On the 11th of March the people of Utah were called to mourn the death of Willard Richards, editor of the *Deseret News*, post-master of Salt Lake City, one of the First Presidency and the Historian of the Mormon Church. His death was caused by dropsy. Dr. Richards, at the time of his demise, was in the fiftieth year of his age, having been born at Hopkinton, Middlesex County, Massachusetts on the 24th of June, 1804. He was a man much beloved and trusted, every inch a gentleman, and full of calm courage and unflinching integrity. His varied gifts and generous usefulness were such that his decease was looked upon as a public calamity. He was succeeded in the First Presidency by Jedediah M. Grant, a man worthy to be his peer. Elias Smith was the next post-master, and Albert Carrington became editor of the *News*. George A. Smith filled Dr. Richards' place as Church Historian. A better choice could not have been made. "George A.," as he was familiarly termed, was not only a genial, whole-souled man, but one with a mind as big as his heart. He was gifted with superior intelligence, had a capacious and retentive memory—an indispensable thing in a historian—and was a walking encyclopedia of general information. He was a man of sublime courage, simple and unpretentious, and his soul a mirror of truth and candor. These appointments all followed swiftly upon the heels of the sad event that gave them birth.

During the summer of 1854 the grass-hoppers did considerable damage to crops in Utah. As in the case of the crickets, another famine followed, though not immediately, this destructive visitation.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1854—1856.

BRIGHAM YOUNG'S RECORD AS GOVERNOR—AN ADMINISTRATION ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH MORMONS AND GENTILES—THEY UNITEDLY PETITION FOR HIS REAPPOINTMENT—COLONEL STEPTOE—THE GUNNISON MASSACRE INVESTIGATED AND THE MURDERERS BROUGHT TO JUSTICE—DEATH OF THE UTE CHIEF WALKER—THE TRIUMPH OF BRIGHAM YOUNG'S INDIAN POLICY—WHY THE SAVAGES DREW A DISTINCTION BETWEEN "AMERICANS" AND "MORMONS"—DEATH OF CHIEF JUSTICE REED—JUDGE KINNEY SUCCEEDS HIM—MORGAN COUNTY SETTLED—THE ELK MOUNTAIN AND SALMON RIVER MISSIONS—THE CARSON COLONY—GEORGE Q. CANNON AND THE "WESTERN STANDARD"—DEATH OF ASSOCIATE-JUSTICE SHAVER—THE MORMON PEOPLE HONOR THE MEMORY OF THEIR DEPARTED FRIEND—JUDGE DRUMMOND SUCCEEDS JUDGE SHAVER—THE UTAH LEGISLATURE CONVENES AT FILLMORE—ANOTHER MOVEMENT FOR STATEHOOD—CACHE, BOX ELDER AND OTHER COUNTIES SETTLED.

BRIGHAM YOUNG'S first term of office as Governor of Utah was now drawing to a close. The Mormon leader was a natural governor. Consequently he had made a good one. Too firm, too masterful perhaps, for some, who prefer a loose to a taut rein over the steeds of state; a weak rather than a strong hand at the helm of government. By many a vigorous administration of authority is almost invariably deemed despotic, particularly if it comes in contact with their personal interests and desires. At times, of course, it may merit the opprobrious opinion; at other times the reproach may be utterly undeserved.

Every Cæsar has his Cassius; every great, or good, or gifted man his envious detractors, who, like their "lean and hungry" prototype—though envy is not always characterized by leanness—"are never at heart's ease whilst they behold a greater than themselves." Cæsar was slain for this,—for being greater than all his countrymen; and his assassins, who to justify themselves in "the deep damnation of his taking off" prated of Rome's freedom and Cæsar's tyranny,

had first thought—Brutus perhaps excepted—of their victim's greatness and their own comparative littleness. Cæsar may have been tyrannical,—most powerful men are, or at times seem to be,—but it was envy of his glory, more than hatred of his tyranny, that whetted the daggers which pierced him.

"Patriotism," said bluff old Dr. Johnson, "is the last refuge of a scoundrel." Those Roman Senators who, steeped in corruption, leagued with the pirates of the Mediterranean against their own country, could still protest patriotism and slay Cæsar for his "tyranny" in exposing and putting a stop to their crimes, were mostly patriots of that class. Still, Cæsar had his faults; but so had Cassius, so Casca, so Cicero the silver-tongued, and even the cynical Cato. Yes, and so had Brutus, "the noblest Roman of them all." If it was right to slay Cæsar "because he was ambitious," it would have been right to murder all the rest because they fell short of perfection.

It is not the author's design to draw a parallel between Julius Cæsar and Brigham Young. Such an attempt would necessarily prove futile. For though both were great men, they were too unlike, their characters and careers too dissimilar, to furnish a perfect comparison. This much, however, may be said: Brigham Young could no more help being the greatest and strongest man in Utah than Julius Cæsar could help being so in Rome. God and nature, not man, were responsible in both cases. Brigham Young in his time was perhaps hated as bitterly as Cæsar, and like Cæsar would have been slain if some who hated him could have had their way. But Brigham, though brave, was more cautious than Cæsar. He shunned his "ides of March," listening betimes, not only to friendly counsel, but to the warning whisperings of his own prophetic soul. Hence he lived long, and died a peaceful death. Had Joseph Smith been more like Brigham, and less like Cæsar in this respect, he might have lived and died like Brigham, instead of being assassinated as was Cæsar.

That all who hated Brigham Young and Joseph Smith were

rogues and hypocrites, we do not believe; no more than we believe that Joseph and Brigham were perfect men, without fault, and not liable, like all mortals, to make mistakes. We believe that many who hated them were sincere in their hatred, and honestly supposed that they had ample cause for it. But we also know that some of their opponents were merely rogues, who opposed them, not on principle, but for personal profit, as others bent to them and said "Rabbi," not from a friendly motive, but from an impulse of sordid calculation, "crooking the pregnant hinges of the knee that thrift might follow fawning."

Brigham Young, we say, made a good Governor, and it was largely due to the fact that he was a strong one. He could not have been otherwise, and doubtless it was well for the time in which he lived that such was the case. After all, it's your weak man in power who is most dangerous; the man who is easily swayed by others; who, even if he have convictions, has not the courage to maintain them; the man who, being under oath to faithfully fulfill the obligations of an office, surrenders his judgment and conscience to other men who have taken no such oath, and who probably would not keep it if they had. Of such beware. Trust rather the strong man, the man of independent thought and action; the man of iron rather than the man of lead or tin.

The author remembers reading some years since, in the columns of the Salt Lake *Tribune*, an editorial article on Bismarck, the great chancellor of Germany. The editor commented upon a rumor that Bismarck, then in power, bewailed the fact that he did not possess to the degree that he desired the love of the German people. The writer went on to give a reason for this absence of affection, attributing it to the fact that Bismarck was a man of iron, and as such could not expect to be beloved, in the same way at least, as a gentler spirit would have been; the very sternness of his nature precluding it. But, said the editor in substance, let Bismarck be consoled by the reflection that had he not been a man of iron, stern and strong, he could not have done the work he did; could never

have moulded out of the chaotic, or disunited fragments of the Fatherland the solidified and mighty German empire, the fame of which achievement would be to Bismarck an enduring monument long after that empire itself should have crumbled and passed away. We have taken some liberty with the editor's language; perhaps also with his thought; but such was the substance and such the moral conveyed, as it lingers in this writer's memory.

In the light of a truth so well and wisely uttered, let us survey, not only Bismarck and his work, but other men and theirs. Had Brigham Young been otherwise than as God and nature made him, could he have done so well the work assigned him by destiny? Do weak men conduct exoduses and conquer deserts? Do they hold in check the merciless savage, build cities and temples and enthrone civilization in the midst of solitude and sterility? Utah's great pioneer was a man of iron. He had to be, in order that his work might not be poorly or but partly done. And yet he possessed—what no tyrant ever did—the love of his people, to a marvelous degree. No despot was ever loved like Brigham Young. No leader, at his death was ever more sincerely mourned by his followers. It was not “a trembling submission” that was paid to him in life; it was not an affected sorrow that was manifested at his death. They regarded him as a Prophet, it is true; but they also knew him to be a superior man, and loved and trusted him accordingly. But the Gentiles did not love him; at least not all, nor even most of them. There were many reasons for this; both from his standpoint and theirs. No man can draw all men unto him. It is the work of a greater than man to do that. And even He did not succeed, considering merely his own generation.

But Brigham Young's rule as Governor of Utah had evidently been acceptable, not only to the Mormons, but to most of the Gentiles as well. The best proof of this is in the fact that at the expiration of his official term, the leading Gentiles of the Territory, business men and officials, united to a man with the Mormons in petitioning the President of the United States for his reappointment.

One of the signers of this petition was Lieutenant-Colonel E. J. Steptoe, of the United States Army, who, on the 31st of August, 1854, arrived at Salt Lake City at the head of a detachment of troops on his way to California. Efforts had previously been made to secure the reappointment of Governor Young, but the President—Franklin Pierce—influenced no doubt by the adverse reports on Utah sent out by Secretary Ferris and others, had declined to reappoint him, and had named Colonel Steptoe as Governor in his stead. The Colonel, however, having surveyed the situation, seems to have felt much the same as did Captain Stansbury over Governor Young's appointment in the first place. Said Stansbury at that time:

Upon the action of the Executive in the appointment of the officers within the newly-created Territory, it does not become me to offer other than a very diffident opinion. Yet the opportunities of information, to which allusion has already been made, may perhaps justify me in presenting the result of my own observations upon this subject. With all due deference, then, I feel constrained to say, that in my opinion the appointment of the president of the Mormon church, and head of the Mormon community, in preference to any other person, to the high office of Governor of the Territory, independent of its political bearings, with which I have nothing to do, was a measure dictated alike by justice and by sound policy. Intimately connected with them from their exodus from Illinois, this man has been indeed their Moses, leading them through the wilderness to a remote and unknown land, where they have since set up their tabernacle, and where they are now building their temple. Resolute in danger, firm and sagacious in council, prompt and energetic in emergency, and enthusiastically devoted to the honor and interests of his people, he had won their unlimited confidence, esteem, and veneration, and held an unrivalled place in their hearts. Upon the establishment of the provisional government, he had been unanimously chosen as their highest civil magistrate, and even before his appointment by the President, he combined in his own person the triple character of confidential adviser, temporal ruler, and prophet of God. Intimately acquainted with their character, capacities, wants, and weaknesses; identified now with their prosperity, as he had formerly shared to the full in their adversity and sorrows; honored, trusted, the whole wealth of the community placed in his hands, for the advancement both of the spiritual and temporal interests of the infant settlement, he was, surely, of all others, the man best fitted to preside, under the auspices of the General Government, over a colony of which he may justly be said to have been the founder. No other man could have so entirely secured the confidence of the people; and this selection by the Executive of the man of their choice, besides being highly gratifying to them, is recognized as an assurance that they shall hereafter receive at the hands of the General Government that justice and consideration to which they are entitled. Their

confident hope now is that, no longer fugitives and outlaws, but dwelling beneath the broad shadow of the national ægis, they will be subject no more to the violence and outrage which drove them to seek a secure habitation in this far distant wilderness.

As to the imputations that have been made against the personal character of the governor, I feel confident they are without foundation. Whatever opinion may be entertained of his pretensions to the character of an inspired prophet, or of his views and practice on the subject of polygamy, his personal reputation I believe to be above reproach. Certain it is that the most entire confidence is felt in his integrity, personal, official, and pecuniary, on the part of those to whom a long and intimate association, and in the most trying emergencies, have afforded every possible opportunity of forming a just and accurate judgment of his true character.

From all I saw and heard, I am firmly of opinion that the appointment of any other man to the office of governor would have been regarded by the whole people, not only as a sanction, but as in some sort a renewal, on the part of the General Government, of that series of persecutions to which they had already been subjected, and would have operated to create distrust and suspicion in minds prepared to hail with joy the admission of the new Territory to the protection of the supreme government.

As said, a similar feeling to that expressed by Captain Stansbury seems to have animated Colonel Steptoe, when, toward the close of 1854, he signed with many others the following memorial, having first respectfully declined his own appointment as Governor of Utah :

To His Excellency, Franklin Pierce, President of the United States.

Your petitioners would respectfully represent that, whereas Governor Brigham Young possesses the entire confidence of the people of this Territory, without distinction of party or sect ; and from personal acquaintance and social intercourse we find him to be a firm supporter of the constitution and laws of the United States, and a tried pillar of Republican institutions ; and having repeatedly listened to his remarks, in private as well as in public assemblies, do know he is the warm friend and able supporter of constitutional liberty, the rumors published in the States notwithstanding ; and having canvassed to our satisfaction his doings as Governor and Superintendent of Indian affairs, and also the disposition of the appropriation for public buildings for the Territory ; we do most cordially and cheerfully represent that the same has been expended to the best interest of the nation ; and whereas his re-appointment would subserve the Territorial interest better than the appointment of any other man, and would meet with the gratitude of the entire inhabitants of the Territory, and his removal would cause the deepest feelings of sorrow and regret ; and it being our unqualified opinion, based upon the personal acquaintance which we have formed with Governor Young, and from our observation of the results of his influence and administration in this Territory, that he possesses in an eminent degree every qualification necessary for the discharge of his official duties, and unquestioned integrity and ability, and he is decidedly the most suitable person that can be selected for that office.

We therefore take pleasure in recommending him to your favorable consideration, and do earnestly request his re-appointment as Governor, and Superintendent of Indian affairs for this Territory.

The first signer of this memorial was Judge John F. Kinney, who had succeeded, on August 24th, Judge Lazarus H. Reed as Chief Justice of Utah. Colonel Steptoe signed next, and then followed all the Federal officials, United States Army officers, and leading Gentile business men in the Territory. The memorial was sent to Washington in December, and resulted in the re-appointment of Brigham Young as Governor of Utah.

On New Year's, 1855, a grand ball was given by the Utah Legislature in honor of Chief Justice Kinney and other newly-appointed Federal officials; also to Colonel Steptoe and the officers of his command, who had decided to spend the winter in Salt Lake City. Besides the Colonel, the principal officers were: Major Reynolds, Captain Ingalls, Lieutenants Tyler, Mowry, Livingston, Chandler and Allston. The soldiers numbered one hundred and seventy-five, comprising two companies of artillery and one of infantry, and there was an almost equal number of employes, in charge of the vehicles and animals. Most of the officers and men were gentlemen, and their relations with the citizens were of a pleasant character. Some of the soldiers, however, became intoxicated on New Year's day, and a fracas occurred between them and a party of civilians. Firearms were used, and several persons wounded. Fortunately there were no fatalities, and the affair, which was much regretted on both sides, though creating considerable excitement, was amicably settled.*

A few of the officers became enamored of and married Mormon girls. One of them—Sergeant John Tobin—joined the Mormon Church and remained at Salt Lake City, where he taught a class in sword exercise.

During Colonel Steptoe's sojourn in Utah an investigation of the Gunnison massacre took place, and a number of Indians were

* Colonel Steptoe's officers helped to quell the riot, striking with their sabres their own men until they desisted from the brawl.

arrested and put upon trial for the crime. One of these was the Pauvant chief, Kanosh, who was acquitted. Some of that tribe, however, were convicted and sentenced to imprisonment in the penitentiary.

In January, 1855, Walker, the Utah chief, who had so long been a terror to the whites, died at Meadow Creek, in Millard County, and was succeeded by his brother Arapeen. Walker, prior to his death, became convinced that the Mormons were his friends, and among his final words was an injunction to his tribe to live at peace with the settlers and not molest them.*

Here triumphed Brigham Young's Indian policy. Never did he permit his people to make war upon the red men, save in self-defense, and he always showed mercy and magnanimity toward them when they sued for peace. The money appropriated by Congress for the Indian tribes of Utah was not stolen, as in other places, but duly applied by Superintendent Young to the purpose for which it was intended. True, his enemies—some of the Indian sub-Agents—stated to the contrary, but Brigham Young's character, acts, and especially the admirable results flowing from his manipulation of Indian affairs in the Territory, is a sufficient answer to such charges.

On the other hand, the Indians were shot down, often in a spirit of pure wantonness, by passing travelers and emigrants, who thus precipitated war after war upon the settlers, until the natives, ignoring their former traditions, learned to discriminate between those who murdered them, killed them for mere sport, and those who were indeed their friends, feeding them when hungry, and only fighting them when their own lives and property were imperilled by the savages. Is it strange that in the minds of the untutored sons of the wilderness there should grow up a distinction between the Mormon settlers and the other white people who came among them?

* According to the cruel custom then in vogue among the savages, an Indian boy and girl and thirteen horses were buried alive with Walker, being secured near the corpse of the chief at the bottom of a deep pit or walled enclosure, and left to suffer until death brought relief.

One class they called "Merocats"—Americans—and the other class Mormons. The latter were found fault with by some of the local Federal officials because of the distinction thus made by the Indians. But it would have been far more reasonable to have censured those who were mainly responsible in the premises—the "Merocats," who wantonly murdered the red men, and were really more accountable than the ignorant natives themselves for such lamentable and soul-harrowing tragedies as the Gunnison massacre.

In February, 1855, Dr. Garland Hurt, who had recently been appointed Indian Agent for Utah, arrived in the Territory. He appears to have been one of those who criticized the Saints for the distinction drawn by the savages, virtually blaming the Mormons for not being disliked by the Indians as much as were white people generally.

Judge Lazarus H. Reed, who, as stated, had been succeeded in office by Chief Justice Kinney, died in March of this year, at his home in Bath, New York. He had not spent more than half his time in Utah since his appointment as Chief Justice. In fact it does not seem to have been the custom for our Federal officials to do more in those days. Their salaries being so small, they were compelled to engage in other than their official pursuits, here or elsewhere, in order to gain a livelihood. Most of the Mormon officials, including the Legislators, served without pay. Judge Reed had won the respect and esteem of the citizens of Utah, and they sincerely deplored his death. Judge Kinney succeeded not only to the office of Chief Justice Reed but to the good-will felt for him by the people of the Territory.

The work of colonization still went on. In the spring of 1855 Morgan County was settled by Jedediah M. Grant,* Thomas Thurston and others; and about the same time a colony led by A. N. Billings left Sanpete County for the Elk Mountains, where they began, in June, a settlement on the left bank of Grand River. In May two

* The county was named for its pioneer settler, J. M. Grant, whose middle name was Morgan.

more colonies set out, one under Thomas S. Smith and Francillo Durfee, for Salmon River, now in Idaho, where they founded Fort Limhi; and the other, under Orson Hyde, going to Carson Valley, on the main overland route to California. Each of these companies arrived at its destination about the middle of June.*

Orson Hyde was accompanied to Carson by United States Marshal Heywood and Judge George P. Stiles, the latter having succeeded Associate Justice Snow, whose term of office expired in 1854. Messrs. Hyde, Heywood and Stiles were empowered by the Utah Legislature to meet with a similar commission from California, and establish in the Carson Valley region the boundary line between that State and this Territory. Having done this, they organized Carson County. Orson Hyde became its Probate Judge and Hon. Enoch Reese its representative to the Legislature. Colonel John Reese, brother and business partner of Enoch, had settled at Genoa, in Carson Valley, in 1850 or 1851. He is credited with building the first house at Genoa, then known as Reese's Station. Others say that H. S. Beatie erected the first house at Genoa, and that Colonel Reese bought him out. Several companies from central and northern Utah went to Carson Valley in the "fifties," and a number of small settlements were there formed. Among those who accompanied Orson Hyde were Christopher Merkley, Chester Loveland, George Hancock, Seth Dustin, William Hutchings, and Reuben and Jesse Perkins. Some of those who followed, next season, were William Jennings, Christopher Layton, William Nixon, Peregrine Sessions, Albert P. Dewey, William Kay and George Nebeker. At the time of the Buchanan war—1857—most of the settlements in Carson Valley were broken up, the Mormons returning to the region of the Great Salt Lake. Carson

* It is the ultimate object of the Mormons, by means of stations, wherever the nature of the country will admit of their settling in numbers sufficient for self-defense, to establish a line of communication with the Pacific, so as to afford aid to their brethren coming from abroad, while on their pilgrimage to the land of promise. These stations will gradually become connected by farms and smaller settlements, wherever practicable, until the greater part of the way will exhibit one long line of cultivated fields from the Mormon capital to San Diego.—*Stansbury's Expedition*, page 142.

County, however, and nearly the whole State of Nevada belonged to Utah when the great Comstock mine was discovered in 1857-9.

On May 10th, 1855, Charles C. Rich, George Q. Cannon, Joseph Bull, and M. F. Wilkie, left Salt Lake City for San Francisco. Elder Cannon there established a weekly journal called the *Western Standard*, representing the views, doctrines, and general progress of the people of Utah. The first number of this paper, edited by him, was issued at San Francisco on the 23rd of February, 1856. About the same time Elder Cannon published his Hawaiian translation of the Book of Mormon.

On June 29th, 1855, at his residence in Salt Lake City, died Hon. Leonidas Shaver, Associate Justice of Utah. The circumstances attending his death were these: Judge Shaver, who had held office in Utah for about three years, had long been troubled with a disease in the head, which gave him so much pain that he was in the habit of using opiates and stimulants to obtain relief from suffering. He was also troubled with an old wound in the hip. Finally his system succumbed, and he died on the date given. Precisely at what hour he passed away is unknown, as he was found dead in his bed, by those who attended him, about one o'clock in the afternoon. He had retired, according to his custom, about midnight. His death being sudden, an inquest was held over the remains, Mayor J. M. Grant presiding and the following named citizens acting as jurors: William Bell, a Gentile merchant, William C. Staines, Daniel Carn, C. C. Branham, Andrew Cunningham and Bryant Stringam. Among the witnesses examined were Dr. Garland Hurt, Judge Shaver's medical attendant; Dr. France, Edward Barr and a Mrs. Dotson, landlady of the house where the deceased had dwelt. The evidence showed that Judge Shaver for some time had been unwell, that he had complained of a violent pain in his ear, which had become worse through a cold, the night before his decease. The physicians testified that an abscess had formed and broken inside his head, the effects of which had penetrated to the brain, causing death. The verdict of the jurors was in accordance with these facts.





L. W. Hardy

U.S. 100-1



The death of Judge Shaver, like that of Judge Reed, was sincerely mourned in Utah. During their residence in the Territory, by their uprightness as judges and their deportment as men, they had endeared themselves to the whole community, who all united now in doing honor to the memory and remains of the Associate Justice. A public funeral was held at the Council House on the 30th of June, Mayor Grant having charge of arrangements and Chief Justice Kinney acting as chairman. A committee consisting of Hon. Almon W. Babbitt, Judge Zerubbabel Snow and Hon. George A. Smith, representing the bench and bar, reported resolutions of respect and esteem for the departed, which were read to the large assembly. Judge Kinney then pronounced a eulogy over the deceased, and after more resolutions of respect offered by Mayor Grant in behalf of the citizens, Professor Orson Pratt, by request, made some appropriate remarks. The benediction was pronounced by President Brigham Young. The remains were accompanied to the cemetery by a procession which formed in the following order under the direction of City Marshal Jesse C. Little:

1. Battalion of mounted Life Guards, commanded by Major R. T. Burton.
2. Nauvoo Brass Band, in carriage drawn by four black horses, instruments draped with black crape, and playing solemn music.
3. Hearse bearing the corpse, in a carriage draped and plumed, and drawn by four black horses, accompanied by pall bearers: Daniel Carn, Leonard W. Hardy, Frederick Kesler, Bryant Stringam, Dimick B. Huntington, James W. Cummings, Andrew Cunningham, William G. Perkins.
4. Intimate friends.
5. Governor and suite, including the Hon. John M. Bernhisel, Delegate.
6. The Judges of Supreme and Probate Courts, Secretary of the Territory, and Indian agent.
7. Members of the bar and officers of the courts.
8. Citizens.

At the grave Dr. Garland Hurt delivered an address, tendering his warmest thanks, "as a fellow Virginian," for the ceremonies extended on the occasion; after which Apostle George A. Smith dedicated the tomb.

The death of Judges Reed and Shaver, as said, was deeply

deplored in Utah. The funeral ceremonies in honor of the latter were a spontaneous offering, not only of respect to the high office which had been vacated, but of sincere and genuine affection for the man, and esteem for his memory. Had Judge Reed died in Utah, instead of in New York, there would have been another public funeral equally imposing, at which the citizens of the Territory would have united in a similar sincere expression of sorrow and esteem for the Chief Justice. The *Deseret News* of July 4th, 1855, the first issue of that journal after the death of Judge Shaver, thus voiced the sentiments of the people toward the deceased and his distinguished colleague. Said the editor:

“Having been personally acquainted with those gentlemanly, upright and distinguished Judges, both in their public and private walk in this Territory, we cannot easily refrain from making a few remarks. * * Among the many kind public acts of Millard Fillmore, late President of the United States, towards the inhabitants of Utah, few are cherished by the Saints with warmer gratitude than is felt for his appointment of the now lamented and illustrious deceased, to hold distinguished and influential governmental offices in our midst. * * Coming among us as entire strangers, and to a people still aggrieved by the base usage of those who had recently fled from the same offices, but had never been in the least degree worthy of them, Judges Reed and Shaver innately pursued that kind, affable, dignified, consistent and upright course, upon the bench and in their private conversation, which quietly won them the warm friendship and ardent esteem of our correct and justice-loving population, and caused their counsels and decisions to be acquiesced in with alacrity, even when, as the Hon. J. F. Kinney has stated in his eulogy upon Judge Shaver, they appeared “adverse perhaps to the wishes of the Church and community.” * * Their conduct and their testimony of us to the world were in favor of that truth and justice and of those principles and equal rights which we love and are bound to maintain, and in return their memory will ever be held sacred by all the Saints.”

We have been thus particular in setting forth the details surrounding the death of Judge Shaver because of a rumor which afterwards obtained wide circulation, that he had been poisoned by the Mormons on account of an alleged difficulty between him and Governor Young. How much consistency there was in such a story the reader, with the facts before him, can determine. The same may be said of the Gunnison massacre, previously narrated, which was also attributed to the Mormons; it being asserted that the murder of Captain Gunnison and his party was not only committed under the orders, advice and direction of the Saints, but that some of them, disguised as Indians, participated in the butchery. Relatives of Captain Gunnison, though doubtless aware of the warm friendship existing between him and the Mormon people, at first gave credence to this tale. But the Captain's brother, on visiting Utah and thoroughly sifting the matter, quickly changed his mind and expressed himself as perfectly satisfied that the Mormons had nothing to do with the massacre.

The originator of these base slanders—for slanders they were—appears to have been Judge William W. Drummond, who, on the 9th of July, following Judge Shaver's death, succeeded him as Associate Justice of Utah. Possibly the first suggestion may not have come from him, but he was the first to father the falsehoods, and put himself upon record as their author, thereby securing the copy-right, which no one that we are aware of has ever disputed. But of this and other acts of Judge Drummond, more anon.

On the 10th of December, 1855, the Utah Legislature in its fifth annual session convened at Fillmore, the new capital of the Territory, and organized by electing Heber C. Kimball President of the Council, and Jedediah M. Grant Speaker of the House. This was the first and last session of the Legislature held at Fillmore. Though it afterwards convened there, more than once, it immediately adjourned to Salt Lake City to hold its sessions.

Among the acts passed by the Assembly that winter was one authorizing an election of delegates to a Territorial Convention, the


purpose of which was to prepare a State constitution and memorialize Congress for the admission of Utah into the Union. This convention assembled at Salt Lake City on March 17th, 1856. Ten days later the constitution and memorial were adopted, and Hon. George A. Smith and Hon. John Taylor—the latter then editing a paper in New York called *The Mormon*—were elected delegates to present the same to Congress.

During the same session of the Legislature, acts were passed creating the counties of Cache and Box Elder. Cache Valley, which now contains one of the four Temple cities of the Territory, was then unsettled, and mainly used for haying and pasturing cattle. Among those who had visited the valley for that purpose were Samuel Roskelley, Andrew Moffatt, Brigham Young, junior, Bryant Stringam, Stephen Taylor, Seymour B. Young, and Simon and Joseph Baker. Peter Maughan, the pioneer of Cache County—then living at Tooele—was just about to lead a colony northward and found Maughan's Fort on the site of the present town of Wellsville. Box Elder County, which had belonged to Weber, was, as seen, partly settled, and had recently been strengthened by fifty additional families led by Lorenzo Snow. Other counties, most of them now defunct, or beyond the present boundaries of Utah, created by the Legislature during the winter of 1855-6, were those of Greasewood, Humboldt, St. Mary's, Shambip, Cedar and Malad.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1856.

A YEAR OF CALAMITIES—ANOTHER FAMINE IN UTAH—MORE INDIAN OUTBREAKS—DEATH OF COLONEL BABBITT—MASSACRE OF THE MARGETTS PARTY—THE HAND-CART DISASTER—NARRATIVES OF MESSRS. CHISLETT AND JAKES—THE REFORMATION—DEATH OF JEDEDIAH M. GRANT.

HE year 1856 was a calamitous year in Utah. The crops of the past two seasons had failed, and the gaunt specter of famine, unseen by the settlers since the period of scarcity following the cricket plague of 1848, was again abroad in the land.

The crop failure in 1854 had been due to a visitation of grasshoppers, pests almost if not quite as destructive as the crickets, and having this advantage over those voracious marauders, that when pursued they could "take to themselves wings," and fly beyond the reach of their pursuers. Besides, no gulls came this time to the rescue, and the ravages of the "iron-clads" were wide-spread and far-reaching.

The following year the grass-hoppers returned, and during the summer in many parts of Utah devoured every green thing visible. Added to this was a terrible drouth, which completed the work of devastation. Then came the winter—one of the severest ever known in Utah—burying under heavy snows the cattle ranges and causing the death from cold and starvation of thousands of animals. Many of these were beef cattle which would have supplied the next year's market. The loss in sheep was also heavy. In short, all things conspired to create and usher in the famine that followed.

During the early months of 1856 the sufferings of the settlers were severe. Many, as formerly, were driven to the necessity of digging roots in order to eke out an existence until harvest time.

All were not alike destitute. In every community the provident and the improvident are found. Some of the former, sensing intuitively the approach of the famine, and dreading a repetition of their previous experience, had taken time by the forelock and provided for the emergency. The result was that their bins and barns were full, while others were empty. Not long, however, did they remain replete. True to the spirit and genius of the Mormon system, with its patriarchal theories and practices, those who had gave unto those who had not; the share-and-share-alike principle again prevailed, and the full bins and larders were drawn upon to supply the needy and prevent as far as possible any soul from suffering. Unity and equality—those watch-words of the United Order—were once more emphasized in the dealings of the Mormon people with one another and with the needy of all classes and creeds among them.

Foremost among the philanthropists were the Mormon leaders, a number of whom had for several years predicted a famine, and urged the people to save their grain and lay up stores of provisions for a time of scarcity. Some had followed this advice, while others had ignored it; but of the former class were the leaders themselves, who had provided abundantly for the issue. Now that the famine had come, and their words were verified, these men stood like so many Josephs in Egypt to the hungry multitude who looked to them for succor. To their lasting credit be it recorded that that succor was not withheld. Nor did they take any advantage of their needy neighbors, but where they did not give outright, as was generally the case, they sold at moderate prices their beef and bread-stuffs to those who were able to re-imburse them.*

The following letter, borrowed from the author's "Life of Heber C. Kimball," is here inserted in proof^o of the last statement:

* A conspicuous example of fairness and philanthropy during that period was John Neff, the pioneer mill-builder on Mill Creek. When flour commanded as high as a dollar a pound, he would not accept more than six cents, the standard Tithing Office price. Nor would he sell it at all except to the needy, utterly refusing to speculate himself, or encourage others to do so, out of the necessities of the poor.





Rufus W. Smith

A handwritten signature in dark ink, which appears to read "Rufus W. Smith". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, looping initial "R".

Rufus W. Smith

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MANTI, SANPETE Co., January 16th, 1877.

S. F. Kimball, Salt Lake City.

DEAR BROTHER :—In answer to your enquiries in relation to the flour I distributed for your father, I will say :

That during the early part of the year 1856, in what is known as the "time of the famine," when a great many persons who in other respects were esteemed well-to-do, were under the necessity of eating thistle roots, sego roots and other wild plants for the sustenance of themselves and families, owing to the extreme scarcity of breadstuff, there being none in the market at any price; at this critical juncture President Heber C. Kimball, who had by wise economy and prescient forethought garnered up a quantity of surplus grain, requested my assistance to distribute flour to the families of the Saints in small quantities adapted to their number and necessity, charging them only \$6.00 per 100 lbs., then the standard Tithing Office price. Although there was no flour in the market, still some individuals were selling at \$25 to \$30 per 100 lbs. To the best of my recollection some 20,000 to 30,000 lbs. of flour were thus distributed in various amounts, varying from five to fifty lbs., according to the size of the family.

This act of generosity and fatherly care on the part of the late Heber C. Kimball was only in keeping with his general character as a man of sterling integrity and a faithful steward before the Lord to his fellow-men, and thus his memory is justly enshrined in the hearts of the Saints, who fondly cherish the hope to enjoy his society after a glorious resurrection.

Yours very truly,

J. B. MAIBEN.

A few paragraphs from President Kimball's own letters descriptive of the famine, written to his son William, then in England, will also be of interest. These letters were dated at Salt Lake City in February and April, 1856:

My family, with yours, are all in good health and spirits. I have been under the necessity of rationing my family, and also yours, to two-thirds of a pound of breadstuff per day each; as the last week is up today, we shall commence on half a pound each—at the same time they all begin to look better and fatter, and more ruddy, like the English. This I am under the necessity of doing. Brother Brigham told me today that he had put his family on half a pound each, for there is scarcely any grain in the country, and there are thousands that have none at all scarcely. We do this for the purpose of feeding hundreds that have none.

My family at this time consists of about one hundred souls, and I suppose that I feed about as many as one hundred besides.

My mill has not brought me in, for the last seven months, over one bushel of toll per day, in consequence of the dry weather, and the water being frozen up—which would not pay my miller. When this drought came on, I had about seven thousand bushels of wheat, and it is now reduced to about one hundred and twenty-five bushels, and I have only about twenty-five bushels of corn, which will not provide for my own family until

harvest. Heber has been to the mill today, and has brought down some unbolted flour, and we shall be under the necessity of eating the bran along with the flour, and shall think ourselves doing well with a half a pound a day at that. * * * We have some meat and perhaps about seventy bushels of potatoes, also a very few beets and carrots; so you can judge whether or not we can get through until harvest without digging roots; still we are altogether better off than the most of the people in these valleys of the mountains. There are several wards in this city who have not over two weeks' provisions on hand.

I went into the tithing office with Brother Hill and examined it from top to bottom and, taking all the wheat, corn, buckwheat and oats, there were not to exceed five hundred bushels, which is all the public works have, or expect to have, and the works are pretty much abandoned, the men having been all turned off, except about fifteen who are at work on Brother Brigham's house and making some seed drills for grain, as we will be obliged to put in our grain by drilling, on account of the scarcity, which probably will not take over one-third of the grain it would to sow broadcast.

We shall probably not do anything on the public works until another harvest. The mechanics of every class have all been counseled to abandon their pursuits and go to raising grain. This we are literally compelled to do, out of necessity. Moreover there is not a settlement in the Territory but is also in the same fix that we are. Some settlements can go two months, some three, some can, probably, at the rate of half a pound per day, till harvest. Hon. A. W. Babbitt even went to Brother Hyde's provision store the other day, and begged to get twenty or twenty-five pounds of flour, but could not. This I was told by William Price, who is the salesman of the store. Money will not buy flour or meal, only at a few places, and but very little at that. I can assure you that I am harassed constantly; I sell none for money, but let it go where people are truly destitute. Dollars and cents do not count now, in these times, for they are the tightest that I have ever seen in the Territory of Utah. You and your brethren can judge a little by this. As one of the old Prophets said, anciently, "as with the people, so with the Priest," we all take it together.

Some of the people drop many big tears, but if they cannot learn wisdom by precept, nor by example, they must learn it by what they suffer.

Now is the time for us to be like unto Joseph of old—lay up stores for ourselves and our children.

* * * * *

Now, as to my stock—cattle, horses and sheep. My sheep are on Antelope Island. Peter Hanson is with them, and Joseph Toronto is with Brother Brigham's five miles beyond. Some portions of the Island are covered with snow nearly three feet deep. The sheep range on the tops of the mountains where the wind has blown off the snow, and they do first rate. My cattle, sixty head of them, were put in Cache Valley with the Church cattle, and those of other individuals, numbering about two thousand five hundred head, with some forty or fifty horses, some six or eight of which were mine. When the snow fell in that valley about ten inches deep, the fatter portion of the cattle broke and came over into Box Elder and Weber valleys, and scattered hither and thither. It is supposed that one-half of those two thousand five hundred head are dead. Whether mine are all dead I know not. My John horse fled out of that valley down on the Weber and

died. Old Jim, Elk, Kit and Kurley remained in Cache Valley, and they were with about forty head of other horses when last seen, but they have not been heard of for a considerable time, and whether living or dead we know not. The snow is about waist deep in that valley. Week before last, Heber and some other boys started to go there, but when they got to the divide between that valley and Box Elder, the snow was about twelve feet deep, and they were obliged to return. Heber found the Lize mare and your two mules on the Weber, and brought them home. They were so poor that they almost staggered. The Carr boys have lost most of their cattle, as they were in Cache Valley. Daddy Stump went there also, and most of his died. Brother Shurtliff had some ninety cows of Brother Brigham's, and he says that they are all dead except ten or a dozen. Brothers Hooper and Williams told me that they had lost about seven hundred head. Mr. Kerr, a Gentile, told me that he had six or seven hundred head, and they were all dead. Messrs. Gilbert and Gerrish had about as many, and they are all dead. as are also Livingston and Bell's, and, from the accounts from all the brethren north of this place, we learn that they have lost half of their stock, and this destruction seems to be more or less throughout the Territory, and many cattle and horses are dying in the city. There may be more or less of these cattle living, but they are scattered from Malad to this place. There are some forty head of cattle on the Island, probably living.

* * * * *

Brother Smoot has made a selection of one hundred men, principally young men, to go back with ox teams to fetch on the Church goods that lie in Missouri and St. Louis, if there are cattle enough left alive to do so. Your brother David, Brigham Young, Jr., and George Grant's son George, will go with them.

The times are said to be more close this season than they have ever been in the valleys; and this is universal through all the settlements. There are not more than one-half of the people that have bread, and they have not more than one-half or one-quarter of a pound a day to a person. A great portion of the people are digging roots, and hundreds and thousands, their teams being dead, are under the necessity of spading their ground to put in their grain. There is a pretty universal break with our merchants, as there is no one to buy their goods, and their stock are mostly dead. My family, with yours, have only one-half a pound of bread-stuff to a person, a day. We have vegetables and a little meat. We are doing first-rate, and have no cause but to be very thankful; still I feed hundreds of others, a little, or they must suffer. Brother Brigham, myself and others have been crying unto this people for more than three years, to lay up their grain for a time when they would have much need of it.

At our April conference there were about three hundred missionaries selected for different missions; some thirty or forty to go to Europe and the United States, and about one hundred to Carson Valley, to try to sustain that place; a large company to Green River, another to Los Vegas and another to Salmon River. All business is given up for the present on the public works. Not much of any building is going on in the city, as all mechanics are advised to go to tilling the earth.

To add to the troubles of the people two Indian outbreaks occurred about this time, during which ten or twelve citizens lost their lives.

The first emeute was in eastern Utah, at the Elk Mountain Mission, recently founded on Grand River. In the latter part of September, 1855, the Yampah Utes in that locality attacked the settlers, killing James W. Hunt, William Behunin, and Edward Edwards, and wounding A. N. Billings, the president of the mission; besides burning property and stealing stock. Soon afterward the colonists vacated their fort and returned to their former homes in Sanpete Valley.

The other outbreak occurred in February, 1856. It was known as the "Tintic war." A sub-chief of the Utes named Tintic was the ring-leader of the hostiles, some of whom dwelt in a valley called Tintic, and others in Cedar Valley, both west of Utah Lake. The provocation came from the Indians, who, lacking food, began stealing cattle from the herds in that vicinity. They also shot and killed two herdsmen,—Henry Moran and Washington Carson.

On February 22nd a *posse* of ten men, armed with writs of arrest, issued by Judge Drummond, in Utah County, set out for Cedar Valley to apprehend the murderers. Arriving at the Indian encampment, and attempting to serve the writs, the *posse* met with determined resistance. An Indian named Battest aimed his rifle at George Parish and fired, but the gun-barrel being knocked aside the bullet missed its mark. One of Parish's friends then drew his revolver and shot Battest through the head, killing him instantly. A general fight followed, in which one of the *posse*, George Carson, was mortally wounded. On the other side the chief Tintic was wounded and one squaw killed.

A few days later the savages killed three more men near Kimball's Creek, south-west of Utah Lake. They were John Catlin, John Winn and a man named Cousins. Colonel Conover, with a force of militia, was now ordered out by Governor Young. Crossing the lake on the ice, they went in pursuit of the Indians, who fled at their approach, leaving behind them the stolen cattle. So ended the "Tintic war." During this trouble, in addition to the fatalities mentioned, a young man named Hunsaker was captured and put to

death by the redskins. He was a son of Abram Hunsaker, who had charge of stock belonging to Lorenzo Snow, Franklin D. Richards and others. This was the most serious difficulty the settlers had had with the Indians since the close of the Walker war. It is but fair to state that while these hostiles were Utes, they were renegades from their tribe, for whose actions the main body was not responsible.

But while no more Indian outbreaks occurred in Utah that year, the savages on the plains became hostile, attacking and robbing trains and killing travelers. Among the slain were several citizens of Utah, namely: Colonel Almon W. Babbitt, Secretary of the Territory, Thomas Margetts, James Cowdy and others.

In April Secretary Babbitt had left Salt Lake City for Washington, on business connected with his office. He was accompanied across the plains by United States Marshal Heywood, Chief Justice Kinney and wife, Apostles Orson Pratt, George A. Smith, Ezra T. Benson, Erastus Snow and others. Orson Pratt and Ezra T. Benson were on their way to Europe, the former to succeed Apostle Franklin D. Richards in the presidency of the British mission. George A. Smith was en route to Washington to discharge, in conjunction with Hon. John Taylor, the duty lately assigned them as delegates from the Territorial Convention. Erastus Snow was destined to St. Louis to re-assume the presidency of the flourishing branch of the Mormon Church in that city, previously presided over by Elder Orson Spencer, who had recently died.* The others were upon various errands to different parts of the Union. The Margetts-Cowdy party left Utah some time later. They were on their way back to England.

In August Secretary Babbitt's train, loaded with government property for Utah, was attacked and plundered by Cheyenne Indians near Wood River, now in Nebraska. Of the four teamsters in charge, two were killed and one wounded. A Mrs. Wilson was wounded and carried away by the savages, who also killed her child.

* A Mormon paper called *The Luminary* had been established by Apostle Snow in St. Louis.

This was an act of retaliation for an attack made by Government troops upon a Cheyenne village some time before. Ten warriors had been killed, and the survivors had sought revenge, as usual, upon the next white persons who fell into their power. Colonel Babbitt was not with his train at the time, but was killed by the Cheyennes east of Fort Laramie, a few weeks later. For some time his fate was enshrouded in mystery, but it finally transpired that after leaving the frontier for the west, he and his party were attacked and slain by some of the same tribe that had plundered his train and killed his teamsters.*

About the time of the attack on Babbitt's train, Apostle Franklin D. Richards, Elders Daniel Spencer, Cyrus H. Wheelock, Joseph A. Young, William H. Kimball, James Ferguson and others, just from Europe, were crossing the plains on their return to Utah. Arriving at Fort Kearney they learned from Captain Wharton, the officer in command, full particulars of the killing of Colonel Babbitt's men by the Cheyennes. As they were about leaving the fort to rejoin their camp on the north bank of the Platte, a discharged soldier from Fort Laramie—one Henry Bauichter—arrived with the news of another massacre by the Cheyennes; that of Thomas Margetts and party, about a hundred and twenty-five miles west of Fort Kearney. The substance of the statement made by the ex-soldier to Millen Atwood and James G. Willie, the latter captain of one of the Mormon emigrant trains then moving westward, was as follows: Bauichter had left Fort Laramie on the 29th of August, and having overtaken Mr. Margetts had traveled with him and his companions as far as the scene of the massacre. The party consisted of Thomas Margetts and wife, James Cowdy, wife and child. They had a covered wagon drawn by two mules; also two riding horses, which were used at intervals by Mr. and Mrs. Margetts. On the 6th of September, Bauichter and Margetts went on a buffalo hunt and between one and two o'clock in the afternoon succeeded in killing a bison about a mile

* William H. Hooper succeeded Colonel Babbitt as Secretary of Utah, being appointed by Governor Young to act temporarily in that capacity.

and a half from camp. A bluff intervened between them and the wagon. Margetts took a portion of the buffalo to camp, and half an hour later his companion, having secured more of the meat, followed. As he came in sight of the wagon he noticed that the cover was gone, and on approaching nearer beheld to his horror the bodies of Mr. Margetts, Mr. and Mrs. Cowdy and their child lying upon the ground. All save the child were dead, and it was wounded and dying. Mrs. Margetts was missing. The mules and horses had been taken, and the wagon plundered. None of the bodies were scalped. No shots had been heard, but an arrow was sticking in Cowdy's thigh. In the distance, riding rapidly away, were a band of about a dozen Indians. Bauichter had lost a gold watch, three hundred dollars in money and some papers that he had left in the wagon. Thomas Margetts was brother to Philip, Henry, and the late Richard B. Margetts, all well known and respected citizens of Utah.

Following these disasters came another, more terrible still, which for a season filled all Utah with grief and gloom. It had been decided by the Mormon leaders that a cheaper and more expeditious method of bringing their emigration across the great plains would be by hand-carts in lieu of ox-teams and wagons. The carts, manufactured on the frontier, were to carry the baggage and provisions, and the stronger men were to pull them. The idea was novel, but, save in the case of two companies, which started too late in the season and were caught in the early snows near the Rocky Mountains, proved eminently successful.

The hand-cart project was very popular in England, and created considerable enthusiasm, especially among those who had hitherto been unable to raise enough means to emigrate, and who did not wish to become indebted to the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company. Many of these, carried away with the idea of "gathering to Zion" that season, left their various employments before arrangements had been completed for their transportation. The result was that they were left to choose between the alternatives of remaining in that

land during the winter, to starve or go to the poor-house, or else run the risk of a late journey across the plains. They chose the latter course, in which the presidency of the mission, seeing no better way out of the difficulty, acquiesced, and directed matters to that end. Accordingly, across the Atlantic went the ill-starred emigrants of 1856. On reaching the Missouri River the date of departure for the west depended entirely upon the readiness of the hand-carts that were there being manufactured for their use. Many of these not being finished when needed, some delay occurred on the frontier.

The first of the hand-cart companies to arrive in Salt Lake Valley were two led by Edmund Ellsworth and Daniel D. McArthur. Captain Ellsworth had left Iowa City,—then the Mormon outfitting post,—on the 9th of June, and Captain McArthur on the 11th. Each at starting had in his company nearly five hundred souls, with one hundred hand-carts, five wagons, twenty-four oxen, four mules and twenty-five tents. Most of the emigrants were from Europe, and comprised men, women and children, including some who were aged and infirm. Yet they heroically walked the entire distance from the point of starting to Salt Lake City, wading rivers, crossing deserts and climbing mountains, a distance of thirteen hundred miles.

Some deaths occurred among the aged and sickly, but the great body of the emigrants arrived safe and in excellent condition at their journey's end. They were met in Emigration Canyon on the 26th of September, by Presidents Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball, General Wells, and many other prominent citizens,—Captain William Pitt's brass band and a company of lancers under Colonel H. B. Clawson, forming a portion of the welcoming pageant,—and escorted to the city with flying colors. Their journey from Iowa City had occupied a little over three months, and could have been accomplished in less time, but for the breaking down of some of the hand-carts, which were made of green in lieu of well-seasoned timber, and were consequently unable to bear the strain of the long journey over the heated plains.

On the 2nd of October Captain Edward Bunker's hand-cart

company—the third of the season—arrived in the Valley, along with Captain John Bank's wagon company. They had left Iowa City on the 23rd of June.

Two other hand-cart companies were now on the plains. They were in charge of James G. Willie and Edward Martin. The former had left Iowa City on the 15th of July, and the latter passed the Missouri River on the 22nd of August. Though these companies had started late, there still remained time, making due allowance for accidents and delays, for them to have reached their journey's end in safety, or with little suffering, but for one thing,—the unusually early advent of a terribly severe winter, similar to that which had overtaken and engulfed the Donner Party at the foot of the Sierras just ten years before.

The approach of a hard winter being evident in Utah, early in October relief parties were organized by the Mormon Presidency and sent out to meet the emigrants. Anticipating their needs, though no report of suffering had yet reached the Valley, wagon-loads of clothing, bedding and provisions were taken by the relief corps to the on-coming trains. Among those who went out to help them in were Joseph A. Young, eldest son of President Brigham Young; William H., David P. and Heber P. Kimball, sons of President Kimball; George D. Grant and his son George W., brother and nephew of Jedediah M. Grant; Robert T. Burton, James Ferguson, Abel Garr, Feramor Little, Charles F. Decker, Hosea Stout, Ephraim K. Hanks, Joseph M. Simmons, Isaac Bullock, Brigham Young, junior, C. Allen Huntington, Daniel W. Jones, Stephen Taylor, and John R. Murdock. Some of these, as shown, were missionaries who had just returned from Europe, preceding only a few days the hand-cart companies to the Valley. A portion of them started back on October 7th; the others some time later. At the risk of their own lives, these brave men went forth to rescue the poor emigrants now struggling through the snows and piercing winds along the Platte and Sweetwater.

A very graphic recital of the sad story of the hand-cart disaster

is contained in the writings of John Chislett, for many years a prominent merchant of Salt Lake City. Mr. Chislett was then a Mormon, and a member of Captain Willie's company. He says:

We traveled on in misery and sorrow day after day. Sometimes we made a pretty good distance, but at other times we were only able to make a few miles' progress. Finally we were overtaken by a snow-storm which the shrill wind blew furiously about us. The snow fell several inches deep as we traveled along, but we dared not stop, for we had a sixteen-mile journey to make, and short of it we could not get wood and water.

As we were resting for a short time at noon a light wagon was driven into our camp from the west. Its occupants were Joseph A. Young and Stephen Taylor. They informed us that a train of supplies was on the way, and we might expect to meet it in a day or two. More welcome messengers never came from the courts of glory than these two young men were to us. They lost no time after encouraging us all they could to press forward, but sped on further east to convey their glad news to Edward Martin and the fifth hand-cart company who left Florence about two weeks after us, and who it was feared were even worse off than we were. As they went from our view, many a hearty "God bless you!" followed them.

* * * * *

The storm which we encountered, our brethren from the Valley also met, and, not knowing that we were so utterly destitute, they encamped to await fine weather. But when Captain Willie found them and explained our real condition, they at once hitched up their teams and made all speed to come to our rescue. On the evening of the third day after Captain Willie's departure, just as the sun was sinking beautifully behind the distant hills, on an eminence immediately west of our camp, several covered wagons, each drawn by four horses, were seen coming towards us. The news ran through the camp like wild-fire, and all who were able to leave their beds turned out *en masse* to see them. A few minutes brought them sufficiently near to reveal our faithful captain slightly in advance of the train. Shouts of joy rent the air; strong men wept till tears ran freely down their furrowed and sun-burnt cheeks, and little children partook of the joy which some of them hardly understood, and fairly danced around with gladness. Restraint was set aside in the general rejoicing, and as the brethren entered our camp the sisters fell upon them and deluged them with kisses. The brethren were so overcome that they could not for some time utter a word, but in choking silence repressed all demonstration of those emotions that evidently mastered them. Soon, however, feeling was somewhat abated, and such a shaking of hands, such words of welcome, and such invocation of God's blessing have seldom been witnessed.

I was installed as regular commissary to the camp. The brethren turned over to me flour, potatoes, onions, and a limited supply of warm clothing for both sexes, besides quilts, blankets, buffalo robes, woollen socks, etc. I first distributed the necessary provisions, and after supper divided the clothing, bedding, etc., where it was most needed. That evening, for the first time in quite a period, the songs of Zion were to be heard in the camp, and peals of laughter issued from the little knots of people as they chatted around the fires. The change seemed almost miraculous, so sudden was it from grave to

gay, from sorrow to gladness, from mourning to rejoicing. With the cravings of hunger satisfied, and with hearts filled with gratitude to God and our good brethren, we all united in prayer, and then retired to rest.

Among the brethren who came to our succor were Elders W. H. Kimball and G. D. Grant. They had remained but a few days in the Valley before starting back to meet us. May God ever bless them for their generous, unselfish kindness and their manly fortitude! They felt that they had, in a great measure, contributed to our sad position; but how nobly, how faithfully, how bravely they worked to bring us safely to the Valley—to the Zion of our hopes!

After getting over the Pass we soon experienced the influence of a warmer climate, and for a few days we made good progress. We constantly met teams from the Valley, with all necessary provisions. Most of these went on to Martin's company, but enough remained with us for our actual wants. At Fort Bridger we found a great many teams that had come to our help. The noble fellows who came to our assistance invariably received us joyfully, and did all in their power to alleviate our sufferings. May they never need similar relief!

After arriving in the Valley, I found that President Young, on learning from the brethren who passed us on the road of the lateness of our leaving the frontier, set to work at once to send us relief. It was the October Conference when they arrived with the news. Brigham at once suspended all conference business, and declared that nothing further should be done until every available team was started out to meet us. He set the example by sending several of his best mule teams, laden with provisions. Heber Kimball did the same, and hundreds of others followed their noble example. People who had come from distant parts of the Territory to attend conference, volunteered to go out to meet us, and went at once. The people who had no teams gave freely of provisions, bedding, etc.—all doing their best to help us.

We arrived in Salt Lake City on the 9th of November, but Martin's company did not arrive until about the 1st of December. They numbered near six hundred on starting, and *lost over one-fourth of their number by death*. The storm which overtook us while making the sixteen-mile drive on the Sweetwater, reached them at North Platte. There they settled down to await help or die, being unable to go any farther. Their camp-ground became indeed a veritable grave-yard before they left it, and their dead lie even now scattered along from that point to Salt Lake.

Mr. Chislett confines his narrative mainly to the experience of Captain Willie's company, with which he was connected. Elder John Jaques, who was in Martin's company, detailed the journey of that detachment from Liverpool in a series of letters to the Salt Lake *Herald* in 1878-9. From his equally thrilling account we present the following paragraphs:

The company of emigrants, of which this hand-cart company constituted the larger part, embarked at Liverpool, May 22nd, 1856, on the packet ship *Horizon*, Captain Reed,

into the camp amid the cheers and tears and smiles and laughter of the emigrants. These three men, being an express from the most advanced relief company from Salt Lake, brought the glad word that assistance, provisions and clothing were near, that ten wagons were waiting at Devil's Gate for the emigrants. Early on the morning of the 29th the hand-cart company left the Platte and struck across the country for the Sweetwater. In the afternoon of the last day of October the company met C. H. Wheelock, Daniel W. Jones and Abel Garr, who were going to meet the various companies. At Greasewood creek were found George D. Grant, R. T. Burton, Charles Decker, C. G. Webb and others, with six wagons laden with flour and other things from Salt Lake, who had come to the assistance of the belated emigrants. This was another time of rejoicing. On the evening of November 1st the hand-cart company camped at the Sweetwater bridge, on this side of the river, about five miles on the other side of Devil's Gate, arriving there about dark. There was a foot or eighteen inches of snow on the ground, which, as there were but one or two spades in camp, the emigrants had to shovel away with their frying pans, or tin plates, or anything they could use for that purpose, before they could pitch their tents, and then the ground was frozen so hard that it was almost impossible to drive the tent pegs into it. Some of the men were so weak that it took them an hour or two to clear the places for their tents and set them up. On the 3rd Joseph A. Young and Abel Garr were sent as an express to Salt Lake to convey information as to the situation of the emigrants. In preparing for this express journey home, Joseph A. put on three or four pairs of woollen socks, a pair of moccasins, and a pair of buffalo hide over-shoes with the wool on, and then remarked, "There, if my feet freeze with those on, they must stay frozen till I get to Salt Lake."

At Devil's Gate an earnest council was held to determine whether to endeavor to winter the emigrants at that point or to push them on to Salt Lake as fast as possible. It was decided to continue the march to Salt Lake the same season. Two or three days after arriving at Devil's Gate, the hand-cart company was in part re-organized, and most of the carts were left there.

The freight that could not be taken along was left at Devil's Gate, with twenty men to guard it during the winter, in charge of Daniel W. Jones, assisted by Thomas M. Alexander and Ben Hampton, of the relief party. The remaining seventeen men were chosen from the emigrant companies. These twenty men had a hard time of it before they were relieved the next summer.

The passage of the Sweetwater at this point was a severe operation to many of the company. It was the last ford that the emigrants waded over. The water was not less than two feet deep, perhaps a little more in the deepest parts, but it was intensely cold. The ice was three or four inches thick, and the bottom of the river muddy or sandy. I forget exactly how wide the stream was there, but I think thirty or forty yards. It seemed a good deal wider than that to those who pulled their hand-carts through it. Before the crossing was completed, the shades of evening were closing around, and, as everybody knows, that is the coldest hour of the twenty-four, or at least it seems to be so, in a frosty time. The teams and wagons and hand-carts and some of the men forded the river. David P. Kimball, George W. Grant, Stephen Taylor and C. Allen Huntington waded the river, helping the handcarts through and carrying the women and children and some of the

the hungrier they grew. Soon after Fort Laramie was passed, it was deemed advisable to curtail the rations in order to make them hold out as long as possible. The pound of flour fell to three-fourths of a pound, then to half a pound, and subsequently yet lower. Still the company toiled on through the Black Hills, where the feed grew scarcer for the cattle also.

In the Black Hills the roads were harder, more rocky and more hilly, and this told upon the hand-carts, causing them to fail more rapidly, become rickety, and need more frequent repairing. One man's hand-cart broke down one afternoon in the hills, and by some mischance the company all went on, leaving him behind, alone with his broken cart and his and his family's little stock of worldly goods thereon. He was drawing his little child in his cart, as he had drawn her most of the journey, and as he subsequently drew her to the last crossing of the Platte, but when his cart broke down he had to transfer her to somebody else's cart and send her on with the company. So he remained behind with his cart, anxiously expecting somebody to turn back and help him, but no one came. Night drew on apace, and still he was all alone, save and excepting the presence of a prowling wolf, which could be seen in the streak of light on the western horizon, a little outside of ordinary rifle range. Happily, just as darkness was settling down, Captain Hodgett's wagon company was observed coming down the opposite hill, from the east, at the base of which it encamped, a quarter or half a mile distant from the benighted and lonely hand-cart; he eagerly went and told his tale of misfortune to the wagon people, and they took him in for the night.

On the 19th of October the company crossed the Platte, for the last time, at Red Buttes, about five miles above the bridge. That was a bitter cold day. Winter came on all at once, and that was the first day of it. The river was wide, the current strong, the water exceedingly cold and up to the wagon beds in the deepest parts, and the bed of the river was covered with cobble stones. Some of the men carried some of the women over on their backs or in their arms, but others of the women tied up their skirts and waded through, like heroines that they were, and as they had done through many other rivers and creeks. The company was barely over when snow, hail and sleet began to fall, accompanied by a piercing north wind, and camp was made on this side of the river. That was a nipping night, and it told its tale on the oxen as well as on the people. At Deer Creek, on the 17th of October, owing to the growing weakness of emigrants and teams, the baggage, including bedding and cooking utensils, was reduced to ten pounds per head, children, under eight years, five pounds. Good blankets and other bedding and clothing were burned, as they could not be carried further, though needed more than ever, for there was yet four hundred miles of winter to go through. The next day after crossing the Platte the company moved on slowly, about ten miles, through the snow, and camped again near the Platte and at the point where the road left it for the Sweetwater. It snowed three days, and the teams and many of the people were so far given out that it was deemed advisable not to proceed further for a few days, but rather to stay in camp and recruit. It was hoped that the snow and cold would prove only a foretaste of winter and would soon pass away and the weather would moderate, but that hope proved delusive.

The 28th of October was the red letter day to this hand-cart expedition. On that memorable day, Joseph A. Young, Daniel W. Jones and Abel Garr galloped unexpectedly

As the emigrants proceeded on their terrible journey, there was no appreciable mitigation of the piercing wintry cold, but its intensity rather increased. The Rocky Ridge and the South Pass were crossed on the 18th of November, a bitterly cold day. The snow fell fast and the wind blew piercingly from the north. For several days the company had been meeting more relief teams, which had been urged on by the Joseph A. Young express, and as the company was crossing the South Pass, there was a sufficiency of wagons, for the first time, to carry all the people, and thenceforth the traveling was more rapid.

On the 21st the company camped at Green River, on the 22nd near the junction of Ham's and Black's forks, on the 23rd at Bridger, on the 24th in the cedars at the Muddy, where good fires were had, and on the 25th at Bear River. The next camp, on the 26th, was in a small canyon running out of the north side of Echo Canyon, a few miles above the mouth of the latter. Here a birth took place, and one of the relief party generously contributed part of his under linen to clothe the little stranger. The mother did quite as well as could have been expected, considering the unpropitious circumstances. The little newcomer also did well, and was named Echo, in honor of the place of her nativity.

On the 27th the company camped on the Weber, on the 28th on East Canyon Creek, and on the 29th the Big Mountain was crossed. At a spring here, Feramorz Little, Joseph A. Young, his brother Brigham and others, who had been busy in keeping the roads broken in that vicinity, had their camp. About this time the relief wagons numbered 104. On the same day the company crossed over the Little Mountain, or part of it, and camped at the head of Emigration Canyon, and on Sunday the 30th passed down the latter canyon and arrived in the city about noon.

Two wagon companies were still behind. Isaac Bullock and all the men at Fort Supply, on Green River, went to the assistance of the wagon companies, taking all the oxen, down to the 2-year-olds, in the settlement. On the 2nd of December, sixty horse and mule teams, mostly two span, with provisions and forage, left this city to fetch in the wagon companies, which arrived here by detachments. It has been stated that they were all in, excepting a few persons who tarried at Fort Supply, by the 16th of December. Perhaps most of them were, but individuals who were there affirm that some of the wagons were arriving during most of the remainder of the month.

Many besides those who went to the rescue of these companies would gladly have gone had it been their privilege. None were more anxious in this respect, for none felt more keenly for the sufferings of the unfortunate emigrants, than President Franklin D. Richards, under whose administration in the British Isles the hand-cart project had been inaugurated. He had arrived home only three days before the relief parties set out. He desired to accompany them and made all preparations to that end, but was called to assist President Jedediah M. Grant and other Elders who were just then arduously



weaker of the men over. In the rear part of the company two men were pulling one of the hand-carts, assisted by one or two women, for the women pulled as well as the men all the way, so long as the hand-carts lasted. When the cart arrived at the bank of the river, one of these men, who was much worn down, asked, in a plaintive tone, "Have we got to go across there?" On being answered yes, he was so much affected that he was completely overcome. That was the last strain. His fortitude and manhood gave way. He exclaimed, "Oh dear! I can't go through that," and burst into tears. His wife, who was by his side, had the stouter heart of the two at that juncture, and she said soothingly, "Don't cry, Jimmy. I'll pull the hand-cart for you." * * While in the river the sharp cakes of floating ice below the surface of the water struck against the bare shins of the emigrant, inflicting wounds, which never healed until he arrived at Salt Lake, and the dark scars of which he bears to this day.

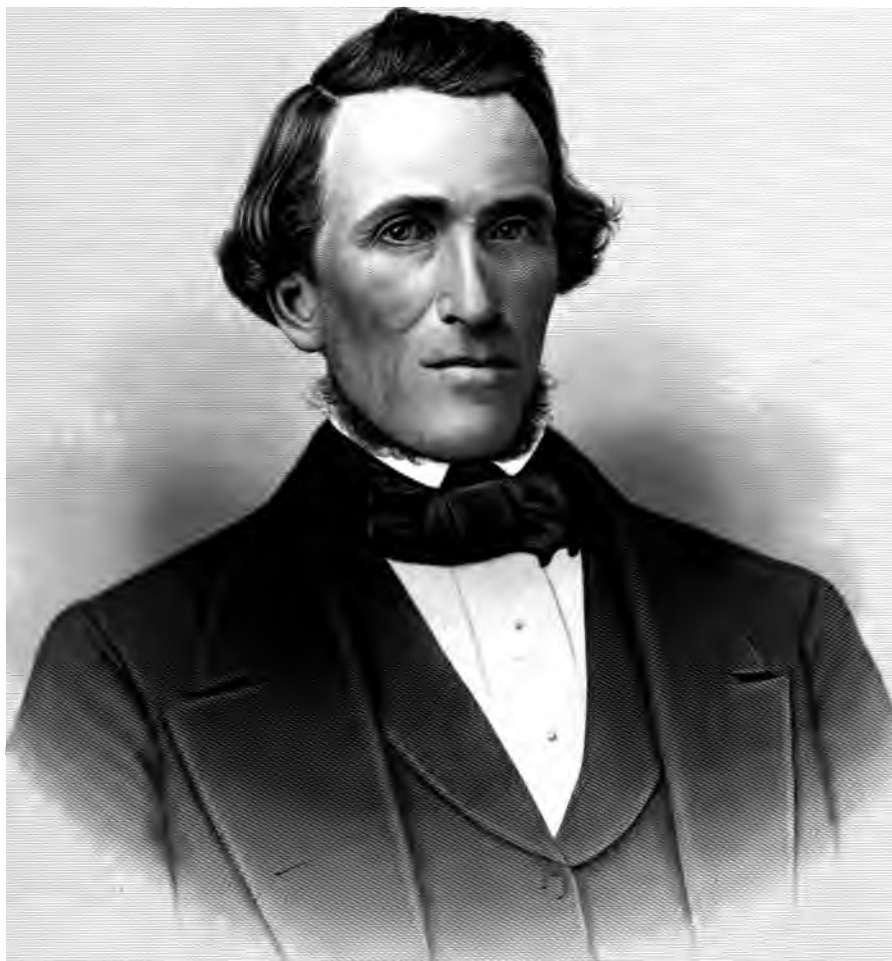
The hand-cart company rested in Martin's Ravine two or three or more days. Though under the shelter of the northern mountains, it was a cold place. One night the gusty wind blew over a number of the tents, and it was with difficulty some of the emigrants could keep from freezing. One afternoon Captain Martin and two or three other men started to go from the camp to Devil's Gate, but a snow storm came on and they mistook their bearings and lost their way. After wandering about for several hours, they came near perishing. In their exigency they endeavored to make a fire to warm themselves. They gathered some cedar twigs and struck match after match to light them, but in vain. At length, with their last match and the aid of portions of their body linen, they succeeded in starting a fire. This was seen from the hand-cart camp, from which, after all their anxious and weary wanderings, they were only about half a mile distant. Help soon came to the benighted wanderers and the "boys" carried Captain Martin, who was nearly exhausted, back to camp. By this time there was a sufficiency of wagons to take in most if not all of the baggage of the company, and to carry some of the people. It was a trying time that day in leaving the ravine. One perplexing difficulty was to determine who should ride, for many must still walk, though, as far as I recollect, and certainly for most of the company, the cart pulling occupation was gone. There was considerable crying of women and children, and perhaps of a few of the men, whom the wagons could not accommodate with a ride. One of the relief party remarked that in all the mobbings and drivings of the Mormons he had seen nothing like it. C. H. Wheelock could scarcely refrain from shedding tears, and he declared that he would willingly give his own life if that would save the lives of the emigrants. After a time a start was effected and the march was re-commenced along the valley of the Sweetwater toward the setting sun.

While on the Sweetwater, Eph. Hanks was met one day. He had left his wagon behind him and come on alone on horseback, and had managed to kill a buffalo. Some others of the relief parties, further this way, had come to the conclusion that the rear companies of the emigration had perished in the snow. But Eph. was determined to go along, even though alone, and see for himself. William H. Kimball left Salt Lake again, November 11th, with Hosea Stout, James Ferguson and Joseph Simmons, and met the hand-cart company four miles beyond the first station on the Sweetwater. By this time the shoes of many of the emigrants had "given out," and that was no journey for shoeless men, women and children to make at such a season of the year, and trudge it on foot.



"We live in deeds, not years ; in thoughts, not breaths ;
In feelings, not in figures on a dial."

We will not at this time give an extended biography of one who was beloved and respected wherever known as a brave, virtuous and upright man. His name will ever be a synonym for courage, candor and integrity. Talented, though like most of his compeers but little educated, he filled with high credit various eminent stations and died lamented by the whole community.



John Grant



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engaged in carrying on what is known in Mormon history as "The Reformation." Had it not been for this, Apostle Richards would have returned to meet the hand-carts, and it is not saying too much, to those who know the man and his great sorrow at the disaster which befell his brethren and sisters on the plains, that could his own life have averted the terrible calamity which overtook them, it would willingly have been given.

The Reformation was a great spiritual movement, similar in some respects to a religious revival; though not designed to make proselytes, but rather to call to repentance and a renewal of covenants such of the Saints as had become careless and sinful. Pride, covetousness, contention, physical and moral uncleanness were the sins that the people were exhorted to put away. The First Presidency, the Apostles, Bishops and leading Elders all engaged in the reform movement, which swept like a mighty tidal wave throughout the Church, not only in Utah, but in other parts of the nation, and even to foreign lands. It was characterized by great enthusiasm, and of course by some fanaticism, but was productive, no doubt, of much good. It began in September, 1856, and continued through the winter and into the spring and summer following.

December 1st, 1856, witnessed the death of Jedediah M. Grant, Mayor of Salt Lake City, Major-General in the Nauvoo Legion, and one of the First Presidency of the Mormon Church. His demise was superinduced by his zealous and arduous labors in the Reformation. He virtually gave his life to that cause. Preaching, baptizing, exhorting from morning until night, day after day, depriving himself of needed rest in order to fulfill what he deemed a divine mission, he strove beyond his strength and finally succumbed; wearing out his life, not with dissipation, like many who are supposed to die simply from over-work, but through his great zeal to promote the spiritual welfare of his people. Jedediah M. Grant was born at Windsor, Broome County, New York, on the 21st of February, 1816. He therefore had not attained his forty-first year when summoned to his final rest. Yet he had lived a long life; for as the poet declares:



to enlighten the reader, but to get over the ground and away from the subject as rapidly as possible.

Some day, however, there will arise a historian, one of national, perhaps world-wide repute, who will have the courage to dwell upon this theme, and tell the truth, so far as it can be told, regardless of consequences. The world will then learn—what has already been written, though apparently in vain—that there was no rebellion in Utah, that the sending of those troops was entirely unnecessary, and the President's pardon not only superfluous, but a mere political makeshift, to cover up a gross official blunder. Had such not been the case, the Mormons would have been held to answer for their "treason and rebellion," instead of receiving an unsolicited pardon from the Chief Executive; especially after going so far as to burn, as they undoubtedly did, government wagon trains loaded with supplies for the troops then invading Utah.

We repeat that our national historians have seemed afraid to tell the truth, even in part, concerning the Utah Expedition. And yet it is only a part that could be told, owing to the fact that the persons chiefly responsible in the premises have taken care to cover up the tracks which would probably lead to their deeper disgrace and infamy. We use the comparative adjective "deeper," because, as shall be shown, disgrace and infamy were positively their portion.

Suspicion, however, is a sleuth-hound, and aided by the slight scent of the vanished fact remaining above ground, may yet unearth the fox, and bring to light the whole matter, even before that inevitable hour when all secrets shall be revealed and all hidden things made known. Till then, history must be content with what it has, including the half truth regarding that military fiasco best known as "Buchanan's blunder." To tell, so far as may be told, how and why that blunder was made, is now the author's aim. A brief review of local annals will first be necessary.

The reader is aware that from the beginning of Utah's history, even from before the organization of the Territory, there have existed within her borders two distinct elements of society, namely:

Mormons and non-Mormons, the former always greatly predominating. A few of the latter came with the pioneers and immigrants of 1847, having relatives or friends in the Church, to whom they were attached, and with whom, while not sharing their religious views, they desired to dwell. To this the Mormon leaders, in spite of their alleged intolerance toward those not of their faith, did not object, but actually included some of these friendly Gentiles—as non-Mormons are commonly called by the Saints—in the pioneer band led by the Apostles to the mountains. Of course it was because they were friendly that they were invited to form part of that expedition. It could hardly be expected that the Saints, then fleeing from their enemies, would take any of those enemies along with them, if they could possibly avoid it. Friendly these non-Mormon pioneers remained, and consequently continued, with most of their class who immediately followed with the main body of the Church, to dwell at peace with their neighbors, by whom they were highly esteemed.

Utah's non-Mormon population was materially increased by the advent of the gold-hunters in 1849, many of whom, though they had set out in the first place for California, went no farther than Salt Lake Valley. Some, as seen, became Mormons, while others, liking the place and the people, by whom they had been kindly received, resolved to make their home here. They did so, engaging in business pursuits of various kinds, though not identifying themselves in a religious way with the great majority of the community. A few of them were merchants, almost the first that Utah had, and as a rule their relations with the people, who appreciated the worth of these commercial men as a factor in the development of the country, were as pleasant as they were mutually profitable. These Gentiles treated the Mormons, their civil rulers, with respect, not arrogating to themselves, as some did later, an intellectual, moral and social superiority, and they by the Saints were equally well esteemed. If there were exceptions to this rule, they were only such as might exist anywhere, either in mixed or homogeneous communities.

Politics were not then a disturbing element. The Saints being



sufficient numbers to secure the ascendancy, seize the reins of government, subvert good order and morality, bind heavy burdens of taxation upon the people, bankrupt the community and bring it into political and financial bondage. That class of Gentiles were never welcome in Utah. They were not molested, however, when they began to come, but were socially ostracized, "let severely alone," unless they broke the laws of the community. How the better class of Gentiles who passed through or took up their residence in Utah were treated, such fair and truthful witnesses as Stansbury, Gunnison and many other non-Mormons have testified.

With the setting up of the Territorial government and the coming of Judge Brocchus and his associates to hold office in Utah, the long and bitter local feud between Mormons and Gentiles seems to have begun. Sides were not taken immediately, neither has the ill-feeling between the two classes been constant since that time. But the seeds of dissension were probably then sown. Anti-Mormon writers would have it appear that one of the original causes of ill-feeling and division was a lack of respect on the part of the Mormons for the Federal officials. But this ground is not tenable. Judge Brocchus himself admitted that they were received and treated with marked kindness and courtesy. Hateful to every true American as is the Territorial system,—subverting as it does the great democratic doctrine of local self-government, by sending officials from one part of the Republic to sway power and authority over another part whose citizens have had no voice in their selection,—the Saints, grateful to get any form of civil government from Congress, and thrice grateful that the Governor and several other officials had been chosen from the ranks of actual residents of the Territory, were in no mood, even if they had been unpatriotic enough, to show disrespect to the President's Gentile appointees. The ill-feeling created so soon after their arrival was caused by themselves; a fact conceded by most non-Mormon writers whose pens have touched the subject. The story of Judge Brocchus has already been told. Disappointed at not being chosen by the citizens of Utah their delegate to Congress, and

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situation and sojourning for a short time in the Territory. Some of these have embraced the Mormon faith. Why there should be this diversity in conduct is left to the reader to surmise. It suffices us to know that sincerity and disinterestedness, as well as selfishness and hypocrisy have at times been manifested by individuals of all classes.

As a rule the Federal officials sent to Utah have not been a superior class of men. Many of them have been broken down politicians, unfit for honorable service, but rewarded for some half or wholly dishonorable deed in the interests of men of influence, by an appointment to office in this distant Territory. Others, not so bad, have owed their appointments to kinship or friendship with persons in power. Others still have been men of character and ability, in every way worthy of the honors placed upon them and the positions given them to fill. This is true of men of both classes,—those whom the Saints have looked upon as enemies, and those whom they have regarded as friends. Some, the most unrelenting in their opposition to the Mormons have still been respected by them, and that very properly, as sincere and upright men, who, having adopted the mistaken notion that Mormonism was a system of lust and treason, a menace to the Christian or monogamic home, and to American institutions in general, have deemed it a patriotic and even a religious duty to do all in their power to extirpate it. This class have been both official and unofficial. On the other hand, the Mormons, with equal propriety, have considered some who have fought them and their religion as men of no principle whatever,—mere rogues and hypocrites, masking for personal ends as patriots and reformers. This class have also been official and unofficial. These sincere and pseudo patriots, these real and sham reformers have at times united, with all the Gentiles, and made common cause against Mormonism. Hand in hand with them have been found many seceders from that faith, some moral and reputable men, others immoral and disreputable, and most of them bitter and unforgiving, as apostates generally are. Thus while some have opposed the Saints on principle, from feelings of patriotism or religious zeal,



A. C. Smoot

(11)

of persons and property was attempted to be justified by some pretext manufactured for the occasion, under color of law as it exists in the country. The victims were usually of that class whose obscurity and want of information necessary to insure proper investigation and redress of their wrongs were sufficient to guarantee to the perpetrators freedom from punishment. Emboldened by the success which attended their first attempts at lawlessness, no pretext or apology seems now to be deemed requisite, nor is any class exempt from outrage; all alike are set upon by the self-constituted theocracy, whose laws, or rather whose conspiracies, are framed in dark corners, promulgated from the stand of tabernacle or church, and executed at midnight or upon the highways by an organized band of bravos and assassins, whose masters compel an outraged community to tolerate in their midst. The result is that a considerable and highly respectable portion of the community, known from the Atlantic to the Pacific, whose enterprise is stimulated by a laudable desire to improve their fortunes by honorable exertions, are left helpless victims to outrage and oppression, liable at any moment to be stripped of their property or deprived of life, without the ability to put themselves under the protection of law, since all the courts that exist there at present are converted into engines and instruments of injustice.

For want of time I am compelled thus to generalize, but particular cases, with all the attendant circumstances, names of parties and localities are not wanting to swell the calendar of crime and outrage to limits that will, when published, startle the conservative people of the States, and create a clamor which will not be readily quelled, and I have no doubt that the time is near at hand, and the elements rapidly combining to bring about a state of affairs which will result in indiscriminate bloodshed, robbery and rapine, and which in a brief space of time will reduce that country to the condition of a howling wilderness.

There are hundreds of good men in the country who have for years endured every privation from the comforts and enjoyments of civilized life, to confront every description of danger for the purpose of improving their fortunes. These men have suffered repeated wrong and injustice, which they have endeavored to repair by renewed exertions, patiently awaiting the correction of outrage by that government which it is their pride to claim citizenship under, and whose protection they have a right to expect; but they now see themselves liable at any moment to be stripped of their hard-earned means, the lives of themselves and their colleagues threatened and taken; ignominy and abuse heaped upon them day after day, if resented, is followed by murder.

Many of the inhabitants of the Territory possess passions and elements of a character calculated to drive them to extremes, and have the ability to conceive and have the courage to carry out the boldest measures for redress, and I know that they will be at no loss for a leader. When such as these are driven by their wrongs to vindicate, not only their rights as citizens, but their pride of manhood, the question of disparity in numerical force is not considered among their difficulties, and I am satisfied that a recital of their grievances would form an apology, if not sufficient justification, for the violation on their part of the usages of civilized communities.

In addressing you, I have endeavored to discard all feelings arising from my personal annoyances in the Mormon country, but have desired to lay before you the actual condi-

tion of affairs, and to prevent, if possible, scenes of lawlessness which, I fear, will be inevitable unless speedy and powerful preventives are applied. I have felt free to thus address you, from the fact that some slight requests made of me when I last left Washington, on the subject of the affairs of Kansas, justified me in believing that you had confidence in my integrity, and that what influence I could exert would not be wanting to terminate the unfortunate difficulties in that Territory; I have the pleasure of assuring you that my efforts were not spared.

With regard to the affairs and proceedings of the probate court, the only existing tribunal in the Territory of Utah, there being but one of the three federal judges now in the Territory, I will refer you to its records, and to the evidence of gentlemen whose assertions cannot be questioned; as to the treatment of myself, I will leave that to the representation of others; at all events, the object I have in view and the end I wish to accomplish for the general good, will preclude my wearying you with a recital of them at present.

I have the honor to be,

Very truly yours, etc.,

W. M. F. MAGRAW.

This sounds like the plea of an honest man and a patriot; one who merely wished well to his country, and ill to those whom he deemed her enemies. Before passing upon that point, however, the reader should know that Mr. Magraw, the writer of the letter, was an ex-mail contractor who, with his partner, J. M. Hockaday, had been conducting a mail service from Independence, Missouri, to Salt Lake City, under contract with the general government. The service was very unsatisfactory, and a movement was made by many prominent citizens—a movement of which we will soon speak more fully—to inaugurate an improvement in the existing condition. This movement began early in 1856, and in the fall of that year when Hockaday and Magraw's contract had expired, a new contract to carry the mail across the country was awarded by the Government to Mr. Hiram Kimball, a Mormon, residing at Salt Lake City; he having underbid all competitors, including the former contractors. This was one of the "personal annoyances" suffered by Mr. Magraw "in the Mormon country."

Of course such a fact does not prove that that gentleman was not the pure and disinterested patriot that he professed to be. It may serve to explain, however, the spirit of anger which his letter

breathes, and help the reader to arrive at a just conclusion as to the value of its contents. Not one charge that it contained was ever proven. Nothing but the bald, unsupported assertion as to Mormon treason, tyranny, robbery, murder, etc., ever found its way from Mr. Magraw to President Buchanan. Had it been otherwise the world would have heard of it. There came a time when President Buchanan was particularly desirous, for his own sake, to bring forth his strong reasons for ordering an army to Utah in the spring of 1857. Being requested by Congress, a year later, to present the data which had convinced him that a rebellion existed in this Territory, and formed the basis of his action in sending troops to suppress it, the most that could be adduced was this letter of Mr. Magraw's, and another document, similar in tone, written by Judge W. W. Drummond, of which and its author we will now speak.

Judge Drummond, as the reader is aware, succeeded Judge Shaver as Associate Justice of Utah. He was considerable of such a character as Judge Brocchus, with the odds perhaps in favor of the latter. Like him, Drummond, from the first, seemed bent upon antagonizing the Mormon community. He declared in open court at Fillmore that the laws of the Territory were founded in ignorance, and not content with that, sought to abrogate some of the most important of those laws. Like other Federal officials, he found much fault with the Legislature for investing the probate courts with an extended and unusual jurisdiction,—an act rendered necessary, it will be remembered, by the unceremonious departure from Utah of the Federal Judges in the fall of 1851; also for creating the offices of Territorial Marshal, Attorney-General and District Attorneys. He declared that he would set aside the findings of the probate courts in all cases other than those which he considered lay strictly within their jurisdiction, and denied the authority of the Legislature to clothe the probate courts with powers in excess of those commonly exercised by such tribunals. Associate Justice Stiles, who was an apostate Mormon, sided with Drummond in this matter and became

in consequence almost as unpopular. On the other hand Chief Justice Kinney held that the Legislature had not exceeded its authority under the organic act in giving the probate courts extended jurisdiction, and emphasized it by confirming their decisions. Judge Shaver was of the same opinion. Congress, also, to whom this act and all other acts of the Legislature had been submitted, had tacitly approved and confirmed it. Nevertheless, had Judge Drummond been a gentleman as well as a critic, and gone about the correction of what he deemed an error of the law-makers in a polite and proper manner, little or no fault would have been found with him in return. But unfortunately he was not a gentleman, and his course, even had it been correct in principle, could not but result in rendering him unpopular.

But his offensive conduct did not end there. Whether, like Brocchus, he accused the Mormons of being unvirtuous, does not appear. Doubtless he thought they were, for he condemned their institution of polygamy. He could not, however, complain, like his prototype, that "polygamy monopolized all the women;" for he had taken care to bring a woman with him from the States—a woman not his wife—with whom he traveled around the Territory, and of whom he showed himself so fond that he would not forego her society even while attending to business. He actually had her sit with him upon the bench while he dispensed law to the "ignorant and unvirtuous" Mormons, and lectured them upon the short-comings of their legislators. This woman, a common courtesan, whom Judge Drummond thus enthroned as a very goddess of justice, he had introduced, on arriving in Utah, as his wife. Subsequently, a relative of the real Mrs. Drummond, residing in Utah, seeing the published notice of that lady's arrival, called to see her and discovered the disgraceful truth. Judge Drummond, it was found, had left his wife and family in Illinois, and on his way west had picked up a common prostitute and brought her across the plains. The exposure caused all Utah to ring with his shame. The Mormons thoroughly despised him, and most of the local Gentiles looked upon him with

contempt.* Drummond faced it all for a season, continuing to consort with his paramour, and evidently quite unabashed at the discovery of his moral degradation. But finally the social ostracism it entailed proved too much for him, and he concluded to resign his office and leave the Territory.

As desperadoes, hunted down, cornered and about to be captured or killed, have been known to arrange their weapons so as to slay or wound as many of their pursuers as possible, so Judge Drummond, in collusion with others, planned that his resignation should injure as much as possible the people of Utah in the eyes of the nation. Perhaps, like blind Samson in the pillared temple of the Philistines, he felt willing to sacrifice himself, if by so doing the Mormons might perish also. It is more than probable, however, that he had no thought of self-sacrifice at all, but hoped rather to forestall further disgrace when the Government should learn of his conduct, and build himself up on the ruins of the people whom he hated.

Accordingly, not long after the Magraw letter was written and sent to Washington,—a letter promising in “glittering generalities” certain startling disclosures in detail regarding the iniquities of the Latter-day Saints,—Judge Drummond, who was evidently Magraw’s co-conspirator, set about carrying into effect his part of the program for bringing fire and sword against the peaceful valleys of Utah. Late in 1856, or early in the year following, the Judge went to Carson County to hold court. At least such was his pretense, though not, as soon appeared, his true purpose. In reality he was bidding Utah farewell. Crossing the Sierras and reaching the Pacific coast he was next heard from through the California papers, whose columns he filled with splenetic assaults upon the Mormon people. Proceeding

* Says T. B. H. Stenhouse, an apostate Mormon, in his “Rocky Mountain Saints:” “Plurality of wives was to the Mormons a part of their religion, openly acknowledged to all the world. Drummond’s plurality was the outrage of a respectable wife of excellent reputation for the indulgence of a common prostitute, and the whole of his conduct was a gross insult to the Government which he represented, and the people among whom he was sent to administer law. For any contempt the Mormons exhibited towards such a man, there is no need of apology.

eastward by a southern route, early in the spring he reached New Orleans, and from that point despatched the following letter, enclosing his resignation, to the Attorney-General at Washington:

NEW ORLEANS, LA., April 2, 1857.

DEAR SIR: When I started for my home in Illinois, I designed reaching Washington before the executive session adjourned, but could not accomplish the long and tedious journey in time; thence I concluded to come this way, and go up the Mississippi River to Chicago.

You will see that I have made bold charges against the Mormons, which I think I can prove without doubt. You will see by the contents of the enclosed paper, wherein is inserted my resignation, some of the reasons that induced me to resign. I now refer you to Hon. D. W. Burr, Surveyor-General of Utah Territory; Hon. Garland Hurt, Indian Agent; also C. L. Craig, Esq.; D. L. Thompson, Esq.; John M. Hockaday, Esq.; John Kerr, Esq., Gentiles of Great Salt Lake City, for proof of the manner in which they have been insulted and abused by the leading Mormons for two years past. I shall see you soon on the subject.

In haste, yours truly,

W. W. DRUMMOND.

Hon. Jeremiah S. Black, Attorney-General, etc.

RESIGNATION OF JUDGE DRUMMOND.

March, 30, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR: As I have concluded to resign the office of Justice of the Supreme Court of the Territory of Utah, which position I accepted in A. D. 1854, under the administration of President Pierce, I deem it due to the public to give some of the reasons why I do so. In the first place, Brigham Young, the Governor of Utah Territory, is the acknowledged head of the "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," commonly called "Mormons;" and, as such head, the Mormons look to him, and to *him* alone, for the *law* by which they are to be governed: therefore no law of Congress is by them considered binding in any manner.

Secondly. I know that there is a secret oath-bound organization among all the male members of the Church to resist the laws of the country, and to acknowledge no law save the law of the "Holy Priesthood," which comes to the people through Brigham Young direct from God; he, Young, being the viceregent of God and Prophet, viz: successor of Joseph Smith, who was the founder of this blind and treasonable organization.

Thirdly. I am fully aware that there is a set of men, set apart by special order of the Church, to take both the lives and property of persons who may question the authority of the Church; the names of whom I will promptly make known at a future time.

Fourthly. That the records, papers, etc., of the Supreme Court have been destroyed by order of the Church, with the direct knowledge and approbation of Governor B. Young, and the Federal officers grossly insulted for presuming to raise a single question about the treasonable act.

Fifthly. That the Federal officers of the Territory are constantly insulted, harassed, and annoyed by the Mormons, and for these insults there is no redress.

Sixthly. That the Federal officers are daily compelled to hear the forms of the American Government traduced, the chief executives of the nation, both living and dead, slandered and abused from the masses, as well as from all the leading members of the Church, in the most vulgar, loathsome, and wicked manner that the evil passions of men can possibly conceive.

Again : That after Moroni Green had been convicted in the District Court before my colleague, Judge Kinney, of an assault with intent to commit murder, and afterwards, on appeal to the Supreme Court, the judgment being affirmed and the said Green being sentenced to the penitentiary, Brigham Young gave a full pardon to the said Green before he reached the penitentiary ; also, that the said Governor Young pardoned a man by the name of Baker, who had been tried and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment in the penitentiary, for the murder of a dumb boy by the name of White House, the proof showing one of the most aggravated cases of murder that I ever knew being tried ; and to insult the Court and Government officers, this man Young took this pardoned criminal with him, in proper person, to church on the next Sabbath after his conviction ; Baker, in the meantime, having received a full pardon from Governor Brigham Young. These two men were Mormons. On the other hand, I charge the Mormons, and Governor Young in particular, with imprisoning five or six young men from Missouri and Iowa, who are now in the penitentiary of Utah, without those men having violated *any criminal law in America*. But they were anti-Mormons—poor, uneducated young men en route for California ; but because they emigrated from Illinois, Iowa, or Missouri, and passed by Great Salt Lake City, they were indicted by a Probate Court, and most brutally and inhumanly dealt with, in addition to being summarily incarcerated in the saintly prison of the Territory of Utah. I also charge Governor Young with constantly interfering with the Federal Courts, directing the grand jury whom to indict and whom to not ; and after the judges charge the grand juries as to their duties, that this man Young invariably has some member of the grand jury advised in advance as to his will in relation to their labors, and that *his charge thus given is the only charge known, obeyed, or received by all the grand juries of the Federal Courts of Utah Territory*.

Again, sir, after a careful and mature investigation, I have been compelled to come to the conclusion, heart-rending and sickening as it may be, that Captain John W. Gunnison, and his party of eight others, were murdered by the Indians in 1853, under the orders, advice and direction of the Mormons ; that my illustrious and distinguished predecessor, Hon. Leonidas Shaver, came to his death by drinking poisoned liquors, given to him under the order of the leading men of the Mormon Church in Great Salt Lake City ; that the late secretary of the Territory, A. W. Babbitt, was murdered on the plains by a band of Mormon marauders, under the particular and special order of Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball and J. M. Grant, and not by the Indians, as reported by the Mormons themselves, and that they were sent from Salt Lake City for that purpose, and *that only* ; and as members of the Danite Band they were bound to do the will of Brigham Young as the head of the church, or forfeit their own lives. These reasons, with many others that I might give, which would be too heart-rending to insert in this communication, have induced me to

resign the office of justice of the Territory of Utah, and again return to my adopted State of Illinois.

My reason, sir, for making this communication thus public is, that the Democratic party, with which I have always strictly acted, is the party now in power, and, therefore, is the party that *should now* be held responsible for the treasonable and disgraceful state of affairs that now exists in Utah Territory. I could, sir, if necessary, refer to a cloud of witnesses to attest the reasons I have given, and the charges, bold as they are, against those despots, who rule with an iron hand their hundred thousand souls in Utah, and their two hundred thousand souls out of that notable Territory; but I shall not do so, for the reason that the lives of such gentlemen as I should designate in Utah and in California, would not be safe for a single day.

In conclusion, sir, I have to say that, in my career as Justice of the Supreme Court of Utah Territory, I have the consolation of knowing that I did my duty, that neither threats nor intimidations drove me from that path. Upon the other hand, I am pained to say that I accomplished little good while there, and that the judiciary is only treated as a farce. The only rule of law by which the infatuated followers of this curious people will be governed, is the law of the Church, and that emanates from Governor Brigham Young, and him alone.

I do believe that, if there was a man put in office as Governor of that Territory, who is not a member of the Church (Mormon), and he supported with a *sufficient* military aid, much good would result from such a course; but as the Territory is now governed, and as it has been since the administration of Mr. Fillmore, at which time Young received his appointment as Governor, it is noonday madness and folly to attempt to administer the law in that Territory. The officers are insulted, harassed, and murdered for doing their duty, and not recognizing Brigham Young as the only law-giver and law-maker on earth. Of this every man can bear incontestable evidence who has been willing to accept an appointment in Utah; and I assure you, sir, that no man would be willing to risk his life and property in that Territory after once trying the sad experiment.

With an earnest desire that the present administration will give due and timely aid to the officers that may be so unfortunate as to accept situations in that Territory, and that the withering curse which now rests upon this nation by virtue of the *peculiar* and heart-rending institutions of the Territory of Utah, may be speedily removed, to the honor and credit of our happy country, I now remain your obedient servant,

W. W. DRUMMOND,

Justice Utah Territory.

Hon. Jeremiah S. Black,

Attorney-General of the United States, Washington, D. C.

The best answer to the only charges in this tirade that needed answering, was the following official communication from Curtis E. Bolton, Esq., deputy clerk of the United States Supreme Court of Utah. Before this document was written, however, President Buchanan had ordered an army to Utah:

GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH TERRITORY.

Sir: My attention having been drawn to the letter of Justice W. W. Drummond, under the date of March 30th, 1857, addressed to yourself, tendering his resignation as Associate Justice for Utah, wherein my office is called in question, I feel it incumbent upon me to make to you the following report :

Justice W. W. Drummond, in his " fourth " paragraph says: "The records, papers, etc., of the supreme court have been destroyed by order of Governor B. Young, and the Federal officers grossly insulted for presuming to raise a single question about the treasonable act."

I do solemnly declare this assertion is without the slightest foundation in truth. The records, papers, etc., of the supreme court in this Territory, together with all decisions and documents of every kind belonging thereto, from Monday, September 22, 1851, at which time said court was first organized, up to this present moment, are all safe and complete in my custody, and not one of them missing, nor have they ever been disturbed by any person.

Again, in the decision of the supreme court in the case of Moroni Green, the *which decision was written by Judge Drummond himself*, I find the following words: " That as the case, for which Green was convicted, seems to have been an aggravated one, this court does remit the costs of the prosecution, both in this court and in the court below," Green was provoked to draw a pistol in self-defense, but did not point it at any one. He was a lad of 18 years old. Much feeling was excited in his favor, and he was finally pardoned by the governor, upon a petition signed by the judges and officers of the United States courts, the honorable secretary of state, and many of the influential citizens of Great Salt Lake City.

Again : in relation to the "incarceration of five or six young men from Missouri and Iowa, who are now, (March 30, 1857,) in the penitentiary of Utah, without those men having violated any criminal law in America," etc. This statement is also *utterly false*.

I presume he alludes to the incarceration, on the 22nd January, 1856, of three men, and on the 29th of January, 1856, of one more ; if so these are the circumstances :

There were quite a number of persons came here as teamsters in Gilbert and Gerrish's train of goods, arriving here in December, 1855. after winter had set in. They arrived here very destitute ; and at that season of the year there is nothing a laboring man can get to do. Some of these men entered the store of S. M. Blair & Co., at various times in the night, and stole provisions, groceries, etc. Some six or eight were indicted for burglary and larceny. Three plead guilty, and a fourth was proven guilty ; and the four were sentenced to the penitentiary for the shortest time the statute allowed for the crime ; and just as soon as the spring of 1856 opened, and a company was preparing to start for California, upon a petition setting forth mitigating circumstances, the governor pardoned them, and they went on their way to California. It was a matter well understood here at the time, that these men were incarcerated more particularly to keep them from committing further crime during the winter.

Since that time there have been but four persons sentenced to the penitentiary, one for forgery and three for petty larceny, for terms of sixty and thirty days, to-wit ; One on the 19th November, 1856, for larceny, thirty days ; two on the 24th November, 1856, for

aggravated larceny, sixty days, and one on the 26th January, 1857, for forgery, thirty days. So that on the 30th March, 1857 (the date of W. W. Drummond's letter), there was not a white prisoner in the Utah penitentiary ; nor had there been for several days previous, nor is there at this present writing.

I could, were it my province in this affidavit, go on and refute all that Judge W. W. Drummond has stated in his aforesaid letter of resignation, by records, dates, and facts ; but believing the foregoing is sufficient to show you what reliance is to be placed upon the assertions or word of W. W. Drummond, I shall leave this subject.

In witness of the truth of the foregoing affidavit, I have hereunto subscribed my [L. s.] name and affixed the seal of the United States supreme court for Utah Territory, at Great Salt Lake City, this the twenty-sixth day of June, A. D. 1857.

CURTIS E. BOLTON,

Deputy Clerk of said U. S. Supreme Court for Utah,

in absence of W. I. Appleby, clerk.

Hon. Jeremiah S. Black,

Attorney General of the United States, Washington, D. C.

Several other letters found their way to Washington before or soon after Judge Drummond's resignation, and though some were of too late a date to have influenced the original action of the Government in sending troops to Utah, others arrived in ample time to contribute to that end, and all serve to show the feeling of hostility that inspired the movement, and shaped the policy of the administration toward the people of this Territory at that interesting and critical point in their history. Among them was the following epistle, which also came before Congress at the time of the *post-bellum* investigation of the "Utah Rebellion:"

INDIAN AGENCY OF THE UPPER PLATTE,

On Raw Hide Creek, July 15, 1857.

SIR: In a communication addressed to the Indian Office, dated April last, I called the attention of the department to the settlements being made within the boundaries of this agency by the Mormon Church, clearly in violation of law, although the pretext or pretense under which these settlements are made is under cover of a *contract* of the Mormon Church to carry the mail from Independence, Missouri, to Great Salt Lake City.

On the 25th of May, a large Mormon colony took possession of the valley of Deer Creek, one hundred miles west of Fort Laramie, and drove away a band of Sioux Indians whom I had settled there in April, and had induced them to plant corn.

I left that Indian band on the 23rd of May, to attend to matters connected with the Cheyenne band, in the lower part of the agency.

I have information from a reliable source that these Mormons are about three hundred in number, have plowed and planted two hundred acres of prairie, and are building

houses sufficient for the accommodation of five hundred persons, and have a large herd of cattle, horses and mules.

I am persuaded that the Mormon Church intend, by this plan thus partially developed, to monopolize all of the trade with the Indians and whites within, or passing through, the Indian country.

I respectfully and earnestly call the attention of the department to this invasion, and enter my protest against this occupation of the Indian country, *in force*, and the forcible ejection of the Indians from the place where I had settled them.

I am powerless to control this matter, for the Mormons obey no laws enacted by Congress. I would respectfully request that the President will be pleased to issue such orders as, in his wisdom and judgment, may seem best in order to correct the evil complained of.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

THOS. S. TWISS,

Indian Agent, Upper Platte.

Hon. J. W. Denver,

Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Along with the Magraw letter, which was merely the preface to Judge Drummond's book of blood and horror, the foregoing documents were presented by President Buchanan to Congress in 1858. Possibly it occurred to some of those astute lawyers and statesmen to enquire, after reading the charges relating to the murder of Captain Gunnison, Judge Shaver and Secretary Babbitt, what manner of men these Mormons were, to be suspected (?) of killing their best friends, and allowing their worst enemies, such as Judge Drummond, ex-mail contractor Magraw, Indian Agent Hurt and others, to say nothing of the Craigs and Kerrs, the Hockadays and Burrs, "Gentiles of Salt Lake City," to be among them, still alive, or to slip through the fingers of that awful "oath-bound organization," and escape unmolested from the Territory.

Whether or not Indian agent Twiss was a party to the conspiracy to bring about an invasion of Utah by United States troops, we cannot say. But his statements concerning the alleged aggressive occupation of the Deer Creek country by the Mormons, when compared with the plain facts of the case, almost warrant the suspicion. The reader must know that for some time prior to the awarding of the Government mail contract to Mr. Hiram Kimball,—the act which so displeased Mr. Magraw,—it had been the purpose of Governor

Young, aided by his friends and associates, to establish a gigantic carrying company between the Missouri River and the Pacific coast. Such an enterprise, in the absence of an overland railway and telegraph line,—which the Mormons had repeatedly though vainly besought Congress to construct,—and to supersede the miserable mail service between the frontier and Salt Lake Valley, was calculated to be of immense benefit, not only to Utah, but to California and the whole Pacific slope. It meant the protection of life and property along the wearisome and perilous overland route, and the consequent increase of emigration and spread of civilization westward. It proposed to carry not only passengers and freight, but a regular monthly mail, winter and summer. Snow and ice and hostile Indians were to be no barrier to the regular and systematic arrival and departure of the carriers at either end of the route, and the round trips were to be made in unprecedentedly short periods of time.* Brigham Young was the very man to put into effect and render operative a scheme of such magnitude; of such difficulty and danger. It involved not only an immense outlay at the start, since mail stations would have to be established all along the way, but a continuous heavy expense to keep such a vast line in successful operation. It meant also that

the hardy and heroic men who acted as mail carriers would simply be taking their lives in their hands when they went forth, especially in winter, upon their perilous and important errands. The energy and resources of the Mormon leader were equal to the undertaking. The same could scarcely be said of any other man then in the whole wide west. Surrounded by men of strength and courage, with very little wealth, but with the power of uniting and calling to his aid an army of willing and intrepid souls, who at any moment would lay their all upon the altar to promote any project

* Sixty miles a day was about the average speed of these carriers after the system went into operation. One of them—John R. Murdock—in the summer of 1857 traveled from Salt Lake City to Independence, Mo., in fifteen days. This was at the surprising rate of eighty miles per day—the distance between those points being twelve hundred miles. It was accomplished with but three changes of animals, grass-fed; four twenty mile drives being made each day.





John R. Murdock





for the public weal and safety—men who would accept such a call as a mission, and mingle religious zeal with public spirit and indomitable energy—Brigham Young was the man of all men to stand at the head of such an enterprise. It was therefore named in his honor the B. Y. Express Carrying Company,—subsequently abbreviated to “Y. X. Company.” Steps toward its organization were taken in January, 1856; a mass meeting convening for that purpose at Salt Lake City in the latter part of the month. Shares to stock a thousand miles of the road were soon taken and the enterprise set on foot. The mail contract awarded to Hiram Kimball became the basis of its operations.

Now as to the complaint of Indian Agent Twiss regarding the occupation of the Deer Creek country. The facts were simply these. The Y. X. Company had planted one of its mail stations in that vicinity, and the imagination or anti-Mormon animus of the agent—who foresaw the possible limitation of his own trading operations among the natives—had magnified and distorted it into an invasion by Mormons “in force” of the Sioux Indian reservation. Hence his letter or letters to the Indian Department at Washington.

Other Federal officials, writing from Utah, or filing their affidavits at the national capital, also contributed to stir up prejudice throughout the east against the Mormon people. Among these were Associate Justice Stiles, who had had a difficulty with several local members of the bar, and accused the Saints of intimidating his court. Indian Agent Hurt found fault with Brigham Young, as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, for his policy in relation to the red men, and intimated that the funds appropriated for them by Congress had been improperly expended. Mormon proselyting among the native tribes was represented as being highly prejudicial. Others, whose only grievance was that they hated Mormonism and all things connected with it, had complaints more or less trivial to lodge against the Mormon leader. In one of these the absurd charge was made that he opened and read all the letters that came into or went out of Utah.

It was upon such allegations as these, most of them utterly false, and the remainder grossly exaggerated, that President Buchanan, in the spring of 1857, without taking time to investigate as to their truth or falsity, decided that a rebellion existed in Utah, appointed a successor to Brigham Young as Governor of the Territory, and ordered an army to march to Salt Lake City to forcibly install and maintain in office the new Executive. "Happiness," says the pessimist, "consists in being well deceived." According to that view—the correctness of which we do not vouch for—President Buchanan must have been a very happy man; for no man was ever more completely deceived. No rebellion existed here, nor no thought of one. In no part of this broad land were the Constitution and laws of the country more honored and revered than in Utah, the home of as loyal and patriotic a people as the stars and stripes floated over. The spirit of rebellion truly was abroad,—a gigantic rebellion, destined, four years later, to baptize the nation in fire and blood,—but the seat of that rebellion was not in Utah. Its fœtid breath had not passed the Rocky Mountains. Here the pure air of patriotism remained untainted. It was enthroned in power at the nation's capital, and its baneful influence spread from the banks of the Potomac to the shores of the Gulf of Mexico. Secession and slavery were threatening the nation's life; not Mormonism and polygamy; though the Republican party, newly born, with Fremont as its standard-bearer, had gone into the presidential campaign of 1856 with "slavery and polygamy, twin relics of barbarism," as a plank of its platform, and Stephen A. Douglas, not to be outdone in policy, had made a bid for the Democratic nomination at some future time by styling Mormonism "the loathsome ulcer of the body politic," and recommending its removal with the knife.*

* Senator Douglas, in a speech delivered by him at Springfield, Illinois, on June 12, 1857, said: "When the authentic evidence shall arrive, if it shall establish the facts which are believed to exist, it will be the duty of Congress to apply the knife and cut out this loathsome and disgusting ulcer. No temporizing policy, no half-way measures will then answer. In my opinion the first step should be the absolute and unconditional repeal of

The view has been taken, and it is undoubtedly a correct one, that there were other motives actuating the Buchanan administration in sending an army over the Rocky Mountains in 1857 than the suppression of an alleged rebellion among the Mormons, and the installation of a new set of Federal officials in this Territory. President Buchanan was suspected—perhaps unjustly—of favoring the cause of secession. We say unjustly, because he is on record as denying the right of a State to secede, and for refusing to receive the South Carolina commissioners after the withdrawal of that State from the Union. Some of his cabinet, however, were manifestly in favor of secession, and did all in their power to promote it. One of these was John Buchanan Floyd, Secretary of War, whose efforts to disarm the north and arm and fortify the south, in anticipation of the great civil conflict, are matters of history.* It was doubtless due to Floyd's advice that Buchanan sent the troops to Utah, ostensibly to suppress a rebellion in this distant Territory, but in reality to favor a rebellion

the organic act—blotting the Territorial Government out of existence, on the ground that they are alien enemies and outlaws, denying their allegiance and defying the authorities of the United States."

In reference to this portion of the Senator's speech, *Harper's Weekly* said editorially at the time: "The facts as established on reliable evidence will bear no such construction, justify no such assumption. For years the Mormons have undoubtedly been self-confined and tolerably peaceful citizens. They have never pretended, nor has anyone ever charged them with owing allegiance to any other authorities than those of their own Territory and those of the United States. Until latterly they invariably spoke of the United States Government as loyal citizens should. Brigham Young accepted a commission from the President, which he has never resigned and under which he still holds over. Other United States officers have for years exercised their functions in the Territory without disturbance. Till the late riots no single occurrence in the history of Salt Lake settlement can be said to have shaken the bond which united the Territory to the Union. Where then is the evidence of alienage? Where the ground for disfranchising the people?"

* "At the commencement of the rebellion he (Floyd) resigned. He had done his utmost while Secretary to dispose of the regular army so as to favor the projected rebellion. He scattered the forces to remotest stations, and transferred a great supply of arms from the Northern to the Southern States. Besides this, he abstracted \$870,000 in government bonds, for which he was indicted. In the Confederate service he was a brigadier general; was defeated at Ganley Bridge, losing his baggage, ammunition, and camp equipage."—*Library of Universal Knowledge*, vol. 6, page 73.

in the Southern States. Buchanan, though weakly yielding to evil counsel, was probably sincere in what he did, but Floyd, who influenced him to commit the fearful mistake, is believed to have been quite as much the factotum of Jefferson Davis and other conspiring secessionists, who may one day stand revealed as the parties really responsible, with Secretary Floyd, for Buchanan's famous blunder. Of course this is only conjecture. But "theory is the father of fact," and conjecture may give birth to certainty.*

The following selection from Hon. James G. Blaine's valuable work entitled "Twenty Years in Congress," reveals something of the true inwardness of those times. Referring to the division and reorganization of President Buchanan's cabinet at the outbreak of the Rebellion, the great Republican leader says :

Judge Black entered upon his duties as Secretary of State on the 17th of December—the day on which the disunion convention of South Carolina assembled. He found the malign influence of Mr. Buchanan's message fully at work throughout the South. Under its encouragement only three days were required by the convention at Charleston to pass the ordinance of secession, and four days later Governor Pickens issued a proclamation declaring "South Carolina a separate, sovereign, free and independent State, with the right to levy war, conclude peace and negotiate treaties." From that moment Judge Black's position towards the Southern leaders was radically changed. They were no longer fellow-Democrats. They were the enemies of the Union to which he was devoted, they were conspirators against the Government to which he had taken a solemn oath of fidelity and loyalty.

Judge Black's change, however important to his own fame, would prove comparatively fruitless unless he could influence Mr. Buchanan to break with the men who had been artfully using the power of his administration to destroy the Union. The opportunity and the test came promptly. The new "sovereign, free and independent" government of South Carolina sent commissioners to Washington to negotiate for the surrender of the national forts and the transfer of the national property within her limits. Mr. Buchanan prepared

* H. H. Bancroft, in summing up the causes of the Utah Expedition, says : " Thus in part through the stubbornness of the Mormons, but in part also through the malice of a dissolute and iniquitous judge, the spite of a disappointed mail contractor, the wire-pulling of birds of prey at Washington, and possibly in accordance with the policy of the President, who, until the Confederate flag had been unfurled at Fort Sumter, retained in the valley of the Great Salt Lake nearly all the available forces in the Union Army and a store of munitions of war sufficient to furnish an arsenal, was brought about the Utah war."

an answer to their request, which was compromising to the honor of the Executive and perilous to the integrity of the Union. Judge Black took a decided and irrevocable stand against the President's position. He advised Mr. Buchanan that upon the basis of that fatal concession to the disunion leaders he could not remain in his Cabinet. It was a sharp issue, but was soon adjusted. Mr. Buchanan gave way and permitted Judge Black and his associates, Holt and Stanton, to frame a reply for the Administration.

Jefferson Davis, Mr. Toombs, Mr. Benjamin, Mr. Slidell, who had been Mr. Buchanan's intimate and confidential advisers, and who had led him to the brink of ruin, found themselves suddenly supplanted, and a new power installed in the White House. Foiled and no longer able to use the National Administration as an instrumentality to destroy the national life, the secession leaders in Congress turned upon the President with angry reproaches. In their rage they lost all sense of the respect due to the Chief Magistrate of the nation, and assaulted Mr. Buchanan with coarseness as well as violence. Senator Benjamin spoke of him as "a senile Executive under the sinister influence of insane counsels." This exhibition of malignity towards the misguided President afforded to the North the most convincing and satisfactory proof that there had been a change for the better in the plans and purposes of the Administration. They realized that it must be a deep sense of impending danger which could separate Mr. Buchanan from his political associations with the South, and they recognized in his position a significant proof of the desperate determination to which the enemies of the Union had come.

The stand taken by Judge Black and his loyal associates was in the last days of December, 1860. The reorganization of the Cabinet came as a matter of necessity. Mr. John B. Floyd resigned from the War Department, making loud proclamation that his action was based on the President's refusal to surrender the national forts in Charleston Harbor to the secession government of South Carolina. This manifesto was not necessary to establish Floyd's treasonable intentions towards the Government; but, in point of truth, the plea was undoubtedly a pretense, to cover reasons of a more personal character which would at once deprive him of Mr. Buchanan's confidence. There had been irregularities in the War Department tending to compromise Mr. Floyd, for which he was afterwards indicted in the District of Columbia. Mr. Floyd well knew that the first knowledge of these shortcomings would lead to his dismissal from the Cabinet. Whatever Mr. Buchanan's faults as an Executive may have been, his honor in all transactions, both personal and public, was unquestionable, and he was the last man to tolerate the slightest deviation from the path of rigid integrity.

Evidently it was the purpose of the Government to keep the people of Utah uninformed, so far as possible, of the military movement projected against them. Resistance was anticipated, and preparations for carrying out the orders of the War Department, as well as the issuance of those orders, were conducted with great secrecy. The army was led to believe that a *bona fide* rebellion existed, and that the Mormons were already in the field against them.

The troops, of course, had no alternative but to obey. They were simply doing their duty. The following circular issued by the General-in-Chief was the cue of the soldiers for their action:

To the Adjutant General, Quartermaster General, Commissary General, Surgeon General, Paymaster General, and Chief of Ordnance:

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,

May 28, 1857.

Orders having been despatched in haste for the assemblage of a body of troops at Fort Leavenworth, to march thence to Utah as soon as assembled, the general-in-chief, in concert with the War Department, issues the following instructions, to be executed by the chiefs of the respective staff departments, in connection with the general orders of this date:

1. The force—2nd dragoons, 5th infantry, 10th infantry and Phelps' battery of the 4th artillery—to be provided with transportation and supplies, will be estimated at not less than 2,500 men.

2. The Adjutant General will, in concert with the chiefs of the respective departments, issue the necessary orders for assigning to this force a full complement of disbursing and medical officers, an officer of ordnance and an Assistant Adjutant General, if the latter be required.

He will relieve Captain Phelps' 4th artillery and Hawes' 2nd dragoons from special duty, and order them to join their companies. He will also give the necessary orders for the movement of any available officers, whose services may be desired by the Quartermaster General or Commissary General in making purchases. Lieutenant Col. Taylor and Brevet Major Waggaman will be ordered to exchange stations.

All available recruits are to be assigned to the above named regiments up to the time of departure.

3. About, 2,000 head of beef cattle must be procured and driven to Utah.

Six months' supply of bacon (for two days in a week) must be sent—desiccated vegetables in sufficient quantity to guard the health of the troops for the coming winter.

4. Arrangements will be made for the concentration and temporary halt of the 5th infantry at Jefferson Barracks.

The squadron of dragoons at Fort Randall taking their horse equipments with them will leave their horses at that post, and a remount must be provided for them at Fort Leavenworth. Also, horses must be sent out to the squadron at Fort Kearney, and the whole regiment, as also Phelps' battery, brought to the highest point of efficiency.

Besides the necessary trains and supplies, the quartermaster's department will procure for the expedition 250 tents of Sibley's pattern, to provide for the case that the troops shall not be able to hut themselves the ensuing winter. Storage tents are needed for the like reason. Stoves enough to provide, at least, for the sick, must accompany the tents.

5. The Surgeon General will cause the necessary medical supplies to be provided, and requisition made for the means of transporting them with the expedition.

6. The chief of ordnance will take measures immediately to put in position for the use of this force, three traveling forges and a full supply of ammunition, and will make requisition for the necessary transportation of the same.

WINFIELD SCOTT.

Along with this should go the letter of instructions to Brigadier-General Harney, who was at first entrusted with the command of the Utah Expedition:

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,

NEW YORK, June 29, 1857.

SIR: The letter which I addressed to you in the name of the general-in-chief, on the 28th ultimo, his circular to the chiefs of staff departments same date; his general order No. 8, current series, and another now in press, have indicated your assignment to the command of an expedition to Utah Territory, and the preparatory measures to be taken.

The general-in-chief desires me to add in his name the following instructions, prepared in concert with the War Department, and sanctioned by its authority, whenever required.

The community and, in part, the civil government of Utah Territory are in a state of substantial rebellion against the laws and authority of the United States. A new civil governor is about to be designated, and to be charged with the establishment and maintenance of law and order. Your able and energetic aid, with that of the troops to be placed under your command, is relied upon to insure the success of his mission.

The principles by which you should be guided have been already indicated in a somewhat similar case, and are here substantially repeated.

If the governor of the Territory, finding the ordinary course of judicial proceedings of the power vested in the United States Marshals and other proper officers inadequate for the preservation of the public peace and the due execution of the laws, should make requisition upon you for a military force to aid him as *posse comitatus* in the performance of that official duty, you are hereby directed to employ for that purpose the whole or such part of your command as may be required; or should the governor, the judges, or marshals of the Territory find it necessary directly to summon a part of your troops, to aid either in the performance of his duties, you will take care that the summons be promptly obeyed. And in no case will you, your officers or men, attack any body of citizens, whatever, except on such requisition or summons, or in sheer self-defence.

In executing this delicate function of the military power of the United States the civil responsibility will be upon the governor, the judges and marshals of the Territory. While you are not to be, and cannot be subjected to the orders, strictly speaking, of the governor, you will be responsible for a jealous, harmonious and thorough co-operation with him, or frequent and full consultation, and will conform your action to his requests and views in all cases where your military judgment and prudence do not forbid, nor compel you to modify, in execution, the movements he may suggest. No doubt is entertained that your conduct will fully meet the moral and professional responsibilities of your trust; and justify the high confidence already reposed in you by the government.

The lateness of the season, the dispersed condition of the troops and the smallness of the numbers available, have seemed to present elements of difficulty, if not hazard in this expedition. But it is believed that these may be compensated by usual care in its outfit, and great prudence in its conduct. All disposable recruits have been reserved for it.

So well is the nature of this service appreciated, and so deeply are the honor and the interest of the United States involved in its success, that I am authorized to say that the government will hesitate at no expense requisite to complete the efficiency of your little army, and to insure health and comfort to it, as far as attainable. Hence, in addition to liberal orders for its supply heretofore given—and it is known that ample measures, with every confidence of success, have been dictated by chiefs of staff departments here—a large discretion will be made over to you in the general orders for the movement. The employment of spies, guides, interpreters or laborers may be made to any reasonable extent you may think desirable.

The prudence expected of you requires that you should anticipate resistance, general, organized and formidable, at the threshold, and shape your movements as if they were certain, keeping the troops well massed and in hand when approaching expected resistance. Your army will be equipped, for a time, at least, as a self-sustaining machine. Detachments will, therefore, not be lightly hazarded, and you are warned not to be betrayed into premature security or over confidence.

A small but sufficient force must, however, move separately from the main column, guarding the beef cattle and such other supplies as you may think would too much encumber the march of the main body. The cattle may require to be marched more slowly than the troops, so as to arrive in Salt Lake Valley in good condition, or they may not survive the inclemency and scanty sustenance of the winter. This detachment, though afterwards to become the rear guard, may, it is hoped, be put in route before the main body, to gain as much time as possible before the latter passes it.

The general-in-chief suggests that feeble animals, of draught and cavalry, should be left ten or twelve days behind the main column, at Fort Laramie, to recruit and follow.

It should be a primary object on arriving in the valley, if the condition of things permit, to procure not only fuel, but material for hutting the troops. Should it be too late for the latter purpose, or should such employment of the troops be unsafe or impracticable, the tents (of Sibley's pattern) furnished will, it is hoped, afford a sufficient shelter.

It is not doubted that a surplus of provisions and forage, beyond the wants of the resident population, will be found in the valley of Utah; and that the inhabitants, if assured by energy and justice, will be ready to sell them to the troops. Hence no instructions are given you for the extreme event of the troops being in absolute need of such supplies and their being withheld by the inhabitants. The necessities of such an occasion would furnish the law for your guidance.

Besides the stated reports required by regulations, special reports will be expected from you, at the headquarters of the army, as opportunity may offer.

The general-in-chief desires to express his best wishes, official and personal, for your complete success and added reputation.

I have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

GEORGE W. LAY,

Lieutenant Colonel Aid-de-Camp.

Brevet Brigadier General W. S. Harney,

Commanding, etc., Fort Leavenworth, K. T.

P. S.—The general-in-chief (in my letter of the 26th instant) has already conveyed to you a suggestion—not an order, nor even a recommendation—that it might be well to send forward in advance a part of your horse to Fort Laramie, there to halt and be recruited in strength, by rest and grain, before the main body comes up.

Respectfully,

G. W. L., Lt. Col., Aid-de-Camp.

As said, these instructions were issued and the preparations for carrying them out conducted with great secrecy. The Mormons, however, though far from suspecting such an invasion—for they were not conscious of having done anything to warrant it—were informed of the military movement in time to prepare for the emergency.

On the 27th of February, 1857, while the excitement caused by the incendiary reports of Judge Drummond and his clique was at its height, two citizens of Utah, Feramor Little and Ephraim K. Hanks, arrived at Independence, Missouri, having left Salt Lake City on the 11th of the previous December. These men, braving the wintry storms, had crossed the plains under special contract with the postmaster of Salt Lake City, to carry the eastern mails, owing to the failure of Messrs. Hockaday and Magraw to punctually and properly close their contract. The new contract—Hiram Kimball's—was just about going into effect; though that gentleman, on account of the non-arrival of the mails in Utah, had not been officially notified, when Hanks and Little started east, of the acceptance of his bid by the Government. As soon as the notice came, preparations to begin were vigorously pushed forward, a fact which furnished a pretext for the complaint made by Indian Agent Twiss. Nevertheless, the delay in beginning—a delay caused by Hockaday and Magraw—was subsequently taken advantage of by the Post Office Department to justify the cancellation of the Kimball contract.

Mr. Little, having delivered the mail at Independence, proceeded on to Washington to collect his pay for the special service. He next visited New York. The newspapers of the metropolis were then teeming with hostile comments on Utah and her people, caused by Judge Drummond's report, which had lately been published. Incensed at these atrocious calumnies, and the unjust reflections thereby inspired, Mr. Little addressed the following letter to the *New York Herald*:

MERCHANT'S HOTEL, N. Y., April 15, 1857.

Editor Herald:

SIR: As myself and Mr. E. K. Hanks are the last persons who have come to the States from Great Salt Lake City, I deem it my duty to bear testimony against the lying scribblers who seem to be doing their utmost to stir up a bad feeling against the Utonians. We left our homes on the 11th of December, brought the last mail to the States, and certainly should know of the state of things there. The charges of Judge Drummond are as false as he is corrupt. Before I left for the States, I was five days every week in Great Salt Lake City, and I witness to all the world that I never heard one word of the burning of nine hundred volumes of law, records, etc., nor anything of that character, nor do I know, or ever heard of anything of the dumb boy story he talks of.

There is only one house between my house and the Penitentiary, said to contain "five or six young men from Missouri and Iowa," and I do know that up to the day I left, there were only in that place of confinement three Indians, who were convicted at the time of Colonel Steptoe's sojourn there, for having taken part in the massacre of Captain Gunnison and party, which Drummond now charges upon the Mormons, even though Colonel Steptoe and the United States officers then in Utah investigated the affair thoroughly and secured the conviction of the three Indians alluded to. This is an unblushing falsehood, that none but a man like Drummond could pen.

The treasonable acts alleged against the Mormons in Utah are false from beginning to end. At Fort Kearney we learned all about the murder of Colonel Babbitt, and do know that that charge against the Mormons is but another of Drummond's creations.

I have but a short time at my disposal for writing, but must say, that I am astonished to find in the States, rumors against Utah. We left our homes in peace, dreaming of no evil, and we come here and learn that we are the most corrupt of men, and are preparing for war.

Yours, etc.,

FERAMORZ LITTLE.

Learning from Mr. James M. Livingston,* a Utah merchant then in New York, that the Y. X. Company had begun operations

* Mr. Livingston was senior partner of the firm of Livingston and Bell, Gentile merchants of Salt Lake City.





HERMAN LITTLE

Herman Little

HERMAN LITTLE



under the Kimball contract, and that he was expected to take charge of some of the returning mails, Mr. Little at once set out for Independence. Arriving there he met John R. Murdock, just from Utah with the latest mails, having left Salt Lake City early in March. Several tons of mail matter had accumulated at Independence. With a portion of it, in two or more wagons, Mr. Murdock started west about the 1st of May. Mr. Little waited another month to obtain an out-fit, and with three wagons loaded with mail matter set out for Salt Lake City about the beginning of June.

. While at Independence he had encountered various contractors who informed him of the proposed military expedition to Utah, for which they were collecting supplies. Mr. Little could scarcely believe it possible that the Government had any such design. But the contractors assured him that such was the case, and that while nothing official in relation to it had yet come from Washington, preparations were going forward and such a movement was projected and certain.

Near Fort Laramie Mr. Little met Mayor A. O. Smoot, of Salt Lake City, who had left home on the 2nd of June, having in charge the Utah mails. He was accompanied by a young man named Ensign. Between Forts Laramie and Kearney, Mayor Smoot encountered a body of United States cavalry, two or three hundred strong, reconnoitering the country, as they stated, for hostile Indians, who were still very troublesome. The officer in command treated Mr. Smoot with marked courtesy, and offered to furnish him an escort as far as Fort Kearney. The latter declined the offer with thanks, as he was traveling at the rate of sixty miles per day, and did not think the troops would care to keep up with him. Whether or not these soldiers were a portion of the army destined for Utah, the reader may determine after glancing again at the post script of the letter of instructions to General Harney.

Proceeding eastward Mayor Smoot next met several heavy freight trains, the teamsters of which were very reticent regarding their destination. All that could be learned from them was that

their wagons contained Government freight, that they were bound for some western post, and that the trains belonged to William H. Russell. Two days later the Mayor arrived at Kansas City, twelve miles west of Independence, where he joined Nicholas Groesbeck, who was in charge of the Y. X. Company's business at that end of the route. Together they went to the office of William H. Russell, in Kansas City, and there learned to their astonishment that the Government had indeed ordered an army to Utah, and that the freight trains which Mr. Smoot had met contained supplies for the troops that would soon set out for the west. They were also told that Brigham Young had been superseded as Governor of Utah, and that another Governor, with a full set of Federal officials, would accompany the troops to Salt Lake City.

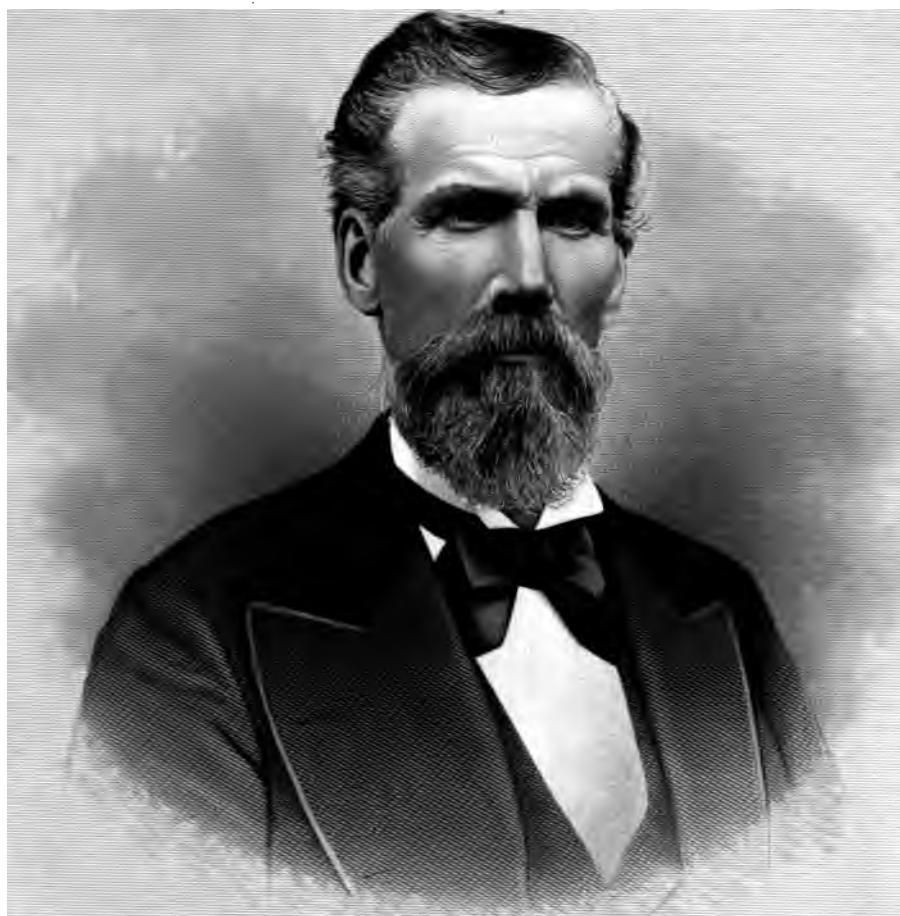
The two Utah men could scarcely credit this report, though coming from one of the principal contractors whose trains of army supplies were even then en route to the Territory. Mr. Groesbeck, leaving Mayor Smoot at Kansas City to gather additional information regarding the expedition, took the mails brought by him to Independence and delivered them to the postmaster at that place. The official received them, but declined to deliver the return mails, stating that he had instructions from Washington to deliver no more mail matter for Salt Lake City for the present.

Here was official confirmation of the prevalent rumor. Back went Mr. Groesbeck to Kansas City, and informed Mayor Smoot of what the postmaster had said. Accepting this refusal of the mails as proof positive that the Government had indeed determined to make war on Utah, they now decided to take prompt action. Considering that the brief though vigorous career of the B. Y. Express Company was at an end, they resolved to break up the various mail stations that had been founded under its auspices, and move the outfits westward. Mayor Smoot and Judson Stoddard undertook this responsibility, assisted by several others. They moved slowly, gathering up the Company's property as they went, and on the 17th of July reached Fort Laramie. Over a hundred

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A. Hensbeck





miles east of that point they had met Porter Rockwell with the July mails from Salt Lake City. He returned with them to Laramie.

It was now decided that a portion of the party should push on as rapidly as possible, and convey to Utah the news of the coming of the troops. Accordingly, on the evening of July 18th Mayor Smoot, Judson Stoddard and Porter Rockwell, hitching two span of their best animals to a light spring wagon, and leaving trusty men to bring along the stock and other property of the Express Company, set out in advance for Salt Lake Valley.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1857.

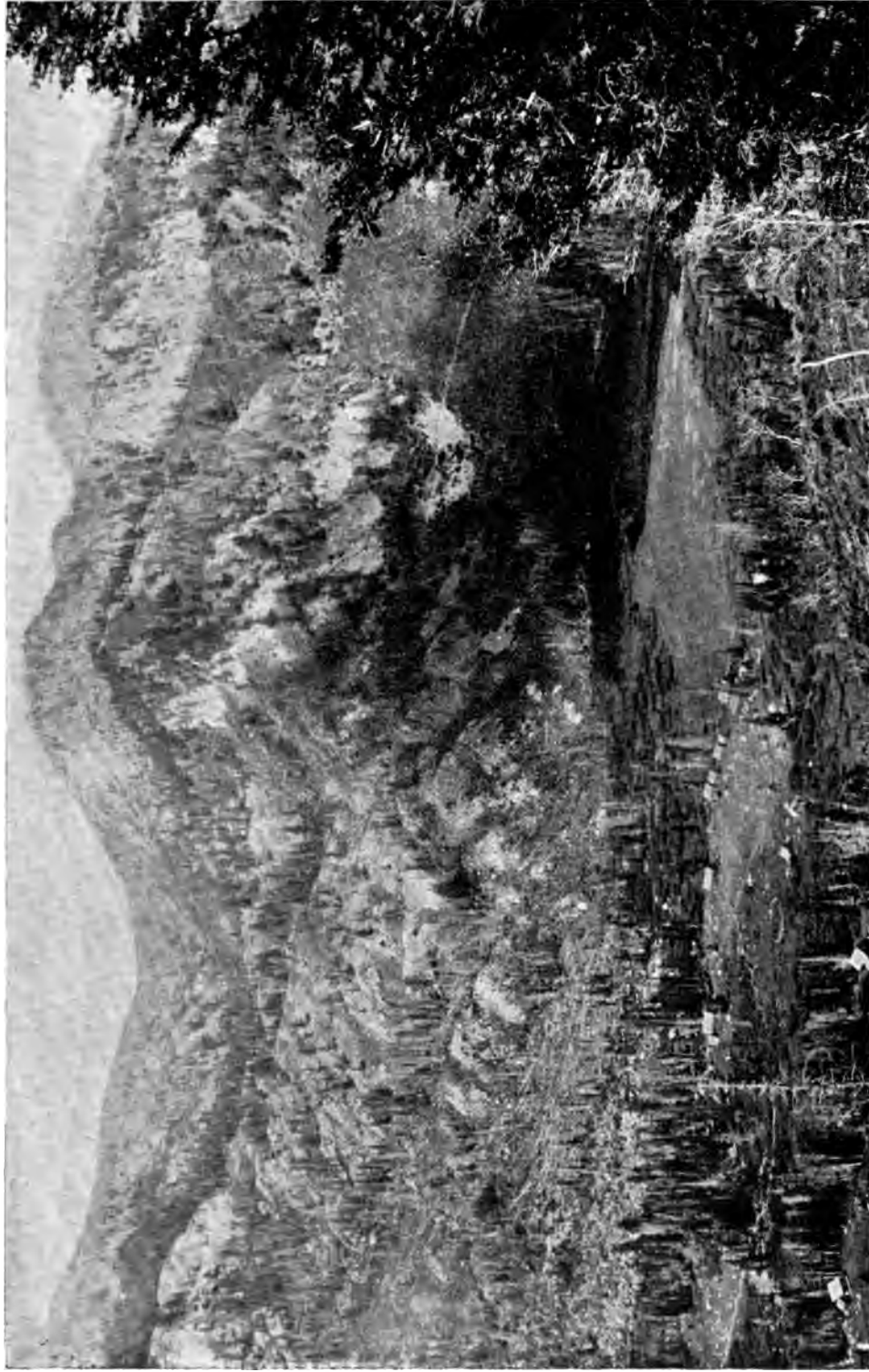
PIONEER DAY IN THE TOPS OF THE WASATCH MOUNTAINS—THE CELEBRATION AT SILVER LAKE
—TIDINGS OF THE COMING OF THE TROOPS—HOW THE NEWS WAS RECEIVED—BRIGHAM
YOUNG DETERMINES TO RESIST THE ENTRY OF THE ARMY INTO SALT LAKE VALLEY—
GENERAL JOHNSTON AND HIS COMMAND LEAVE FORT LEAVENWORTH—CAPTAIN VAN VLIET
PRECEDES THE EXPEDITION TO UTAH—HIS INTERVIEWS WITH GOVERNOR YOUNG—THE
MORMON LEADER'S ULTIMATUM—"WHEN THOSE TROOPS ARRIVE THEY SHALL FIND UTAH A
DESERT"—A SECOND MOSCOW THREATENED—VAN VLIET'S OFFICIAL REPORT.

JULY 24th, that notable Utah holiday, had again come round, and on this the tenth anniversary of the entry of the Pioneers into Salt Lake Valley, the people had assembled to celebrate, as was their wont, the event which had placed that day "among the high tides of the calendar." The occasion was observed in various parts of the Territory, but the grand celebration took place on the banks of Silver Lake, at the head of Big Cottonwood Canyon.

This delightful retreat—now one of the most popular summer resorts in all Utah—is a cosy little glen surrounded by snow-capped peaks and pine-covered hills, situated in the very tops of the Wasatch Mountains, eight thousand feet above the level of the sea. It is about twenty-five miles south-east of Salt Lake City, and twelve miles east of the Valley, whence it is reached by a rugged canyon road so rocky and declivitous in places that the name "stairs" has been bestowed, and not inaptly, upon a portion of the way leading thither.* At that time, though the route was not entirely new, since the previous "Twenty-fourth" had been celebrated at Silver Lake, it was much more difficult than at present. The way up the canyon,

* Silver Lake is now known as "Brighton's,"—so named for its present owner.

1. (c*)



J. H. GREGG, PHOTO.

Silver Lake, Big Cottonwood Canyon.





originally impassable for teams, and nearly so for horsemen or pedestrians, had been made practicable by the Big Cottonwood Lumber Company, which had erected three saw-mills at different points in the canyon, and constructed, above the highest one, as far as the lake, five miles of road expressly for the former celebration.

Silver Lake is a clear, crystal sheet of fresh, pure water, fed by innumerable ice-cold rills, meandering from the rocky, pine-clad heights and snow-crowned hills on all sides hemming it in. It covers an area of about forty acres, and lies along one side of the charming little vale which it serves to more highly adorn. Above this lake are several others, such as Lake Mary, Lake Martha, Lake Blanche, some of which have been made more or less famous by artist's brush or poet's pen. These lakes are veritable wildwood gems, nestling in picturesque loveliness among the loftiest summits, receiving in rock-girt, mossy-brimmed basins the tribute of their dissolving snows, and rendering tribute, one to another, and finally all to the clear silvery reservoir slumbering in placid beauty between green banks and luxuriant groves below.

Such was the spot selected for the celebration, in the year 1857, of the glorious "Twenty-fourth." Two days before the grand event, those invited to take part therein, had left their homes in Salt Lake Valley and its vicinity and thronged on horseback or in vehicles to the rendezvous at the mouth of Big Cottonwood Canyon. It was a motley yet merry sight to see them come; wagons loaded with camping outfits, bedding, provisions and human beings of all sizes and ages, from the tottering, silver-haired veteran to the toddling or nursing child; wending their way by different routes toward the place of gathering, greeting with glad faces and happy hearts friends and kindred along the way, or good-naturedly jostling against them at the general camp-ground. Little dreamed they, as they laughed and chatted, shook hands and congratulated, talked of old times at Kirtland, Nauvoo and Winter Quarters, spoke of their past toils and trials in subduing the desert, or of the glorious time they anticipated having in the mountains, that ere they returned therefrom news

would come that should cause the ears of all who heard it to tingle.

Early on the morning of the 23rd the long line of carriages and wagons, with cavalry and artillery accompanying, began the ascent of "the stairs." Governor Young and other civil and military magnates led the way. Among them were Heber C. Kimball, George A. Smith and Lieutenant-General Wells. Adjutant-General James Ferguson was there, at the head of the 1st company of light artillery; Colonel Robert T. Burton, with a detachment of life-guards and a platoon of lancers, and there was also a company of light infantry commanded by Captain John W. Young. This company—a unique military organization—was composed of fifty youths, mere lads, ranging from ten to twelve years. They had been uniformed by Governor Young and were styled the "Hope of Israel." Colonel Chauncey W. West, of the Weber Military District, and Colonel Jesse C. Little, who on the morrow was to be marshal of the day, were also present. Forming portions of the procession were Captain Ballo's band, the Nauvoo, Springville and Ogden City brass bands and the Salt Lake City and Ogden martial bands. Nearly twenty-six hundred persons, with about five hundred vehicles and fifteen hundred animals—horses, mules, oxen and cows—composed the cavalcade.

At 11 a. m., the vanguard reached the head-waters of Big Cottonwood, and pitched their tents and arranged their wagons under the shade of the trees along the banks of the beautiful Silver Lake. By another hour nearly all had arrived at the camp-ground, and the mid-day meal having been despatched, the remainder of the day was spent in preparing for the celebration. Among the facilities provided for that purpose were three spacious boweries with plank floors, erected by the Big Cottonwood Lumber Company.

At sunset the sound of the bugle summoned the campers to an eminence near the center of the grounds, where President Young addressed them. He recounted to his people the mercies of the Lord in delivering them from their enemies in the past, and in bounteously

blessing the land which they inhabited. After he had concluded, President Kimball offered prayer, in which all silently and reverently joined. He prayed for "Israel and Israel's enemies," and dedicated anew the spot upon which they had assembled to hold their celebration. The assembly then dispersed, some to retire for the night, but the majority to while away the evening hours in the dance.

Next morning—the 24th—the stars and stripes were unfurled from the summits of two of the loftiest peaks surrounding the encampment; also from the tops of two of the tallest trees. Prayer was offered, the choir sang, the cannon roared, the bands played and the military performed their evolutions. A feature of the parade was the drill of the juvenile rifle company, the "Hope of Israel," who acquitted themselves in an admirable manner, and to the astonishment of all beholders. The people, having received brief general instructions from their leaders to govern them in the day's proceedings, now set about amusing themselves, each in the way that best suited him. Dancing, boating, picnicing, playing games, climbing the hills or strolling and resting under the trees,—these and other innocent enjoyments were indulged in with the utmost freedom. Every heart was happy and every face wreathed in joyous smiles. There was no drunkenness, and no drinking, save from nature's fountains, and sobriety, modesty and decorum heightened every pleasure and shed a halo of happiness over all.

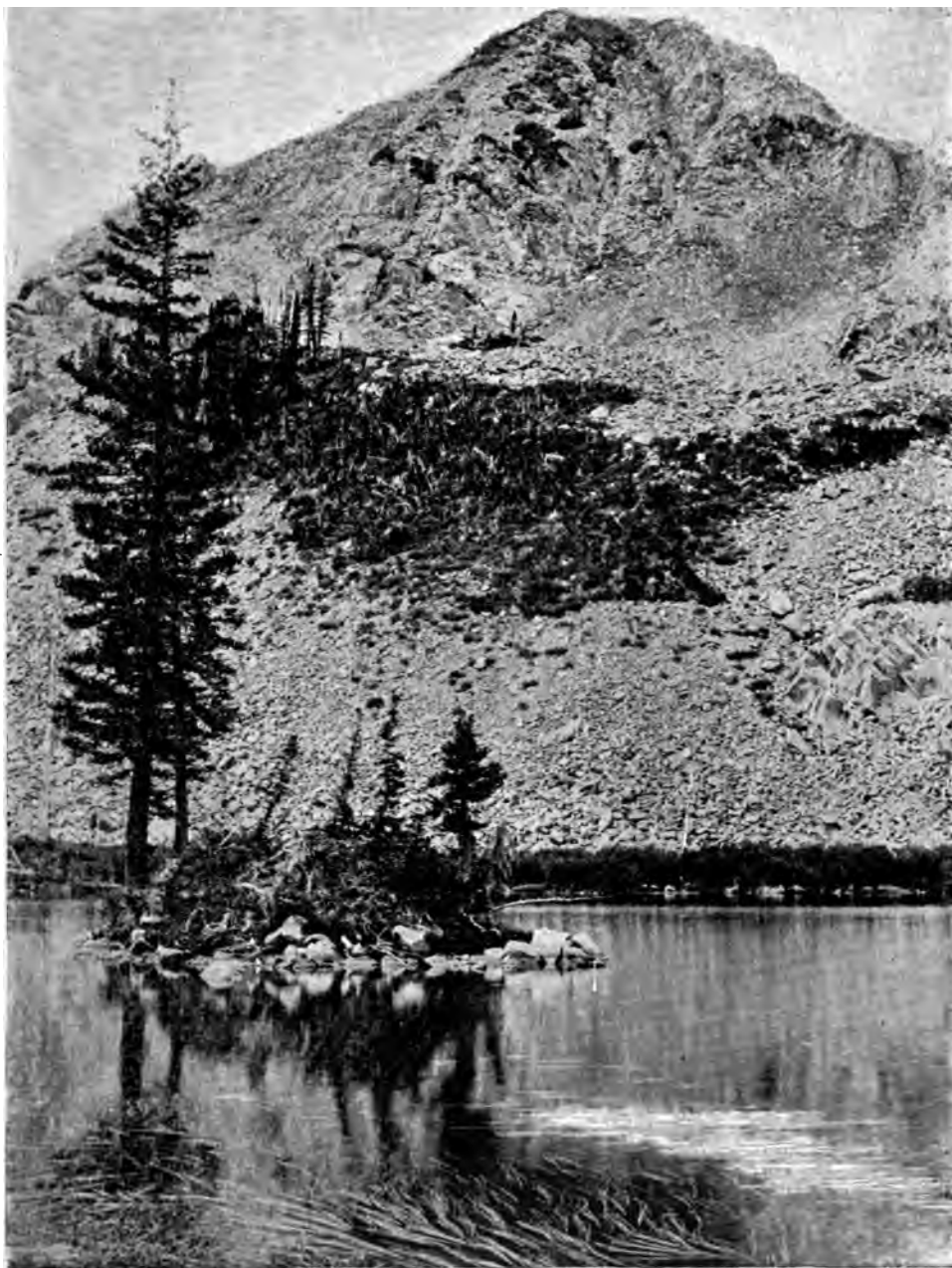
And these were the people who were charged with being in a state of rebellion against the United States government; who, having exalted the Stars and Stripes, their country's flag, to the topmost pinnacles of freedom's mountains, were now celebrating beneath its sacred folds the anniversary of their arrival behind these ramparts of liberty ten years before; all unaware of the fact, soon to burst upon them like a thunder-clap from a clear sky, that an army was even then marching against them to put down an alleged insurrection.

About noon, while the festivity and enjoyment were at their height, four men, three of them dusty and travel-stained, to a degree

betokening more than a brief journey from the valley below, rode into camp and immediately sought the presence of Governor Young. These three were Abraham O. Smoot, Judson Stoddard and Orrin Porter Rockwell, whom we left at Fort Laramie on the evening of the 18th of July, and who had reached Salt Lake City on the evening of the 23rd, having traveled the distance between those points—over five hundred miles—in five days and three hours. Their companion was Judge Elias Smith, postmaster of Salt Lake City, to whom they had reported on their arrival the refusal of the postmaster at Independence to deliver to the agents of the Y. X. Company the Utah mails.

Brigham Young, on receiving the news, startling though not terrifying, that a United States army was approaching the Territory, coolly called a council of the leading Elders present, and in a few words laid the subject before them. There was no excitement. The mass of the people were not even informed of the matter until they had assembled for evening prayers. General Wells, at the Governor's request, then addressed them, detailing in brief the tidings received from the States, and giving instructions as to the order in which they should leave the camp-ground next morning. They were dismissed with the General's benediction. Some retired to their tents and wagons to solemnly meditate upon what they had heard, while others, the major part, engaged in the dance and concluding festivities of the celebration. Songs were sung—Messrs. Poulter, Dunbar, McAllister and Maiben, being the principal vocalists—and in spite of what would have been to most people tidings of gloom, filling their hearts with fear and apprehension, not a soul seemed daunted, and mirth and merriment reigned supreme. At day-break on the 25th the camp-ground began to be vacated, and before another sun had set the people had all returned to their homes.

Great men are always greatest on great occasions. Such occasions serve to demonstrate their greatness. But great occasions, like all divine dispensations, must be waited for. They are not to be



Lake Martha, Cottonwood Canyon.

SHIPLER, PHOTO.





manufactured nor anticipated. They come unbidden, and can neither be hastened nor hindered by human artifice. They are the cannon-balls and thunder-bolts of Deity, and are never fired before their time. Small men try to create occasions, or to convert little ones into large ones, for purposes of self-interest and ostentation. But they invariably fail, as all must who attempt to force nature and anticipate divinity. They never hit the nail squarely on the head. They are always before or behind time, and are rendered ridiculous to the wise by their efforts to magnify what is essentially trivial, while at the same time they ignore what is truly great, and prove themselves unequal to the exigencies of momentous events and magnificent opportunities. The great man knows better than to attempt such things; or rather it never occurs to him to commit such follies. He is genuine to the heart's core. He is wise above his fellows. He never essays what he knows to be futile. He seeks not his own interest. He does nothing for show. He never tries to create occasions, nor to inflate insignificance into consequence. He does not even seek occasion, but waits for it, taking his cue from the prompter fate, or from his fellow actor, necessity. When the great occasion comes, he is ready for it, and rises to meet it like the man that he is.

It was so with Brigham Young. He had not sought the supreme moment, the great occasion which had now slipped like a grain of sand or drop of water in Time's hour-glass, from the fountain of divine purpose to the reservoir of human destiny. But neither did he flinch nor falter, now that it had fallen. He did what any great man, similarly situated, might have done. He rose to the occasion, met it face to face, and, as usual in such cases, came off conqueror.

"Liars," said he, "have reported that this people have committed treason, and upon their misrepresentations the President has ordered out troops to assist in officering this Territory. If those officers are like many who have previously been sent here,—and we have reason to believe that they are, or they would not come where they know they are not wanted,—they are poor, broken-down political hacks, not fit

for the civilized society whence they came, and so they are dragooned upon us for officers. I feel that I won't bear such treatment, * * * for we are just as free as the mountain air. * * * This people are free; they are not in bondage to any government on God's foot-stool. We have transgressed no law, neither do we intend to do so; but as for any nation coming to destroy this people, God Almighty being my helper, it shall not be."

It has doubtless been noted by the reader that the avowed purpose of the Government in sending troops to Utah was to give the new civil officials a *posse comitatus* to secure and maintain for them the offices to which they had been appointed, and not, as the Mormons maintained, to make war upon the people, destroy or drive them from their homes. This was indeed the Government's claim, and we are constrained to allow that that claim, on the part of some of its representatives, was sincere. But it is none the less true that throughout the nation at that time a sentiment prevailed and found expression in the newspapers and upon the lips of many public men, to the effect that the real object of the expedition was to take possession of the cities of the Saints, kill their men, confiscate their wives and daughters, delivering them to the soldiers as a spoil, and superseding the Mormon by a Gentile population, forever end the problem of polygamy, and put a quietus upon the spiritual and temporal aims and prospects of this "kingdom of God on earth." Such a sentiment, atrocious as it was, found utterance both in Europe and America, and was echoed from the ribald lips of soldiers and camp-followers on their march to Utah. It was such a sentiment that caused the New York *Herald* to say, after the first swell of excitement had subsided and public reason had begun to reassert itself in relation to Utah affairs :

Some of our cotemporaries have been publishing long letters dated from Utah, and containing heart-rending accounts of the sufferings inflicted on poor, helpless women, by the brutality of the Mormon leaders. It is perhaps as well that the public should know that these letters are made up on this side of the Mississippi, and we have no doubt do more credit to the imagination than to the memory of their writers. No journal has a correspondent in Utah at the present time. It reflects some credit on the ingenuity of our

cotemporaries to have bethought themselves of getting up an excitement about Utah just as Kansas died out.

Of the facts of the case in Utah, it is very difficult to form a reliable judgment, simply because our most reliable authorities, such as Judge Drummond, now in Washington, are tainted with a suspicion of interested motives. * * * *

There is no authority in the Constitution to justify an interference by Congress or the Federal Government with such an institution as polygamy in a Territory. It is as clearly without the pale of Congressional or executive regulation as slavery; if Congress may not pass a law to govern the one, it may not pass a law to govern the other; if the President cannot interfere to drive slavery out of Kansas, neither can he assume to drive polygamy out of Utah. Marriage, a civil contract, is essentially subject to the control of local, municipal, or civil laws; the Federal Government has nothing to do with it, and Congress can make no laws defining its nature, altering its effect, or prescribing penalties for breaches of its obligations committed by people residing within a Territory of the United States.

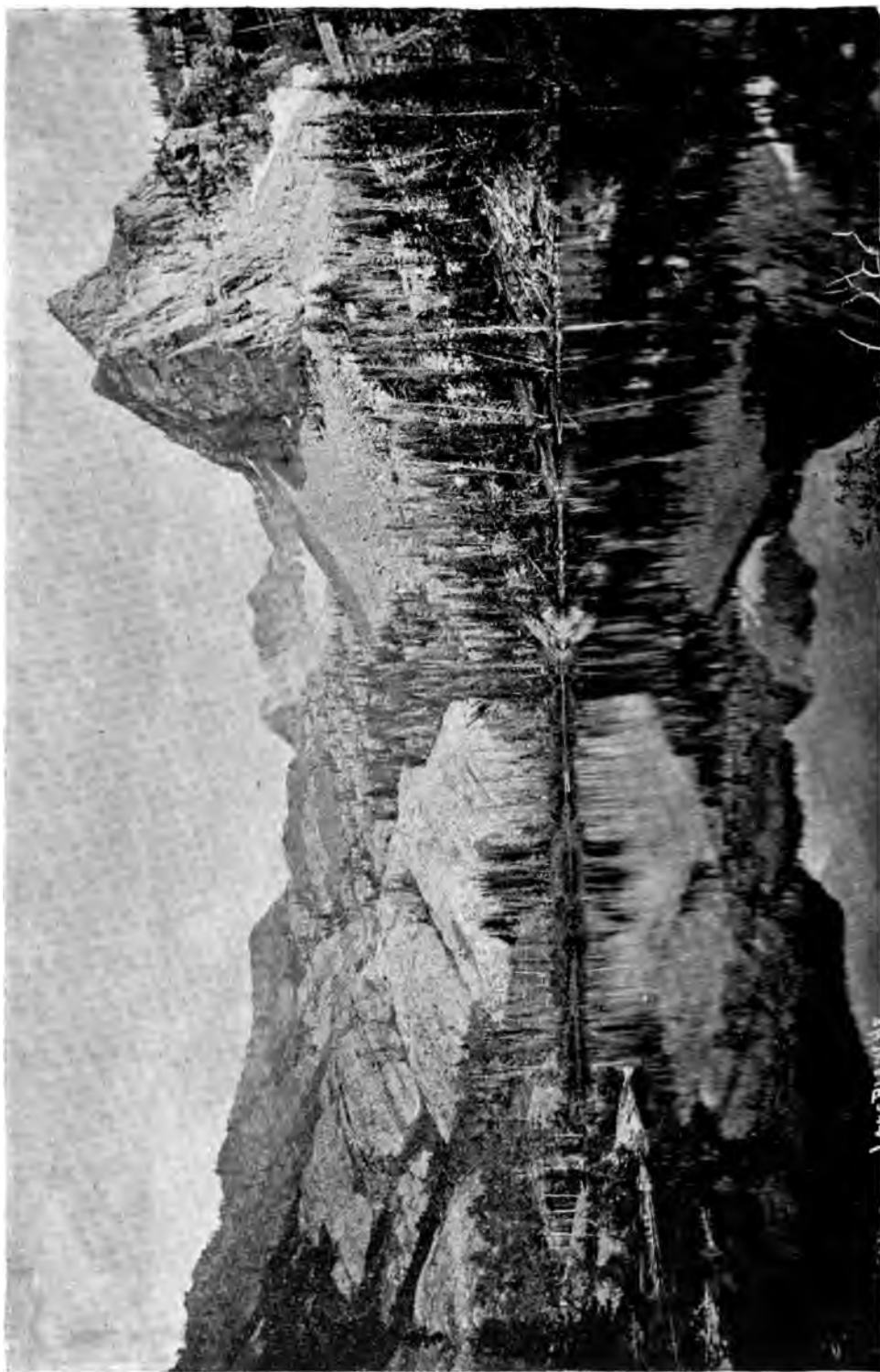
Those, therefore, who assumed that Mr. Buchanan was going to carry fire and sword among the Mormons because they were polygamists, and to put down polygamy by force of arms, gave the President very little credit for judgment or knowledge of the instrument under which he holds his powers.

When Brigham Young expressed himself as quoted, however, the reaction had not come; the fickle weather vane of public opinion had not yet turned. "On to Utah" was the popular slogan, and "war and extermination" the all but openly avowed purpose of the expedition then moving westward. It was because he was aware of this that Brigham Young spoke as he did. Though indignant at having been misrepresented at Washington, tried, condemned and officially executed without a hearing, and disgusted at the thought of more men like Judge Drummond being "dragooned upon" him and his people as officers, these considerations alone would never have induced Brigham Young to take up arms and resist the installation of his successor as Governor of Utah. He knew that if deprived of his secular authority, he could still be the spiritual governor of his people, President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; and that was more to him than a mere civil office; yes, more than to have been President of the United States, or to have sat clothed in purple, crowned and sceptred upon the throne of the Cæsars. It was the coming of the troops that he objected to; it was the army, and the army alone that he opposed, whatever construction may be put upon his heated words

in relation to the civil officials. It was to prevent possible and even probable spoliation and massacre, by a prejudiced and reckless military force, some of whom, backed by press, pulpit and public opinion, were boasting as they marched of their blood-thirsty and libidinous designs, that Brigham Young opposed their entry into Salt Lake Valley. It mattered not to him what claim was made in relation to their coming. It was with stubborn facts that he had to deal. He had seen what armies of anti-Mormon zealots, political and religious crusaders, could and would do. He had had some experience with military *posses*, and knew the acts of which they were capable. He had no more confidence in General Harney and his troops than he would have had in General Lucas and his militia, or in Colonel Brockman and his regulators, had they again entered the field against the Saints. He did not propose to witness, if he could prevent it, a repetition of the horrors of Far West and Nauvoo. He would not quietly submit, either to be treacherously murdered, as was Joseph Smith after meekly surrendering himself, or to see an armed force, steeped in prejudice and hatred, and sustained by the sentiment of hostility then prevalent throughout the nation, turned loose to work its will upon a disarmed and helpless community. He

determined to resist the army as long as possible, hoping meanwhile that the Government would see its error, or at least order an investigation, upon which the troops would be withdrawn before an actual collision had taken place. If that failed he was resolved to utterly lay waste the land, to have his people set fire to their cities, and retreating *en masse* into the mountains or the southern wilderness, leave a second Moscow blazing before the eyes of a victorious yet vanquished foe. As the Russians retreated before Napoleon, as the Gauls burnt their country before Cæsar, the Saints were determined, if pushed to the extremity, to apply the torch to their houses, farms and fields, the beautiful homes created by their industry, and converting the oasis into a desert, for their enemies to divide amongst them if they desired, to start upon another exodus—God alone knew whither—in quest of the priceless boons of peace and

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C. H. SAVAGE, PHOTO.

Lake Blanche, Cottonwood Canyon.

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freedom. Said Brigham Young in his discourses to his people at this period,—discourses from which we have already quoted:

“We have borne enough of their oppression and abuse, and we will not bear any more of it. * * * I am not going to permit troops here for the protection of the priests and the rabble in their efforts to drive us from the land we possess. * * * They say that the coming of their army is legal, and I say that it is not. They who say it are morally rotten. Come on with your thousands of illegally ordered troops, and I promise you in the name of Israel’s God that they shall melt away as the snow before a July sun. * * * You might as well tell me that you can make hell into a powder house as to tell me that they intend to keep an army here and have peace! * * * I have told you that if there is any man or woman who is not willing to destroy everything of their property that would be of use to an enemy if left, I would advise them to leave the Territory. * * * When the time comes to burn and lay waste our improvements, if any man attempts to shield his he will be treated as a traitor. * * * Now the faint-hearted can go in peace; but should that time come they must not interfere. Before I will again suffer as I have in times gone by, there shall not one building, nor one foot of lumber, nor a fence, nor a tree, nor a particle of grass or hay that will burn, be left in reach of our enemies. I am sworn, if driven to extremity, to utterly lay waste this land in the name of Israel’s God, and our enemies shall find it as barren as when we came here.”

Reader, this was not bombast nor idle boasting. Brigham Young would have kept his word had the expected provocation been given. Fortunately there was a happier issue in store.

The Army for Utah, or the main portion of it, had now left Fort Leavenworth. The first detachment, consisting of eight companies of the Tenth regiment, and the entire Fifth regiment, all infantry, started on the 18th of July; Colonel E. B. Alexander being in immediate command. Several weeks later the two remaining companies of the Tenth regiment followed, not having arrived at the fort in time to

accompany the main body. The lesser detachment was under Colonel C. F. Smith. The artillery—Phelps' and Reno's batteries—went with the infantry. The cavalry, comprising six companies of the Second Dragoons, under Colonel Philip St. George Cooke—commander of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War—left Fort Leavenworth on the 16th of September. Along with Colonel Cooke's detachment went Governor Alfred Cumming, Utah's new executive, and other lately appointed Federal officials for the Territory. The supply trains and beef cattle for the army had been upon the plains since June or July. The expedition was magnificently equipped, its commanding officer having been given *carte blanche* by the General-in-chief in the matter of expenditures. So lavish had Government been in this regard, and so prompt and eager the contractors in furnishing supplies, that before the "Utah war" was over, it had cost the United States treasury upwards of twenty million dollars. No wonder it was called "the contractors' war." They were the only ones who profited by it.*

The command of the expedition was first given, as shown, to Brevet-Brigadier-General W. S. Harney, the commanding officer at Fort Leavenworth. He was an able soldier and an experienced Indian fighter, to which fact he doubtless owed his selection as the officer best able to conduct a campaign among the mountains. From one of his exploits against the Indians, he had been dubbed—either justly or unjustly—"the squaw-killer." He was evidently a man of will and energy, whatever else was thought of him. Said he, on being told that the Mormons would oppose his entry into Salt Lake Valley: "I am ordered there, and I will winter in the Valley or in hell." Why the latter place was named as the only alternative, was probably best known to the General himself. Just before he started,

* "The Utah war was an ill-advised measure on the part of the general government.

* * * (It) cost several hundred lives, and at least \$15,000,000, at a time in the nation's history when men and money could least be spared, and accomplished practically nothing, save that it exposed the President and his cabinet to much well-deserved ridicule."—H. H. Bancroft.

however, the Kansas troubles, which for some years had been vexing the nation, revived, and Harney was relieved of the command of the expedition and ordered to remain and operate for the restoration of peace in that distracted Territory. Thus, instead of wintering among the Mormons in Salt Lake Valley, General Harney spent that season among the "border ruffians" of "bleeding Kansas." Perhaps many will think that after all he made good his word, to "winter in the Valley or"—elsewhere.

Harney's successor as commander of the Utah Expedition was Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston, of the Second Cavalry, then stationed at Washington. He received his appointment on the 29th of August, and forthwith repaired to Fort Leavenworth to assume command. From that point he set out for the west on the 17th of September, one day after Colonel Cooke's departure. He was accompanied by his staff and a detachment of forty dragoons. Colonel Johnston, staff and escort traveled in light spring wagons in order to insure speedy transit. Thus started upon his last campaign in the service of his country, the brave and brilliant Albert Sidney Johnston. Returning from Utah, he accepted a generalship in the Confederate army, confronted General Grant at Shiloh, and fell at the very crisis of that terrible battle which, but for his death, many have thought would probably have been won for the South.

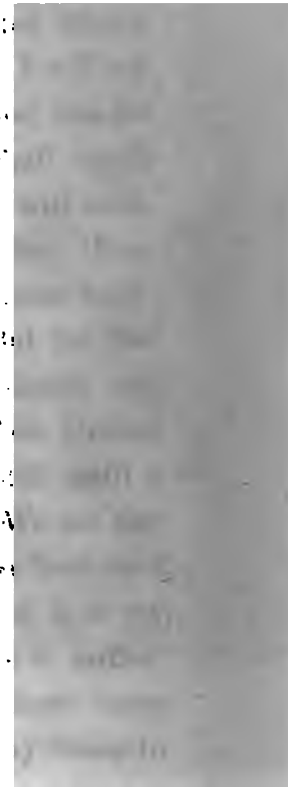
Meantime, at the suggestion of General Harney to the Commander-in-chief, Captain Stewart Van Vliet, Assistant Quarter-Master of the United States Army, had preceded the expedition to Utah, to ascertain whether forage and fuel could be purchased for the troops, and to look out an eligible site for the establishment of a military post within the Territory. Captain Van Vliet arrived at Salt Lake City on the 8th of September. He was kindly received by Governor Young and the Mormon leaders, but was given to understand that the people of Utah regarded the coming army as an enemy; that they would not supply it with forage and fuel, and that the troops would not be permitted to enter Salt Lake Valley. After a reception

at the Social Hall, where Captain Van Vliet was presented to many prominent citizens, several interviews took place in Governor Young's private office. The substance of these interviews is here given.

Governor Young.—"We do not want to fight the United States, but if they drive us to it, we will do the best we can: and I will tell you, as the Lord lives we shall come off conquerors. God has set up His kingdom on the earth and it will never fall. We shall do all we can to avert a collision, but if they drive us to it God will overthrow them. If they would let us alone and say to the mobs: 'Now you may go and kill the Mormons if you can, but we will have nothing to do with it,' that is all we would ask of them. But for the Government to array the army against us is too despicable and damnable a thing for any honorable nation to do. The United States are sending their armies here to simply hold us still until a mob can come and butcher us, as has been done before. We are the supporters of the Constitution of the United States, and we love that Constitution, and respect the laws of the United States; but it is by the corrupt administration of those laws that we are made to suffer. Most of the government officers who have been sent here have taken no interest in us, but on the contrary have tried many times to destroy us."

Captain Van Vliet.—"That is the case with most men sent to the Territories. They receive their offices as a political reward, or as a stepping-stone to the senatorship; but they have no interest in common with the people. You have been lied about the worst of any people I ever saw. The greatest hold that the government now has upon you is in the accusation that you have burned the United States records."

Governor Young.—"I deny that any books of the United States have been burned. All I ask of any man is, that he tell the truth about us, pay his debts and not steal, and then he will be welcome to come or go as he likes. I have broken no law, and under the present state of affairs I will not suffer myself to be taken by any United States officer, to be killed as they killed Joseph."





Mountain Torrent, Cottonwood Canyon.

G. R. SAVAGE, PHOTO.



Captain Van Vliet.—"I do not think it is the intention of the Government to arrest you, but to install a new governor in the Territory."

Governor Young.—"I believe you tell the truth—that you believe this—but you do not know their intentions as well as I do. If the Government persists in sending an army to destroy us, in the name of the Lord we shall conquer them. If they dare to force the issue I shall not hold the Indians by the wrist any longer for white men to shoot at them. If the issue comes you may tell the Government to stop all emigration across this continent, for the Indians will kill all who attempt it. And if an army succeeds in penetrating this valley tell the Government to see that it has forage and provisions in store, for they will find here only a charred and barren waste.

Captain Van Vliet.—"If our Government pushes this matter to the extent of making war upon you, I will withdraw from the army; for I will not have a hand in shedding the blood of American citizens."

Governor Young.—"We shall trust in God. Congress has promptly sent investigating committees to Kansas and other places, as occasion has required; but upon the merest rumor it has sent two thousand armed soldiers to destroy the people of Utah, without investigating the subject at all."

Captain Van Vliet.—"The Government may yet send an investigating committee to Utah, and consider it good policy before they get through."

Governor Young.—"I believe God has sent you here and that good will grow out of it. I was glad when I heard you were coming."

Captain Van Vliet.—"I am anxious to get back to Washington as soon as I can. I have heard officially that General Harney has been recalled to Kansas to officiate as Governor. I shall stop the train on Ham's Fork on my own responsibility."

Governor Young.—"If we can keep the peace for this winter

I do think there will be something turn up that may save the shedding of blood."

The foregoing report is made up from conversations that took place between Governor Young and Captain Van Vliet on the 12th and 13th of September. It is condensed from the private journal of President Wilford Woodruff, who was present at the time and transcribed his notes into his diary, according to custom, directly after the event. One day before the date first given and three days after Captain Van Vliet's arrival at Salt Lake City, occurred the Mountain Meadows massacre, the most horrible, most deplorable event in the history of Utah; an event only comparable, in Mormon annals, to the massacre at Haun's Mill, Missouri, of which and other like tragedies it may fairly be considered a direct though distant result. We propose, in another chapter, to detail the facts relating to the Mountain Meadows massacre. We merely wish now to call attention to the fact that this terrible event took place at a point over three hundred miles south and west of Salt Lake City, when the intervening country was but sparsely settled, and long before railways and telegraph wires had entered Utah. At the time of Captain Van Vliet's visit the news of the massacre had not reached the city, and was utterly unknown to the Mormon leaders. Moreover, as is plainly evident, such a crime as the Mountain Meadows massacre, unjustly attributed by many to the Mormon Church, was not only contrary to Brigham Young's whole nature, which abhorred bloodshed, but directly at variance with his policy at that particular period. "If we can keep the peace for this winter," said he to Van Vliet, "I do think there will be something turn up that may save the shedding of blood." Other expressions in the Young-Van Vliet interview, as well as events of later occurrence, to which we will yet refer, all point to the fact that the terrible affair at Mountain Meadows was the thing of all things most undesired, and when heard of most deplored by Brigham Young and the Mormon people. That massacre was not only a crime against the Arkansas emigrants, but a crime against Utah, against the Latter-day Saints, who have borne for years the odium of a deed for which

they were in no way responsible, and which they have never ceased to regard as a public calamity.

Hubert Howe Bancroft, in his history of Utah, speaking of this event, says: "It may as well be understood at the outset that this horrible crime, so often and so persistently charged upon the Mormon Church and its leaders, was the crime of an individual, the crime of a fanatic of the worst stamp, one who was a member of the Mormon Church, but of whose intentions the Church knew nothing, and whose bloody acts the members of the Church, high and low, regard with as much abhorrence as any out of the Church. Indeed, the blow fell upon the brotherhood with three-fold force and damage. There was the cruelty of it, which wrung their hearts; there was the odium attending its performance in their midst; and there was the strength it lent their enemies further to malign and molest them. The Mormons denounce the Mountain Meadows massacre, and every act connected therewith, as earnestly and as honestly as any in the outside world. This is abundantly proved and may be accepted as a historical fact."

Leaving this subject for the present, let us return to Captain Van Vliet, after his departure from Salt Lake City about the middle of September. Here is the official report of his errand:

HAM'S FORK, September 16, 1857.

Captain:

I have the honor to report, for the information of the commanding general, the result of my trip to the Territory of Utah.

In obedience to special instructions, dated headquarters army for Utah, Fort Leavenworth, July 28, 1857, I left Fort Leavenworth, July 30, and reached Fort Kearney in nine traveling days, Fort Laramie in ten, and Great Salt Lake City in thirty-three and a half. At Fort Kearney I was detained one day by the changes I had to make and by sickness, and at Fort Laramie three days, as all the animals were forty miles from the post, and when brought in all had to be shod before they could take the road. I traveled as rapidly as it is possible to do with six mule wagons. Several of my teams broke down and at least half of my animals are unserviceable and will remain so until they recruit. During my progress towards Utah I met many people from that Territory, and also several mountain men at Green River, and all informed me that I would not be allowed to enter Utah, and if I did I would run great risk of losing my life. I treated all this, however, as idle talk, but it induced me to leave my wagons and escort at Ham's Fork, 143 miles this side

of the city, and proceed alone. I reached Great Salt Lake City without molestation, and immediately upon my arrival I informed Governor Brigham Young that I desired an interview, which he appointed for the next day. On the evening of the day of my arrival, Governor Young, with many of the leading men of the city, called upon me at my quarters. The governor received me most cordially and treated me during my stay, which continued some six days, with the greatest hospitality and kindness. In this interview the governor made known to me his views with regard to the approach of the United States troops, in plain and unmistakable language.

He stated that the Mormons had been persecuted, murdered and robbed in Missouri and Illinois, both by the mob and State authorities, and that now the United States were about to pursue the same course, and that, therefore, he and the people of Utah had determined to resist all persecution at the commencement, and that *the troops now on the march for Utah should not enter the Great Salt Lake valley*. As he uttered these words all those present concurred most heartily in what he said.

The next day, as agreed upon, I called upon the governor and delivered in person the letter with which I had been entrusted. In that interview, and in several subsequent ones, the same determination to resist to the death the entrance of the troops into the valley was expressed by Governor Young and those about him.

The governor informed me that there was abundance of everything I required for the troops, such as lumber, forage, etc., but that none would be sold to us.* In the course of my conversations with the governor and the influential men in the Territory, I told them plainly and frankly what I conceived would be the result of their present course. I told them that they might prevent the small military force now approaching Utah from getting through the narrow defiles and rugged passes of the mountains this year, but that next season the United States government would send troops sufficient to overcome all opposition. The answer to this was invariably the same: "We are aware that such will be the case; but when those troops arrive they will find Utah a desert. Every house will be burned to the ground, every tree cut down, and every field laid waste. We have three years' provisions on hand, which we will 'cache,' and then take to the mountains and bid defiance to all the powers of the government." I attended their service on Sunday, and, in course of a sermon delivered by Elder Taylor, he referred to the approach of the troops and declared they should not enter the Territory. He then referred to the probability of an overpowering force being sent against them, and desired all present, who would apply the torch to their buildings, cut down their trees, and lay waste their fields, to hold up their hands. Every hand, in an audience numbering over 4,000 persons, was raised at the same moment. During my stay in the city I visited several families, and all with whom I was thrown looked upon the present movement of the troops toward their Territory as the commencement of another religious persecution, and expressed a fixed determination to sustain Governor Young in any measures he might adopt. From all these facts I am forced to the conclusion that Governor Young and the people of Utah will prevent, if possible, the army for Utah from entering their Territory this season.

* The harvest of 1857 had been abundant, and the fear of famine by this time was pretty well past.

This, in my opinion, will not be a difficult task, owing to the lateness of the season, the smallness of our force, and the defenses that nature has thrown around the valley of the Great Salt Lake.

There is but one road running into the valley on the side which our troops are approaching, and for over fifty miles it passes through narrow canyons and over rugged mountains, which a small force could hold against great odds. I am inclined, however, to the belief that the Mormons will not resort to actual hostilities until the last moment. Their plan of operations will be to burn the grass, cut up the roads, and stampede the animals, so as to delay the troops until the snow commences to fall, which will render the road impassable. Snow falls early in this region, in fact last night it commenced falling at Fort Bridger, and this morning the surrounding mountains are clothed in white. Were it one month earlier in the season I believe the troops could force their way in, and they may be able to do so even now; but the attempt will be fraught with considerable danger, arising from the filling up of the canyons and passes with snow. I do not wish it to be considered that I am advocating either the one course or the other. I simply wish to lay the facts before the general, leaving it to his better judgment to decide upon the proper movements. Notwithstanding my inability to make the purchases I was ordered to, and all that Governor Young said in regard to opposing the entrance of the troops into the valley I examined the country in the vicinity of the city, with the view of selecting a proper military site. I visited the military reserve, Rush Valley, but found it, in my opinion, entirely unsuitable for a military station. It contains but little grass, and is very much exposed to the cold winds of winter; its only advantage being the close proximity of fine wood. It is too far from the city, being between thirty-five and forty miles, and will require teams four days to go there and return.

I examined another point on the road to Rush Valley, and only about thirty miles from the city, which I consider a much more eligible position. It is in Tooele Valley, three miles north of Tooele City, and possesses wood, water and grass; but it is occupied by the Mormons, who have some sixty acres under cultivation, with houses and barns on their land. These persons would have to be dispossessed or bought out. In fact there is no place within forty, fifty or sixty miles of the city suitable for a military position, that is not occupied by the inhabitants and under cultivation. On my return I examined the vicinity of Fort Bridger, and found it a very suitable position for wintering the troops and grazing the animals, should it be necessary to stop at that point. The Mormons occupy the fort at present, and also have a settlement about ten miles further up Black's Fork, called Fort Supply. These two places contain buildings sufficient to cover nearly half the troops now en route for Utah; but I was informed that they would all be laid in ashes as the army advances. I have thus stated fully the result of my visit to Utah, and trusting that my conduct will meet the approval of the commanding general,

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

STEWART VAN VLIET,

Captain A. Q. M.

Captain Pleasanton,

A. A. Adj't Gen. Army for Utah, Fort Leavenworth.

P. S.—I shall start on my return tomorrow, with an escort of ten men.

The reader will have noted that while Captain Van Vliet, in his interview with Governor Young, maintained and was evidently sincere in the belief that the design of the Federal Government in sending an army to Utah was merely to install the new executive and preserve peace and order in the Territory, that the Mormon leader was quite as firmly convinced that it meant something far different. Granting that the Captain was right, so far as he and other representatives of the Government were concerned, and that the object was not to make war upon the Saints, it is not surprising, after his experience in Missouri and Illinois, that Brigham Young should have felt and acted as he did. Let neither view, however, cause the reader to lose sight of the fact that the sending of that army was a part of the plot for secession concocted by Secretary Floyd and his fellow conspirators at Washington. This was doubtless the real reason why the troops were ordered west; the reason also why an investigation, which would have defeated the purpose of the conspirators had it occurred before the expedition crossed the plains, was delayed until that purpose had been partly effected, and the flower of the United States army locked in the icy embrace of winter beyond the Rocky Mountains.*

* The fact that the Civil War did not immediately follow proves nothing to the contrary. It had been regarded as imminent for many years. As early as 1850 the south had threatened to secede. The firing on Fort Sumter was but putting the match to a mine which had long been laid.



Daniel H. Wells

CHAPTER XXX.

1857-1858.

THE ECHO CANYON CAMPAIGN—UTAH UNDER MARTIAL LAW—COLONEL BURTON TAKES THE FIELD—THE UNITED STATES TROOPS ENTER THE TERRITORY—GENERAL WELLS GOES TO THE FRONT—ECHO CANYON FORTIFIED—LOT SMITH BURNS THE GOVERNMENT TRAINS—MAJOR TAYLOR'S CAPTURE—MORMON COSSACKS—COLONEL ALEXANDER'S DILEMMA—HE STARTS FOR SODA SPRINGS—COLONEL BURTON INTERCEPTS HIM—THE PROJECT ABANDONED—CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN COLONEL ALEXANDER AND GOVERNOR YOUNG—APOSTLE TAYLOR'S LETTER TO CAPTAIN MARCY—ARRIVAL OF GENERAL JOHNSTON—A MARCH OF MISERY—FORTS BRIDGER AND SUPPLY BURNT—COLONEL COOKE'S EXPERIENCE—CAMP SCOTT—THE FEDERAL ARMY GOES INTO WINTER QUARTERS—RETURN OF THE MILITIA—PREPARING FOR THE SPRING CAMPAIGN.

THE Army for Utah was now approaching her borders. Its route from the frontier lay by way of Forts Kearney and Laramie, the former two hundred and ninety-five miles, and the latter six hundred and twenty-five miles from Fort Leavenworth. Colonel Alexander's command reached Laramie early in September. Two weeks later Colonel Smith's companies arrived there and followed the main army toward the mountains. General Johnston and his party were at Fort Laramie on October 5th, and on or about the 20th Colonel Cooke and his dragoons passed that point.

Hitherto the progress of the troops was quite satisfactory. The weather as a rule had been pleasant, grass plentiful, and everything seemed propitious for the expedition. True, the Cheyenne Indians, on the 1st of August, about thirty miles west of Fort Kearney, had made a raid on the army cattle herds, killing one of the nineteen drovers, and running off over eight hundred head of beeves that were being driven ahead of the troops, and had been designed for their subsistence during the winter. But the army itself had met

with no mishap. So far as the Indians were concerned, doubtless the troops would have been only too glad to have encountered them, after what had occurred, for the purpose of punishing the dusky marauders.

From here on, however, there was destined to be a decided change in the program. After passing the Rocky Mountains the experience of the troops was simply disastrous. Frost and fire,—the former by the agency of nature, the latter by that of man,—combined to hedge up their way and render them powerless. In short, Johnston's campaign in Utah, save that there was no fighting nor blood-shed connected with it, was a repetition on a small scale of Napoleon's campaign in Russia.

Preparations to resist the advance of the army,—to prevent it, at least, from entering Salt Lake Valley, had promptly been begun by the Mormon people under the direction of their leaders. Eight days after the receipt of the news that the troops were on the way, the following order was issued to the commanders of the various military districts of the Territory:

HEADQUARTERS NAUVOO LEGION,

Adj't.-General's Office, G. S. L. City, Aug. 1, 1857.

SIR: Reports, tolerably well authenticated, have reached this office that an army from the Eastern States is now *en route* to invade this Territory.

The people of this Territory have lived in strict obedience to the laws of the parent and home governments, and are ever zealous for the supremacy of the Constitution and the rights guaranteed thereby. In such time, when anarchy takes the place of orderly government and mobocratic tyranny usurps the power of rulers, they have left the inalienable right to defend themselves against all aggression upon their constitutional privileges. It is enough that for successive years they have witnessed the desolation of their homes; the barbarous wrath of mobs poured upon their unoffending brethren and sisters; their leaders arrested, incarcerated and slain, and themselves driven to cull life from the hospitality of the desert and the savage. They are not willing to endure longer these unceasing outrages; but if an exterminating war be purposed against them and blood alone can cleanse pollution from the Nation's bulwarks, to the God of our fathers let the appeal be made.

You are instructed to hold your command in readiness to march at the shortest possible notice to any part of the Territory. See that the law is strictly enforced in regard to arms and ammunition, and as far as practicable that each Ten be provided with a good wagon and four horses or mules, as well as the necessary clothing, etc., for a winter

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campaign. Particularly let your influence be used for the preservation of the grain. Avoid all excitement, but be ready.

DANIEL H. WELLS,
Lieutenant-General Commanding.

By James Ferguson, Adjutant-General.

It should here be explained that since February, 1852, Utah had been divided into military districts, most of them corresponding with the various counties of the Territory. The law providing for the further organization of the militia created the office of Lieutenant-General of the Nauvoo Legion; for by this title was the Utah militia still known. Daniel H. Wells was the original incumbent of that office, to which he was several times unanimously elected. In January, 1857, the Lieutenant-General had been authorized by the Legislature to choose six or more commissioned officers, and with their assistance draft a system of laws and regulations for the Legion, which were to continue in force until annulled by the Legislative Assembly. General Wells selected as his assistants in this work Generals Horace S. Eldredge, James Ferguson, Albert P. Rockwood and George D. Grant; Colonels William H. Kimball and William Hyde, and Major Robert T. Burton. The services of Hosea Stout, then Territorial Attorney, were also solicited. This board completed its labors in March. Early in April Daniel H. Wells was again elected to the office of Lieutenant-General, and a few days later he issued a general order dividing the Territory into military districts, to be organized as follows:

1. Great Salt Lake military district, to embrace the whole of Great Salt Lake County, and to be organized under the supervision of George D. Grant.
2. Green River County, to be organized into one district, under the supervision of Isaac Bullock.
3. The northern portion of Utah County, extending south to the northern limits of Provo City corporation, to be organized into one district under the supervision of David Evans, to be called the Lehi military district.

4. The Provo military district, to extend to the corporation boundaries of Provo City on the north and south, and the eastern and western limits of Utah County, to be organized under the supervision of P. W. Conover.

5. The Peteet-neet military district, to embrace the whole of Utah County south of Provo, to be organized under the supervision of Aaron Johnson.

6. The Juab military district, to include the whole of Juab County, and to be organized under the supervision of George W. Bradley.

7. The Sanpete military district, to include the whole of Sanpete County, to be organized under the supervision of Warren Snow.

8. The Pauvan military district, to include the whole of Millard County, to be organized by L. H. McCullough.

9. The Iron military district, to include Iron, Beaver, and Washington Counties, to be organized by W. H. Dame.

10. The Tooele military district, to include the whole of Tooele County, to be organized by John Rowberry.

11. The Davis military district, to include the whole of Davis County, to be organized by Allen Taylor.

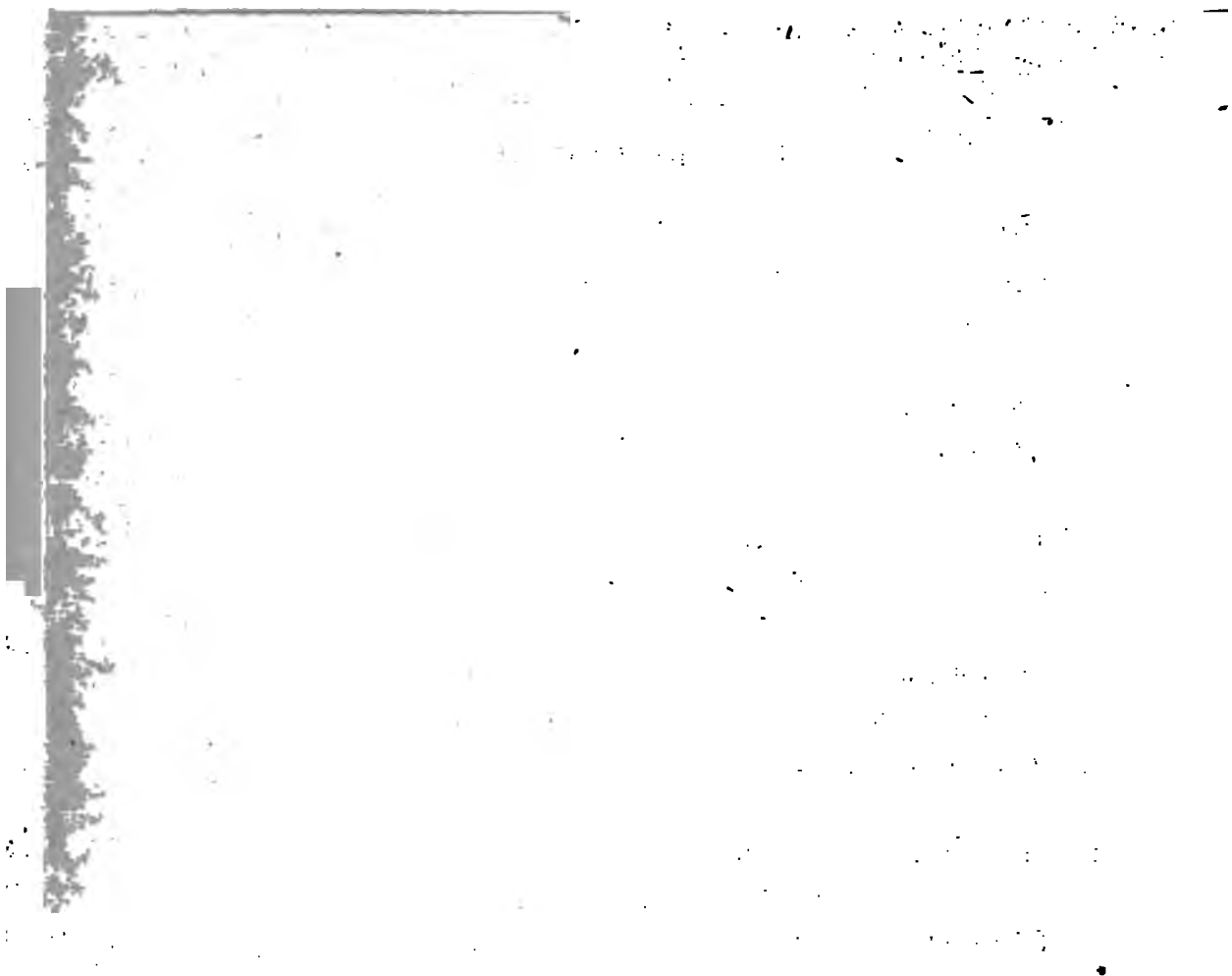
12. The Weber military district, including Weber and Summit Counties, to be organized by David Moore.

13. The Box Elder military district, to include all of Box Elder, Malad, and Cache Counties, to be organized by Jefferson Wright.

Most of the men named were subsequently elected commanders of the districts they had organized.

It was to the following named district commanders that the Lieutenant-General's instructions of August 1st, 1857, were issued : Colonel Chauncey W. West, Weber; Colonel P. C. Merrill, Davis; Major Samuel Smith, Box Elder; Major John Rowberry, Tooele; Colonel William B. Pace, Provo; Major David Evans, Lehi; General Aaron Johnson, Peteet-neet; Major C. W. Bradley, Nephi; Major Warren S. Snow, Sanpete; Major L. H. McCullough, Fillmore; Colonel W. H. Dame, Parowan; Major Allen Weeks, Cedar.







JAMES FERGUSON

James Ferguson

JAMES FERGUSON



The Lieutenant-General's staff, as named by him soon after his election that year, stood as follows: James Ferguson, Adjutant-General; Lewis Robison, Quartermaster-General; Albert P. Rockwood, Commissary-General of Subsistence; James W. Cummings, Paymaster-General; J. L. Dunyon, Surgeon-General; Hiram B. Clawson, Jesse C. Little and Joseph A. Young, Aides-de-Camp; Albert Carrington, Chief of Topographical Engineers; Thomas W. Ellerbeck, Chief of Ordnance; John T. Caine, Military Secretary; Wilford Woodruff and Franklin D. Richards, Chaplains; Edward P. Duzette, Chief of Music; Brigham Young, Jr., and Stephen Taylor, Color-Bearers General.

Soon afterward an election of officers was held in Salt Lake County. George D. Grant was chosen to succeed his brother Jedediah as Major-General and commander of the district; William H. Kimball and Franklin D. Richards were elected Brigadier-Generals; Robert T. Burton, Colonel of the First Regiment of Cavalry; Jesse P. Harmon, Colonel of the First Infantry; Thomas Callister, Colonel of the Second, and David J. Ross, Colonel of the Third. Lot Smith and John D. T. McAllister were chosen Majors of the First and Second Battalions of Cavalry. John Sharp, A. H. Raleigh, Seth M. Blair, Jonathan Pugmire, Jr., Harrison Burgess, D. D. McArthur, Franklin B. Woolley, Robert Smith, Frederick Kesler and David Pettigrew also ranked as Majors. William C. Dunbar succeeded Franklin D. Richards as Chaplain. Later Feramor Little was made Assistant-Quartermaster-General and N. V. Jones Assistant-Commissary-General of Subsistence, each with the rank of Colonel. On General Grant's staff were such names as Joseph M. Simmons, William H. Hooper, Darwin Richardson, Vincent Shurtliff, David Candland, and Alexander McRae. H. S. Beatie was General Kimball's adjutant. Among the corps of Topographical Engineers were William Clayton, Jesse W. Fox, Horace K. Whitney, Leo Hawkins, John V. Long, William Gill Mills, Thomas D. Brown, John Jaques, James H. Martineau, James Linforth, John Chislett, Orson Pratt, Jr., Aurelius Miner and D. Moeller. In the ordnance department were George B. Wallace,

Robert L. Campbell, Charles Colebrook, Henry Maiben, Edward Martin and J. M. Bollwinkel. Each district had a military storekeeper. The original occupant of that position in the Salt Lake District was Edwin D. Woolley.

Such were the officers and organization of the Nauvoo Legion at the time of the Echo Canyon campaign. It was a characteristic of that campaign, however, that official rank, in many cases, was temporarily waived and lost sight of; some officers acting in subordinate positions, and others serving as privates in the ranks. The Legion now numbered a little over six thousand men, about one-third of whom were in the field in the latter part of 1857.

The general officers chosen to conduct the campaign were: Daniel H. Wells, Lieutenant-General, commanding; Generals George D. Grant, William H. Kimball, James Ferguson and Hiram B. Clawson; Colonels Robert T. Burton, Nathaniel V. Jones, James W. Cummings, Chauncey W. West, Thomas Callister, William B. Pace, Warren S. Snow, Joseph A. Young and Albert P. Rockwood; Surgeon John L. Dunyon; Majors Lot Smith, John D. T. McAllister, Henry W. Lawrence, John Sharp, J. M. Barlow, Israel Ivins, John R. Winder and Robert J. Golding. Many others, such as O. P. Rockwell, E. K. Hanks *et al.* were detailed for special service as scouts and rangers.

The first officer to take the field was Colonel Robert T. Burton, who, on the 15th of August, in response to orders previously issued, at the head of a small company of cavalry started eastward from Salt Lake Valley, taking the regular emigrant route toward the Rocky Mountains. His instructions were to reconnoiter the country, protect the emigrant trains then on the way to the Valley, make observations respecting the numbers and equipment of the approaching army, and report the information to head-quarters. He had been ordered to take a hundred and sixty men, but started with only fifty, and was afterwards joined by a company of thirty men from Provo under Captain Clark. Among those who accompanied Colonel Burton were Colonel James W. Cummings, Majors J. M. Barlow and

Henry W. Lawrence, Captain Heber P. Kimball and Lieutenants J. Q. Knowlton and C. F. Decker.

Colonel Burton and his command reached Fort Bridger on the 21st of August. On the 26th they were at Pacific Springs, where the first emigrant company was encountered. Next day they met several large supply trains entirely unprotected by military escort, and on the 29th, leaving his wagons with half the men and animals on the Sweetwater, Colonel Burton proceeded with pack animals to Devil's Gate, arriving there on the 30th. The rest of his command soon joined him.

On September 1st Captain John R. Murdock, just from the States, having carried to the frontier the last mail under the Hiram Kimball contract, met Colonel Burton at Devil's Gate, and was entrusted by him with dispatches for Salt Lake City. Captain Murdock stated that in the east intense excitement reigned over the Utah question, and that it was confidently expected and hoped by many that the Government troops then moving westward would solve the Mormon problem with the sword. About this time Messrs. N. V. Jones and Bryant Stringam came along, bringing from Deer Creek the residue of property belonging to the B. Y. Express Company. They also proceeded on to the Valley.

Colonel Burton and his men remained in the vicinity of Devil's Gate, caching provisions for future use and reconnoitering further in that region. About the middle of September they began returning westward, traveling slowly and taking observations. Dispatches from Salt Lake City were next received and messengers were now kept almost constantly in the saddle between Burton's camp and headquarters. Among those first from the city were Orson Spencer, Joseph M. Simmons and Stephen Taylor. On September 21st, Colonel Burton with three men—Heber P. Kimball, Henry W. Lawrence and John Smith—returned eastward to the vicinity of Devil's Gate and camped next day within half a mile of the troops under Colonel E. B. Alexander,—the vanguard of the Utah Expedition. Burton and his command from this time hovered in close

proximity to the advancing column until it arrived on Ham's Fork and established Camp Winfield, about twenty miles north-east of Fort Bridger. Alexander reached that point on the 28th of September, having made forced marches for several days in order to overtake and protect the supply trains which had preceded the army across the Rocky Mountains.


Throughout the Territory, since early in August, warlike preparations had been going forward, and the militia were now ready to take the field. Soon after Colonel Burton started on his tour of observation, a similar errand had been undertaken by a small company of the Weber County cavalry, under Marcellus Monroe, aide-de-camp to Colonel West. This company numbered but twelve men. They ascended Ogden Hole Canyon, and passed over to Bear Lake, Bear River and across the mountains to Lost Creek, which they descended to the Weber and followed that stream home. The object of this expedition was to examine the mountain passes in the north, with a view to their future defense should the Government troops seek to force an entrance from that quarter.

On the 15th of September, one day after the departure of Captain Van Vliet from Salt Lake City and just before the troops entered Utah, Governor Young issued the following proclamation, placing the Territory under martial law.

PROCLAMATION BY THE GOVERNOR.

Citizens of Utah:

We are invaded by a hostile force, who are evidently assailing us to accomplish our overthrow and destruction. For the last twenty-five years we have trusted officials of the government, from constables and justices to judges, governors and presidents, only to be scorned, held in derision, insulted, and betrayed. Our houses have been plundered, and then burned, our fields laid waste, our principal men butchered while under the pledged faith of the government for their safety, and our families driven from their homes, to find that shelter in the barren wilderness, and that protection among hostile savages, which were denied them in the boasted abodes of Christianity and civilization. The constitution of our common country guarantees unto us all that we do now, or have ever claimed. If the constitutional rights which pertain to us, as American citizens, were extended to Utah, according to the spirit and meaning thereof, and fairly and impartially administered, it is all that we could ask; all that we have ever asked.







R. H. Burton

Our opponents have availed themselves of prejudice existing against us, because of our religious faith, to send out a formidable host to accomplish our destruction. We have had no privilege or opportunity of defending ourselves from the false, foul and unjust aspersions against us before the nation. The government has not condescended to cause an investigating committee, or other person, to be sent to inquire into and ascertain the truth, as is customary in such cases. We know these aspersions to be false; but that avails us nothing. We are condemned unheard, and forced to an issue with an armed mercenary mob, which has been sent against us at the instigation of anonymous letter writers, ashamed to father the base, slanderous falsehoods which they have given to the public; of corrupt officials, who have brought false accusations against us to screen themselves in their own infamy; and of hireling priests and howling editors, who prostitute the truth for filthy lucre's sake.

The issue which has thus been forced upon us compels us to resort to the great first law of self-preservation, and stand in our own defense, a right guaranteed to us by the genius of the institutions of our country, and upon which the government is based. Our duty to ourselves, to our families, requires us not to tamely submit to be driven and slain, without an attempt to preserve ourselves; our duty to our country, our holy religion, our God, to freedom and liberty, requires that we should not quietly stand still and see those fetters forging around us, which are calculated to enslave, and bring us in subjection to an unlawful military despotism, such as can only emanate, in a country of constitutional law, from usurpation, tyranny and oppression.

Therefore, I, Brigham Young, governor and superintendent of Indian affairs for the Territory of Utah, forbid:

First—All armed forces of every description from coming into this Territory, under any pretense whatever.

Second—That all the force in said Territory hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's notice to repel any and all such invasion.

Third—Martial law is hereby declared to exist in this Territory from and after the publication of this proclamation, and no person shall be allowed to pass or repass into or through or from this Territory without a permit from the proper officer.

Given under my hand and seal at Great Salt Lake City, Territory of Utah, this
fifteenth day of September, A. D. eighteen hundred and fifty-seven,
[SEAL.] and of the independence of the United States of America, the eighty
second.

BRIGHAM YOUNG.

A copy of this proclamation was duly forwarded to "the officer commanding the forces now invading Utah Territory," and by him as duly ignored.

Toward the close of September Lieutenant-General Wells with his staff, accompanied also by Apostles John Taylor and George A. Smith, left Salt Lake City for Echo Canyon, where he established his head-quarters. Why that particular place was chosen will be evident

to the reader on recalling the description given of it in a former chapter. Echo Canyon, the only direct route from Fort Bridger through the mountains toward Salt Lake Valley, is a narrow defile about twenty-five miles long, winding its way through vertical and overhanging cliffs from eight to twelve hundred feet high. At certain points in the canyon, a few men, stationed on the heights above, or in the gorge below, might hold in check a large army. These places are termed "The Narrows," and it was near them that General Wells, about the last of September, ordered his camp located. His entire force at this time comprised about twelve hundred and fifty men, made up of companies from the various military districts. Most of the militia were ununiformed, but were fairly equipped and provisioned for thirty days.

About the time that Echo Canyon was thus invested, a small company of men who had volunteered for the purpose went north to the Snake River country to form a new settlement, and watch the mountain passes in that region; it being feared that the invading army, finding its way disputed and effectually barred, so far as a direct route was concerned, might make a detour by way of Soda Springs and Bear River. This company, which numbered less than fifty men, was led by Captain Andrew Cunningham, and included such intrepid spirits as Alexander Burt, Brigham Y. Hampton and others. They formed a settlement near the present town of Blackfoot, Idaho, but were recalled south the same winter.* The army did not make the northern detour, though Colonel Alexander and subsequently General Johnston contemplated it, but remained facing the Echo Canyon situation until spring.

After forming his camp at "The Narrows," General Wells, dividing his staff and leaving a portion of the officers and most of the men at that point, proceeded with a small escort to Fort Bridger. The force left in Echo Canyon was commanded by Colonel N. V.

* About the time of their return, the Salmon River settlement—Fort Limhi—was attacked by Indians and the Saints compelled to leave that section. George McBride and James Miller were killed, and five others wounded.

Jones. He was instructed to dig trenches and make dams across the canyon, so that if necessary the road might be submerged; to construct breastworks and pile boulders upon the heights, for use against the enemy if he attempted to force a passage, and in short do everything that could be done to render the gorge impassable. Such a task was not very difficult, so much having been done by nature beforehand.

At Fort Bridger General Wells met Colonel Burton, who informed him of the latest movements of the Government troops, the establishment of Camp Winfield, and the location of the supply trains, to protect which Colonel Alexander had hurried forward. It was thought that the army would now attempt a forced march through the mountains to Salt Lake Valley.

From Fort Bridger, on September 30th, General Wells sent by Lewis Robison and Lot Smith the following communication to Colonel Alexander:

FORT BRIDGER, September 30, 1857.

SIR: I have the honor to forward you the accompanying letter from His Excellency Governor Young, together with two copies of his proclamation and a copy of the laws of Utah, 1856-57, containing the organic act of the Territory.

It may be proper to add that I am here to aid in carrying out the instructions of Governor Young.

General Robison will deliver these papers to you, and receive such communication as you may wish to make.

Trusting that your answer and actions will be dictated by a proper respect for the rights and liberties of American citizens,

I remain, very respectfully, etc.,

DANIEL H. WELLS,

Lieutenant General Commanding, Nauvoo Legion.

The gist of Governor Young's letter, enclosed in that of General Wells, was this: The Mormon leader called attention to Section 2 of the Organic Act, which states that the Governor of Utah shall hold his office for four years and until his successor shall be appointed and qualified, unless sooner removed by the President of the United States, and that the Governor shall be commander-in-chief of the militia of the Territory; that he, Brigham Young, was

still Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Utah, no successor having been appointed and qualified, and himself not having been removed by the President.* After reminding Colonel Alexander that he had disregarded the proclamation forbidding the entry of armed forces into the Territory, he directed him to forthwith retire therefrom, but gave him the alternative of remaining in the vicinity of his present encampment until spring, on condition that he would deposit his arms and ammunition with Lewis Robison, Quartermaster General of the Territory. Governor Young also stated that if the troops fell short of provisions they could be furnished on proper application being made.

General Robison and Major Smith were given permission, if they deemed it imprudent to enter the Federal lines, to send the documents to Colonel Alexander by a Mexican. They chose the latter course. The Colonel, though doubtless somewhat surprised at what he deemed the cool audacity of the Mormon leader, answered courteously as follows:

HEADQUARTERS 10TH REGIMENT OF INFANTRY,

Camp Winfield, on Ham's Fork, October 2, 1857.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of September 29, 1857; with two copies of Proclamation and one of "Laws of Utah," and have given it an attentive consideration.

I am at present the senior commanding officer of the troops of the United States at this point, and I will submit your letter to the general commanding as soon as he arrives here.

In the meantime I have only to say that these troops are here by the orders of the President of the United States, and their future movements will depend entirely upon the orders issued by competent military authority.

I am, sir, very respectfully, etc.,

E. B. ALEXANDER,

Col. 10th U. S. Infantry, commanding.

Brigham Young, Esq.,

Governor of Utah Territory.

HEADQUARTERS 10TH INFANTRY, October 2, 1857.

Official.

HENRY E. MAYNADIER,

Adjutant 10th Infantry.

* Governor Young at this time had not been officially notified of the appointment of his successor.



A. Cunningham

A. Cunningham

A. Cunningham



Such a reply was probably anticipated both by General Wells and Governor Young. At all events, no delay was now made in taking action calculated to convince the troops and the Government which sent them that Brigham Young and his people were in earnest, and that not without a struggle to prevent would they permit the army now east of the Wasatch Mountains to invade and occupy their valley homes. At the same time it was determined to shed no blood, to take no life if it could possibly be avoided. Such were the orders issued to the militia. Here speaks again the fact that the Mormon leaders, so anxious to avert bloodshed, even when acting in self-defense, had naught to do with the cruel and needless sacrifice of the Arkansas emigrants at Mountain Meadows, not three weeks before General Wells wrote the foregoing letter to Colonel Alexander. It was a bloodless campaign that the Mormons were resolved upon, even against the armed force which they believed had been sent to kill or drive them from their homes, debauch their wives and daughters, and despoil them of all that life held dear. Moreover, the plan of that campaign had been matured in the leading councils of the Church at Salt Lake City, weeks before General Wells went to the front.

On the return of the messengers with Colonel Alexander's reply, they were invited to dine with the Lieutenant-General. During the progress of the meal he asked Major Lot Smith if he thought he could take a few men and turn back the Government supply trains that were on the way, or burn them?

"I think I can do anything that you tell me to," was the confident reply.

Pleased with the ready response, General Wells then said: "I can furnish you only a few men, but they will be sufficient, for they will seem many more to the enemy. As for provisions, none will be supplied, as you are expected to board at the expense of Uncle Sam."

Lot Smith understood the order, and the program laid out was much to his liking. Utterly devoid of fear, with a physique and

a will of iron, he was admirably fitted for just such a daring and dangerous feat as the one proposed. Forty-three men were given him, Captain Horton D. Haight and Lieutenants Thomas Abbott and John Vance being his subordinate officers, and at 4 o'clock p. m. of October 3rd they set out toward Green River.

"We rode nearly all night," says Smith, whom we will let narrate his own exploit, "and early the next morning came in sight of an ox train headed westward. I left half of my men to get breakfast, and with the others proceeded to interview the bullwhackers. On calling for the captain, a large, fine-looking man stepped forward and gave his name as Rankin. I informed him that we wanted him to turn his train and go the other way until he reached the States. He wanted to know by what authority I presumed to issue such orders. I replied, pointing to my men, that *there* was a part of it, and the remainder was a little further on concealed in the brush. He swore pretty strongly, and thought that was good in a free country like this; however, he faced about and started to go east, but as soon as out of sight would turn again towards the mountains. The troops met him that day and took out his lading, leaving the wagons and teams standing. I camped near these troops that night on the banks of Green River.

"Losing the opportunity to make much impression on Rankin's train, I thought something must be done speedily to carry out the instructions received, so I sent Captain Haight with twenty men to see if he could get the mules of the Tenth Regiment on any terms. With the remaining twenty-three men I started for Sandy Fork to intercept trains that might be approaching in that direction. On the road, seeing a large cloud of dust at a distance up the river, on the old Mormon road, I sent scouts to see what caused it. They returned, overtaking me at Sandy, and reported a train of twenty-six large freight wagons. We took supper and started at dark. After traveling fourteen miles, we came up to the train, but discovered that the teamsters were drunk, and knowing that drunken men were easily excited and always ready to fight, and remembering my

positive orders not to hurt anyone except in self-defense, we remained in ambush until after midnight.

“On nearing the wagons, I found I had misunderstood the scouts, for instead of one train of twenty-six wagons there were two, doubling the number of men, and putting quite another phase on our relative strength and situation. There was a large camp-fire burning, and a number of teamsters were standing around it smoking. It was expected by my boys that on finding out the real number of wagons and men, I would not go farther than to make some inquiries and passing our sortie upon the trains as a joke would go on until some more favorable time. But it seemed to me that it was no time for joking. I arranged my men, and we advanced until our horses' heads came into the light of the fire. Then I discovered that we had the advantage, for looking back into the darkness, I could not see where my line of troops ended, and could imagine my twenty followers stringing out to a hundred or more as well as not. I inquired for the captain of the train. Mr. Dawson stepped out and said he was the man. I told him that I had a little business with him. He inquired the nature of it, and I replied by requesting him to get all of his men and their private property as quick as possible out of the wagons, for I meant to put a little fire into them. He exclaimed, ‘For God's sake, don't burn the trains.’ I said it was for His sake that I was going to burn them, and pointed out a place for his men to stack their arms, and another where they were to stand in a group, placing a guard over both. I then sent a scout down towards Little Mountaineer Fork, failing to put one out towards Ham's Fork on the army. While I was busy with the train a messenger from the latter surprised us by coming into camp. I asked him if he had dispatches and to hand them to me. He said he had, but they were verbal. I told him if he lied to me his life was not worth a straw. He became terrified, in fact I never saw a man more frightened. The weather was a little cool, but his jaws fairly clattered. I took his mule and arms and told him where to stand, at the same time placing a large Irish Gentile I had with me as guard

over him, with instructions to shoot him if he moved. He plead piteously for his life; but I indicated that soldiers' lives were not worth much, it was only the bull-whackers who could expect to get off easy.

"His orders to the train men were from the commander at Camp Winfield, and were to the effect that the Mormons were in the field and that they must not go to sleep, but keep night guard on their trains, and that four companies of cavalry and two pieces of artillery would come over in the morning to escort them to camp.

"While I was engaged with the first train a guard of the second came down to see what was going on. I told him to go back and not move and that I would be up soon and attend to them.

"Captain Dawson and I shortly after went up to the second train. Dawson, shaking the wagon in which the wagon-master slept, called loudly for Bill. 'Bill' seemed considerably dazed, and grumbled at being called up so early. Dawson exclaimed, with peculiar emphasis: 'Damn it, man, get up, or you'll be burned to a cinder in five minutes!' Bill suddenly displayed remarkable activity. I introduced the same program to him that we had carried out with the first train, having them come out man by man, stack their arms and huddle together under guard.

"Having got them disposed of I inquired of Dawson what kind of loading he had, as I was much in need of overcoats for my boys, the season getting late and weather cold. I also asked if they had much powder on board, for if so it would be convenient when I fired the wagons, to take him with me. He was much frightened at that proposition, and hastily produced his bills of lading. I told him to hunt himself, as I had no time. He searched diligently for powder and my boys for overcoats and clothing. Dawson announced that there were large quantities of saltpetre and sulphur in the wagons and said they were nearly as dangerous as powder. I told him we would have to take the risk of injury from them. He begged me not to make him fire the train, saying: 'For the good Lord's sake don't take me, I've been sick and am not well yet, and don't want to be

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hurt.' There were many such laughable incidents connected with the adventures of the night, if we had dared to laugh. One old man, shaking with St. Anthony's dance or something else, came up to me and wanted to know why we had driven up the oxen so early. Learning that our business was of a different nature, he tremblingly said he thought we would have come sooner and not waited until they were in bed and some of them liable to be burned up. My big Irishman told him we were so busy that we nearly left him without calling him up at all, at all.

"When all was ready, I made a torch, instructing my Gentile follower, known as Big James, to do the same, as I thought it was proper for the 'Gentiles to spoil the Gentiles.' At this stage of our proceedings an Indian came from the Mountaineer Fork, and seeing how the thing was going asked for some presents. He wanted two wagon covers for a lodge, some flour and soap. I filled his order and he went away much elated. Out of respect to the candor poor Dawson had shown, I released him from going with me when we fired the trains, taking Big James instead, he not being afraid of saltpetre, nor sulphur either.

"While riding from wagon to wagon, with torch in hand and the wind blowing, the covers seemed to me to catch very slowly. I so stated it to James. He replied, swinging his long torch over his head: 'By St. Patrick, ain't it beautiful! I never saw anything go better in all my life.' By this time I had Dawson send in his men to the wagons not yet fired to get some provisions, enough to thoroughly furnish us, telling him to get plenty of sugar and coffee, for, though I never used the latter myself, some of my men below, intimating that I had a force down there, were fond of it. On completing this task, I told him that we were going just a little way off, and that if he or his men molested the trains or undertook to put the fire out, they would be instantly killed. We rode away, leaving the wagons all ablaze."

Proceeding to the bluffs of Green River, Major Smith started an express to General Wells, detailing what had been done, and then

continued on to "the Sandy," in which locality, at a place which has since been known as "Simpson's Hollow," another Government train was encountered. "I asked for the Captain," says Smith, "and being told that he was out after cattle, we disarmed the teamsters, and I rode out and met him about half a mile away. I told him that I came on business. He inquired the nature of it, when I demanded his pistols. He replied: 'By G—d, sir, no man ever took them yet, and if you think you can, without killing me, try it.' We were all the time riding towards the train, with our noses about as close together as two Scotch terriers would have held theirs—his eyes flashing fire; I couldn't see mine. I told him that I admired a brave man, but that I didn't like blood—you insist on my killing you, which will take only a minute, but I don't want to do it. We had by this time reached the train. He, seeing that his men were under guard, surrendered, saying: 'I see you have me at a disadvantage, my men being disarmed.' I replied that I didn't need the advantage, and asked him what he would do if we should give them their arms.

'I'll fight you!' 'Then,' says I, 'we know something about that too—take your arms!' His men exclaimed: 'Not by a d—d sight! We came out here to whack bulls, not to fight.' 'What do you say to that, Simpson?' I asked. 'Damnation,' he replied, grinding his teeth in the most violent manner; 'if I had been here before, and they had refused to fight, I would have killed every man of them.'

"Captain Simpson was the bravest man I met during the campaign. He was son-in-law of Mr. Majors, a large contractor for Government freighting. He was terribly exercised over the capture of his train, and wanted to know what kind of a report he could make to the commander, and what he could do with his crowd of cowardly teamsters left on the plains to starve. I told him that I would give him a wagon loaded with provisions. 'You will give me two, I know it by your looks!' I told them to hurry up and get their things out, and take their two wagons, for we wanted to go on. Simpson begged me not to burn the train while he was in sight, and said that it would ruin his reputation as a wagon-master. I told

him not to be squeamish, that the trains burned very nicely, I had seen them before, and that we hadn't time to be ceremonious. We then supplied ourselves with provisions, set the wagons afire and rode on about two miles from the stream to rest. I expected any moment to be overtaken by troops from the camp, and fired my pistol to call in our picket guard.

"They hurriedly came to the place where we were resting, a place that will always be remembered as the scene of the most distressing event which occurred on the expedition. While I was reloading my pistol, and as the guards came in from picket duty, one of the guns—a United States yawger—was discharged. The heavy ball passed through Orson P. Arnold's thigh, breaking the bone in a fearful manner, struck Philo Dibble in the side of the head, and went through Samuel Bateman's hat, just missing his head and pulling his hair. I sprang up and caught young Arnold, straightening him out, for he fell with his leg under him, the jagged points of the broken bone sticking out, while the blood streamed from the awful wound. It looked as though he would bleed to death in five minutes.

"I immediately sent two men to the Sandy for poles with which to make a litter. We calculated that the distance to a safe place on Green River was not less than thirty miles, and that we must carry our wounded comrade there as soon and as comfortably as possible. While engaged setting the broken bone, a picket guard came running into camp and reported two hundred cavalry close upon us. Under the circumstances nothing could have produced greater consternation. One of the men moved that we surrender. I told them that I would say when to do that. He then proposed that we run. I replied that I would kill the man that made that motion, myself, if he dared to try it. * * * I was well repaid for stiffening my knees, for poor Orson looked up and said he knew I wouldn't run away and leave him to die.* Poor boy! The first

* Orson Arnold states that he requested his comrades to leave him and make good their escape. Major Smith's narrative was written mostly from memory, after a lapse of twenty-five years. Hence the slight discrepancy.

words he spoke were: 'I shall always be a cripple, and will never be able to fight soldiers any more.'

"Then came the tug of war! We took up our wounded man and carried him on poles for thirty miles. Talk about mules with sore shoulders! Ours equalled anything of that kind ever heard of. Our way lay across a trackless desert the whole distance, with no water on the road but what we carried in our canteens, and a wounded man, burning with fever and inflammation, constantly wants water. * * * * *

"When we came upon the soldiers that our picket guard, who was a good man, but with eyes that would magnify, had reported, we found them to consist of Captain Haight and company, and were very glad to meet friends again instead of enemies."

Thus it was that Lot Smith burnt the Government trains.* It was a daring act in itself, but not more daring than the order which directed it. If the Mormons were accused of treason before they

* List of subsistence stores in supply trains (Russell and Waddell's) Nos. 5, 9 and 10 burned by the Mormons on Green River, Utah, in the night of October 4th, 1857 :

	No. of rations.
2,720 pounds ham.	
92,700 pounds bacon, - - - - -	115,875
167,900 pounds flour, - - - - -	149,244
270 bushels beans, - - - - -	108,000
8,580 pounds Rio coffee, - - - - -	143,000
330 pounds Java coffee.	
1,400 pounds crushed sugar.	
2,970 gallons vinegar, - - - - -	297,000
800 pounds sperm candles, - - - - -	80,000
13,333 pounds soap, - - - - -	333,325
84 gallons of molasses.	
134 bushels dried peaches.	
68,832 rations dessicated vegetables.	
705 pounds tea, - - - - -	52,875
7,781 pounds hard bread, - - - - -	7,781
6 lanterns.	

H. F. CLARK,
Capt. and C. S., U. S. A.

Made from bills of lading, October 10, 1857.

had done anything affording the shadow of a basis for such a charge, and an army had been sent against them to suppress a rebellion which never existed, what would now be said and done in view of events that had actually taken place? But Brigham Young and his compeers were perfectly aware of the risk they were running. They had entered upon the campaign with their eyes wide open. An investigation, a hearing was what they desired. It had hitherto been denied them. That hearing they were determined to have, and a leaf from the book of Absalom *versus* Joab probably made clear to them the most effective course to pursue.* Singularly enough, the result in both cases was the same; for as Joab, having previously ignored the son of David, came promptly when his fields were all aflame, so President Buchanan, on finding that the Mormons were in earnest, and that in their efforts to maintain their rights they dared even burn Government property and paralyze for the time being the arm lifted to strike them, was finally constrained, after the first burst of indignation was over, to order an investigation into the Utah situation. But of that hereafter.

Lot Smith continued his operations against the Utah Expedition until the latter part of November, when he retired to Echo Canyon. He burned no more trains, but captured several herds of Government cattle, which were driven by Porter Rockwell and William H. Hickman into Salt Lake Valley.†

About the time that Lot Smith started upon his errand one similar though not so successful, was undertaken by Major Joseph Taylor, of Weber County, who had left Ogden on September 18th with one hundred men and reported at Echo Canyon on the 3rd of October. His instructions were contained in the following letter from General Wells:

* II. Samuel xiv., 29-33.

† By order of President Young, these cattle were returned to General Johnston at Camp Floyd after peace had been declared.

HEADQUARTERS EASTERN EXPEDITION,

Camp near Cache Cave, Oct. 4th, 1857.

You will proceed with all possible dispatch without injuring your animals, to the Oregon road, near the bend of Bear River, north by east of this place. Take close and correct observations of the country on your route. When you approach the road, send scouts ahead, to ascertain if the invading troops have passed that way. Should they have passed take a concealed route, and get ahead of them. Express to Colonel Burton, who is now on that road, and in the vicinity of the troops, and effect a junction with him, so as to operate in concert. On ascertaining the locality or route of the troops, proceed at once to annoy them in every possible way. Use every exertion to stampede their animals and set fire to their trains. Burn the whole country before them and on their flanks. Keep them from sleeping by night surprises; blockade the roads by falling trees and destroying river fords where you can. Watch for opportunities to set fire to the grass on their windward, so as if possible to envelop their trains. Leave no grass before them that can be burned. Keep your men concealed as much as possible, and guard against surprise. Keep scouts out at all times, and communications open with Colonel Burton, Major McAllister, and O. P. Rockwell, who are operating the same way. Keep me advised daily of your movements, and every step the troops take, and in what direction.

God bless you and give you success.

Your brother in Christ,

DANIEL H. WELLS.

P. S.—If the troops have not passed, or have turned in that direction, follow in their rear, and continue to annoy them, burning any trains they may leave. Take no life, but destroy their trains, and stampede or drive away their animals, at every opportunity.

D. H. W.*

Major Taylor, with forty or fifty men, at once set out to execute these orders, but after traveling a day and a half and passing Fort Bridger, he was obliged to separate from his command and return to that post upon important business. His escort consisted of four men,—William Stowell, Wells Chase, George Rose and Joseph Orton. Coming unexpectedly upon a body of United States troops under

* This letter, found upon the person of Major Taylor when he was captured by United States troops, was subsequently endorsed as follows :

“HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF UTAH, BLACK’S FORK,

“Sixteen miles from Fort Bridger, en route to Salt Lake City,

“Nov. 7th, 1857.

“A true copy of instructions in the possession of Major Joseph Taylor when captured.

“F. J. PORTER,

“Assistant Adjutant General.”

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Truly Yours
John D. McAllister.





Captain Marcy, Major Taylor and his adjutant, Stowell, were surrounded and captured. The remainder of the party escaped. Taylor and Stowell were held prisoners until after the arrival of General Johnston. By Colonel Alexander, Captain Marcy and others the captives seem to have been well enough treated, but a certain Sergeant Newman, who had the two Mormons in custody, manifested a degree of cruelty toward them that probably would not have been countenanced by his superiors had they been aware of it. He once gave them some poisoned soup, of which, being suspicious of foul play, they partook sparingly, pouring most of it upon the ground. But even the little they swallowed sufficed to make them deathly sick. On another occasion Newman built a fire of green willows in the tent where they were imprisoned and compelled them to keep the tent closed. They almost suffocated, and Major Taylor's eyes were so injured by the smoke that he was unable to read for ten years. Sergeant Newman was discharged, and died of a wasting disease while returning to the States. Major Taylor eventually escaped and rejoined his comrades, but Stowell and other Mormons captured at various times by the Federal troops, remained prisoners until after the issuance of President Buchanan's pardon.

Meanwhile other Mormon Colonels, Majors and Captains, with their various commands, were scouring the country along the route of the invading army—some detachments of which were still on the road—annoying them every hour by threatened or actual raids, burning the grass before and around them, stampeding their horses and cattle, and doing all in their power to harass and dishearten them. If they did not succeed in utterly dispiriting the troops, it is because the American soldier is hard to discourage, and not that these mountain rangers—"guerillas" their enemies styled them—were at all remiss in performing the tasks allotted them.

The situation and prospects of the Army of Utah were now far from enviable. With some of their supply trains burnt, most of their cattle gone, stolen by Indians or captured by Mormons, the country upon which they had depended for forage laid waste on all sides, and

winter fast approaching, their plight was becoming pitiable. This was equally true of the main body encamped on Ham's Fork, and their comrades the belated detachments, caught in the early snows at South Pass and along the Sweetwater.

Colonel Alexander, as stated, had arrived upon the site of Camp Winfield on the 28th of September. With him came the eight companies of the Tenth Infantry. The Fifth Infantry, under the immediate command of Colonel Waite, and Phelps' and Reno's batteries arrived on different days during the week following. It was Colonel Waite's command that Lot Smith came so near encountering while arresting the progress of the supply trains on the 4th of October.* Colonel C. F. Smith, who had fallen behind with an escort of two hundred men, in charge of other trains, was still in the vicinity of South Pass, while Colonel Cooke and the Second Dragoons were still farther in the rear. As for General Johnston, he had not been heard from. Says Alexander: "No information of the position or intentions of the commanding officer has reached me, and I am in utter ignorance of the objects of the government in sending troops here, or the instructions given for their conduct after reaching here. I have had to decide upon the following points: First, the necessity of a speedy move to winter quarters; second, the selection of a point for wintering; third, the best method of conducting the troops and supplies to the point selected."

On the 10th of October a council was held, and it was debated whether it would be best to proceed to the Wind River Mountains, to camp on Henry's Fork of Green River, or, ascending Ham's Fork, make a detour northward to Soda Springs, and there await the advent of milder weather, prior to marching southward to Salt Lake Valley.

* Colonel Alexander states in his report that Colonel Waite, though not anticipating trouble, since assured by Captain Van Vliet that he would meet no armed resistance if he went no farther than Fort Bridger, was preparing to send a detachment to guard the trains when he heard of their destruction. General Harney's orders from the General-in-Chief, under which the Expedition was acting, warned him to "anticipate resistance, general, organized and formidable, at the threshold."

The last proposition met with most favor. The distance to be traversed was about a hundred and twenty miles. On the 11th the troops and trains set forward. The snow was falling, there was no grass along the route, and progress was slow and difficult. The Mormon "guerillas"—or suppose we call them Cossacks—still hung upon the flanks of the long and cumbersome column, keeping up their dispiriting tactics, and running off the cattle of the weary, straggling trains. This, having little cavalry, they were powerless to prevent. General Wells, on learning of Colonel Alexander's move northward, had despatched a heavy force of cavalry under Colonel Burton to Bear River, on the Fort Hall route, to further harass and intercept the troops on their march. Some of Burton's scouts, sent out to reconnoiter, came too near Alexander's vanguard, and were almost captured. They were pursued by a party of horsemen for about twelve miles, and only escaped by taking to the rugged hills of that vicinity. Others of Alexander's infantry were mounted upon mules and started out in pursuit of the mercurial and dashing rangers, who, on their high-spirited steeds, eluded at will or raided at pleasure what they laughingly termed "Uncle Sam's jackass cavalry."

At a certain point in the detour Colonel Alexander expected to be joined by Colonel Smith and his supply trains. But he did not come. In fact he had not yet left the vicinity of South Pass, and with Colonel Cooke and his dragoons, still farther behind, was having a sad experience among the biting blasts and frost and snow of that pitiless region. Disappointed and almost disheartened, though refusing to admit it even to himself, Colonel Alexander called a general halt and convened another council of his officers. That it would be imprudent under the circumstances to proceed farther was generally admitted, and matters now came to a stand-still. Some of the officers, chagrined and exasperated, were in favor of a forward movement to Salt Lake Valley. This of course involved the desperate attempt to force a way through Echo Canyon, now blocked with ice and snow, barricaded and defended by men as brave and determined

as themselves. Prudence prevailed and the mad project was abandoned.

It was about this time that Colonel Alexander addressed a communication to Governor Young, which he sent by a young Mormon named Hickman, previously captured by the troops and released for the especial purpose of bearing this letter to its destination. It was dated on Ham's Fork, October 12th. The following is an excerpt :

I desire now, sir, to set before you the following facts: The forces under my command are ordered by the President of the United States, to establish a military post at or near Salt Lake City. They set out on their long and arduous march, anticipating a reception similar to that which they would receive in any other State or Territory in the Union. They were met at the boundary of the Territory of which you are the Governor, and in which capacity alone I have any business with you, by a proclamation issued by yourself, forbidding them to come upon soil belonging to the United States, and calling upon the inhabitants to resist them with arms. You have ordered them to return, and have called upon them to give up their arms in default of obeying your mandate. You have resorted to open hostilities, and of a kind, permit me to say, far beneath the usages of civilized warfare, and only resorted to by those who are conscious of inability to resist by more honorable means, by authorizing persons under your control, some of the very citizens, doubtless, whom you have called to arms, to burn the grass, apparently with the intention of starving a few beasts, and hoping that men would starve after them. Citizens of Utah, acting, I am bound to believe, under your authority have destroyed trains containing public stores, with a similar humane purpose of starving the army. I infer also from your communications received day before yesterday, referring to "a dearth of news from the east and from home," that you have caused public and private letters to be diverted from their proper destination, and this, too, when carried by a public messenger on a public highway. It is unnecessary for me to adduce further instances to show that you have placed yourself, in your capacity of governor, and so many of the citizens of the Territory of Utah as have obeyed your decree, in a position of rebellion and hostility to the general government of the United States. It becomes you to look to the consequences, for you must be aware that so unequal a contest can never be successfully sustained by the people you govern.

It is my duty to inform you that I shall use the force under my control, and all honorable means in my power, to obey literally and strictly the orders under which I am acting. If you, or any acting under your orders, oppose me, I will use force, and I warn you that the blood that is shed in this contest will be upon your head. My means I consider ample to overcome any obstacle; and I assure you that any idea you may have formed of forcing these troops back, or of preventing them from carrying out the views of the government, will result in unnecessary violence and utter failure. Should you reply to this in a spirit which our relative positions give me a right to demand, I will be prepared to propose an arrangement with you. I have also the honor to inform you that all

persons found lurking around or in any of our camps, will be put under guard and held prisoners as long as circumstances may require.

To the Colonel's epistle Governor Young replied :

GOVERNOR'S OFFICE,
Great Salt Lake City, Utah Territory, October 16, 1857.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th instant, at 8:30 this morning, and embrace the earliest opportunity to reply, out of courtesy to your position, at this late season of the year.

As you officially allege it, I acknowledge that you and the forces have been sent to the Territory by the President of the United States, but we shall treat you as though you were open enemies, because I have so many times seen armies in our country, under color of law, drive this people, commonly styled Mormons, from their homes, while mobs have followed and plundered at their pleasure, which is now most obviously the design of the government, as all candid, thinking men know full well. Were not such the fact, why did not the government send an army to protect us against the savages when we first settled here, and were poor and few in number? So contrary to this was their course, that they sent an informal requisition for five hundred of our most efficient men (while we were in an Indian country and striving to leave the borders of the United States, from which its civilization(?) had expelled us), with a preconceived view to cripple and destroy us. And do you fancy for a moment that we do not fully understand the tender (?) mercies and designs of our government against us? Again, if an army was ordered here for peaceful purposes, to protect and preserve the rights and lives of the innocent, why did government send here troops that were withdrawn from Minnesota, where the Indians were slaughtering men, women and children, and were banding in large numbers, threatening to lay waste the country?

You mention that it is alone in my gubernatorial capacity that you have any business with me, though your commanding officer, Brevet-Brigadier General Harney, addressed his letter by Captain Van Vliet to "President Brigham Young, of the society of Mormons."

You acknowledge the receipt of my official proclamation, forbidding your entrance into the Territory of Utah, and upon that point I have only to again inform you that the matter set forth in that document is true, and the orders therein contained will be most strictly carried out.

If you came here for peaceful purposes, you have no use for weapons of war. We wish, and ever have wished for peace, and have ever sued for it all the day long, as our bitterest enemies know full well; and though the wicked, with the administration now at their head, have determined that we shall have no peace, except it be to lie down in death, in the name of Israel's God we will have peace, even though we be compelled by our enemies to fight for it.

We have as yet studiously avoided the shedding of blood, though we have resorted to measures to resist our enemies, and through the operations of those mild measures, you can easily perceive that you and your troops are now at the mercy of the elements, and

that we live in the mountains, and our men are all mountaineers. This the government should know, and also give us our rights and then let us alone.

As to the style of those measures, past, present or future, persons acting in self-defense have of right a wide scope for choice, and that, too, without being very careful as to what name their enemies may see fit to term that choice; for both we and the Kingdom of God will be free from all hellish oppressors, the Lord being our helper. Threatenings to waste and exterminate this people have been sounded in our ears for more than a score of years, and we yet live. The Zion of the Lord is here, and wicked men and devils cannot destroy it.

If you persist in your attempt to permanently locate an army in this Territory, contrary to the wishes and constitutional rights of the people therein, and with a view to aid the administration in their unhallowed efforts to palm their corrupt officials upon us, and to protect them and blacklegs, black-hearted scoundrels, whore-masters and murderers, as was the sole intention in sending you and your troops here, you will have to meet a mode of warfare against which your tactics furnish you no information.

As to your inference concerning "public and private letters," it contains an ungentlemanly and false insinuation; for, so far as I have any knowledge, the only stopping or detaining of the character you mention has alone been done by the Post Office Department in Washington; they having, as you must have known, stopped our mail from Independence, Missouri, by which it was but fair to presume that you, as well as we, were measurably curtailed in mail facilities.

In regard to myself and certain others, having placed ourselves "in a position of rebellion and hostility to the general government of the United States," I am perfectly aware that we understand our true and most loyal position far better than our enemies can inform us. We, of all people, are endeavoring to preserve and perpetuate the genius of the Constitution and constitutional laws, while the administration and the troops they have ordered to Utah are, in fact, themselves the rebels, and in hostility to the general government. And if George Washington were now living, and at the helm of our government, he would hang the administration as high as he did Andre, and that, too, with a far better grace and to a much greater subserving the best interests of our country.

You write: "It becomes you to look to the consequences, for you must be aware that so unequal a contest can never be successfully sustained by the people you govern." We have counted the cost it may be to us; we look for the United States to endeavor to swallow us up, and we are prepared for the contest, if they wish to forego the Constitution in their insane efforts to crush out all human rights. But the cost of so suicidal a course to our enemies we have not wasted our time considering, rightly deeming it more particularly their business to figure out and arrive at the amount of so immense a sum. It is now the kingdom of God and the kingdom of the devil. If God is for us we will prosper, but if He is for you and against us, you will prosper, and we will say amen; let the Lord be God, and Him alone we will serve.

As to your obeying "orders," my official counsel to you would be for you to stop and reflect until you know wherein are the just and right, and then, David Crocket like, go ahead. But if you undertake to come in here and build forts, rest assured that you will be opposed, and that you will need all the force now under your command, and much more. And, in regard to your warning, I have to inform you that my head has been

sought during many years past, not for any crime on my part, or for so much as even the wish to commit a crime, but solely for my religious belief, and that, too, in a land of professed constitutional religious liberty.

Inasmuch as you consider your force amply sufficient to enable you to come to this city, why have you so unwisely dallied so long on Ham's Fork at this late season of the year?

Carrying out the views of the government, as those views are now developing themselves, can but result in the utter overthrow of that Union which we, in common with all American patriots, have striven to sustain; and as to our failure in our present efforts to uphold rights justly guaranteed to all citizens of the United States, that can be better told hereafter.

I presume that the "spirit" and tenor of my reply to your letter will be unsatisfactory to you, for doubtless you are not aware of the nature and object of the service in which you are now engaged. For your better information, permit me to inform you that we have a number of times been compelled to receive and submit to the most fiendish proposals, made to us by armies virtually belonging to the United States, our only alternative being to comply therewith. At the last treaty forced upon us by our enemies, in which we were required to leave the United States, and with which we, as hitherto, complied, two United States Senators were present, and pledged themselves, so far as their influence might reach, that we should be no more pursued by her citizens. That pledge has been broken by our enemies, as they have ever done when this people were a party, and we have thus always proven that it is vain for us to seek or expect protection from the officials or administrators of our government. It is obvious that war upon the Saints is all the time determined, and now we, for the first time, possess the power to have a voice in the treatment that we will receive, and we intend to use that power, so far as the Constitution and justice may warrant, which is all we ask. True, in struggling to sustain the Constitution and constitutional rights belonging to every citizen of our republic, we have no arm or power to trust in but that of Jehovah and the strength and ability that He gives us.

By virtue of my office as governor of the Territory of Utah, I command you to marshal your troops and leave this Territory, for it can be of no possible benefit to you to wickedly waste treasures and blood in prosecuting your course upon the side of a rebellion against the general government by its administrators. You have had and still have plenty of time to retire within reach of supplies at the east, or to go to Fort Hall. Should you conclude to comply with so just a command, and need any assistance to go east, such assistance will be promptly and cheerfully extended. We do not wish to destroy the life of any human being, but, on the contrary, we ardently desire to preserve the lives and liberties of all, so far as it may be in our power. Neither do we wish for the property of the United States, notwithstanding they justly owe us millions.

Colonel, should you, or any of the officers with you, wish to visit this city, unaccompanied by troops, as did Captain Van Vliet, with a view to personally learn the condition and feelings of this people, you are at liberty to do so, under my cheerfully proffered assurance that you will be safely escorted from our outposts to this city and back, and that during your stay in our midst you will receive all that courtesy and

attention your rank demands. Doubtless you have supposed that many of the people here would flee to you for protection upon your arrival, and if there are any such persons they shall be at once conveyed to your camp in perfect safety, so soon as such fact can be known.

Were you and your fellow-officers as well acquainted with your soldiers as I am with mine, and did they understand the work they are now engaged in as well as you may understand it, you must know that many of them would immediately revolt from all connection with so ungodly, illegal, unconstitutional and hellish a crusade against an innocent people, and if their blood is shed it shall rest upon the heads of their commanders. With us it is the kingdom of God or nothing. I have the honor to be,

Your obedient servant,

BRIGHAM YOUNG,

Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, U. T.

E. B. Alexander, Colonel 10th Infantry, U. S. A.

In a letter from the Governor to Colonel Alexander, written two days prior to the foregoing, and before the receipt of the Colonel's communication, the following passage occurs :

We have sought diligently for peace. We have sacrificed millions of dollars worth of property to obtain it, and wandered a thousand miles from the confines of civilization, severing ourselves from home, the society of friends, and everything that makes life worth enjoyment. If we have war, it is not of our seeking ; we have never gone nor sought to interfere with the rights of others, but they have come and sent to interfere with us. We had hoped that, in this barren and desolate country, we could have remained unmolested ; but it would seem that our implacable, blood-thirsty foes envy us even these barren deserts. Now, if our real enemies, the mobocrats, priests, editors and politicians, at whose instigation the present storm has been gathered, had come against us, instead of you and your command, I should never have addressed them thus. They never would have been allowed to reach the South Pass. In you we recognize only the agents and instruments of the administration, and with you, personally, have no quarrel. I believe it would have been more consonant with your feelings to have made war upon the enemies of your country than upon American citizens. But to us the end to be accomplished is the same, and while I appreciate the unpleasantness of your position, you must be aware that circumstances compel the people of Utah to look upon you, in your present belligerent attitude, as their enemies and the enemies of our common country, and notwithstanding my most sincere desires to promote amicable relations with you, I shall feel it my duty, as do the people of the Territory universally, to resist to the utmost every attempt to encroach further upon their rights.

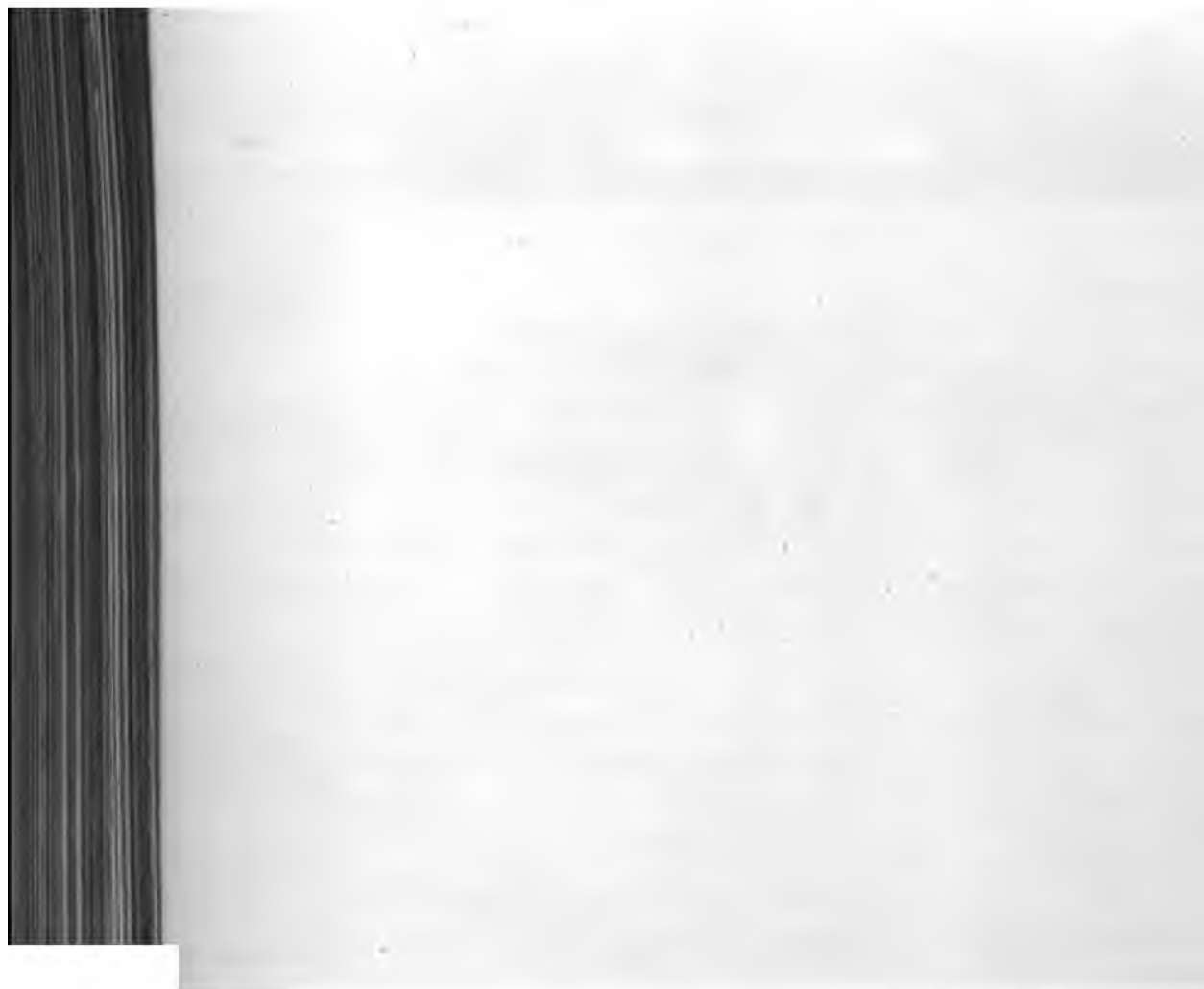
A clear and forcible statement of the situation, as viewed by the Mormon people, is contained in a letter written by Apostle John Taylor to Captain Marcy, one of Colonel Alexander's officers. Marcy



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had previously sent by Major Lot Smith, whom he encountered soon after the burning of the trains, an epistle to Elder Taylor, enclosing a letter of introduction from a Mr. Fuller of New York, with whom the Apostle had become acquainted while publishing *The Mormon* in that city. We will present but a portion of Apostle Taylor's letter, which was written from Salt Lake City on the 21st of October:

I can readily believe your statement, that it is very far from your feelings, and most of the command that are with you, to interfere with our social habits or religious views. One must naturally suppose that among gentlemen educated for the army alone, who have been occupied by the study of the art of war, whose pulses have throbbed with pleasure at the contemplation of the deeds of our venerated fathers, whose minds have been elated by the recital of the heroic deeds of other nations, and who have listened almost exclusively to the declamations of patriots and heroes, that there is not much time, and less inclination, to listen to the low party bickerings of political demagogues, the interested twaddle of sectional declaimers, or the throes and contortions of contracted religious bigots. You are supposed to stand on elevated ground, representing the power and securing the interests of the whole of a great and mighty nation. That many of you are thus honorable, I am proud, as an American citizen, to acknowledge; but you must excuse me, my dear sir, if I cannot concede with you that all your officials are so high-toned, disinterested, humane and gentlemanly, as a knowledge of some of their antecedents expressly demonstrates. However, it is not with the personal character, the amiable qualities, high-toned feelings, or gentlemanly deportment of the officers in your expedition, that we at present have to do. The question that concerns us is one that is independent of your personal, generous, friendly and humane feelings or any individual predilection of yours; it is one that involves the dearest rights of American citizens, strikes at the root of our social and political existence, if it does not threaten our entire annihilation from the earth.

Excuse me, sir, when I say that you are merely the servants of a lamentably corrupt administration; that your primary law is obedience to orders, and that you came here with armed foreigners with cannon, rifles, bayonets, and broadswords, expressly and for the openly avowed purpose of "cutting out the loathsome ulcer from the body politic." I am aware what our friend Fuller says in relation to this matter, and I entertain no doubt of his generous and humane feelings, nor do I of yours, sir; but I do know that he is mistaken in relation to the rabid tone and false, furious attacks of a venal and corrupt press. I do know that they are merely the mouthpiece, the tools, the barking dogs of a corrupt administration. I do know that Mr. Buchanan was well apprised of the nature of the testimony adduced against us by ex-Judge Drummond and others; for he was informed of it, to my knowledge, by a member of his own cabinet, and I further know, from personal intercourse with members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, that there have been various plans concerted at headquarters for some time past, for the overthrow of this people.

Captain, Mr. Fuller informs me that you are a politician; if so, you must know that in the last presidential campaign the Republican party had opposition to slavery and

polygamy as two of the principal planks in their platform. You may know, sir, that Utah was picked out, and the only Territory excluded from a participation in pre-emption rights to land. You may also be aware that bills were introduced into Congress for the persecution of the Mormons; but other business was too pressing at that time for them to receive attention. You may be aware that measures were also set on foot, and bills prepared to divide up Utah among the Territories of Nebraska, Kansas, Oregon and New Mexico (giving a slice to California), for the purpose of bringing us into collision with the people of those Territories, not to say anything about thousands of our letters detained at the post-office at Independence. I might enumerate injuries by the score, and if these things are not so, why is it that Utah is so "knotty a question?" If people were no more ready to interfere with us and our institutions than we are with them and theirs, these difficulties would vanish into thin air. Why, again I ask, could Drummond and a host of others, mean scribblers, palm their barefaced lies with such impunity, and have their infamous slanders swallowed with so much gusto? Was it not that the administration and their satellites, having planned our destruction, were eager to catch at anything to render specious their contemplated acts of blood? Or, in plain terms, the Democrats advocated strongly popular sovereignty. The Republicans tell them that, if they join in maintaining inviolable the domestic institutions of the South, they must also swallow polygamy. The Democrats thought this would not do, as it would interfere with the religious scruples of many of their supporters, and they looked about for some means to dispose of the knotty question. Buchanan, with Douglas, Cass, Thompson and others of his advisers, after failing to devise legal measures, hit upon the expedient of an armed force against Utah; and thus thought, by the sacrifice of the Mormons, to untie the

knotty question; do a thousand times worse than the Republicans ever meant; fairly out-Herod Herod, and by religiously extirpating, destroying, or killing a hundred thousand innocent American citizens, satisfy a pious, humane, patriotic feeling of their constituents; take the wind out of the sails of the Republicans, and gain to themselves immortal laurels. Captain, I have heard of a pious Presbyterian doctrine that would inculcate thankfulness to the all-wise Creator for the privilege of being damned. Now, as we are not Presbyterians, nor believe in this kind of self-abnegation, you will, I am sure, excuse us for finding fault at being thus summarily dealt with, no matter how agreeable the excision or expatriation might be to our political, patriotic or very pious friends. We have lived long enough in this world to know that we are a portion of the body politic, have some rights as well as other people, and that if others do not respect us, we, at least, have manhood enough to respect ourselves.

In regard to our religion, it is perhaps unnecessary to say much; yet whatever others' feelings may be about it, with us it is honestly a matter of conscience. This is a right guaranteed to us by the Constitution of our country; yet it is on this ground, and this alone, that we have suffered a continued series of persecutions, and that this present crusade is set on foot against us. In regard to this people, I have traveled extensively in the United States, and through Europe, yet have never found so moral, chaste and virtuous a people, nor do I expect to find them. And, if let alone, they are the most patriotic, and appreciate more fully the blessings of religious, civil and political freedom than any other portion of the United States. They have, however, discovered the difference between a

blind submission to the caprices of political demagogues and obedience to the Constitution, laws, and institutions of the United States ; nor can they, in the present instance, be hoodwinked by the cry of " treason." If it be treason to stand up for our constitutional rights ; if it be treason to resist the unconstitutional acts of a vitiated and corrupt administration, who, by a mercenary armed force, would seek to rob us of the rights of franchise, cut our throats to subserve their party, and seek to force upon us its corrupt tools, and violently invade the rights of American citizens ; if it be treason to maintain inviolate our homes, our firesides, our wives and our honor from the corrupting and withering blight of a debauched soldiery ; if it be treason to keep inviolate the Constitution and institutions of the United States, when nearly all the States are seeking to trample them under their feet, then, indeed, we are guilty of treason. We have carefully considered all these matters, and are prepared to meet the " terrible vengeance" we have been very politely informed will be the result of our acts. It is in vain to hide it from you that this people have suffered so much from every kind of official that they will endure it no longer. It is not with them an idle phantom, but a stern reality. It is not, as some suppose, the voice of Brigham only, but the universal, deep-settled feeling of the whole community. Their cry is, " Give us our Constitutional rights ; give us liberty or death !" A strange cry in our boasted model republic, but a truth deeply and indelibly engraven on the hearts of 100,000 American citizens by a series of twenty-seven years' unmitigated and unprovoked, yet unrequited wrongs. Having told you of this, you will not be surprised that when fifty have been called to assist in repelling our aggressors, a hundred have volunteered, and, when a hundred have been called, the number has been more than doubled ; the only feeling is " don't let us be overlooked or forgotten." And here let me inform you that I have seen thousands of hands raised simultaneously, voting to burn our property rather than let it fall into the hands of our enemies. They have been so frequently robbed and despoiled without redress, that they have solemnly decreed that, if they cannot enjoy their own property, nobody else shall. You will see by this that it would be literally madness for your small force to attempt to come into the settlements. It would only be courting destruction. But, say you, have you counted the cost ? have you considered the wealth and power of the United States and the fearful odds against you ? Yes ; and here let me inform you that, if necessitated, we would as soon meet 100,000 as 1,000, and, if driven to the necessity, will burn every house, tree, shrub, rail, every patch of grass and stack of straw and hay, and flee to the mountains. You will then obtain a barren, desolate wilderness, but will not have conquered the people, and the same principle in regard to other property will be carried out. If this people have to burn their property to save it from the hands of legalized mobs, they will see to it that their enemies shall be without fuel ; they will haunt them by day and by night. Such is, in part, our plan. The three hundred thousand dollars' worth of our property destroyed already in Green River County is only a faint sample of what will be done throughout the Territory. We have been twice driven, by tamely submitting to the authority of corrupt officials, and left our houses and homes for others to inhabit, but are now determined that, if we are again robbed of our possessions, our enemies shall also feel how pleasant it is to be houseless at least for once, and be permitted, as they have sought to do to us, " to dig their own dark graves, creep into them, and die." * * * * *

You may have learned already that it is anything but pleasant for a small army to contend with the chilling blasts of this inhospitable climate. How a large army would fare without resources you can picture to yourself. We have weighed those matters; it is for the administration to post their own accounts. It may not be amiss, however, here to state that, if they continue to prosecute this inhuman fratricidal war, and our Nero would light the fires and, sitting in his chair of state, laugh at burning Rome, there is a day of reckoning even for Neros. There are generally two sides to a question. As I before said, we wish for peace, but that we are determined on having it if we have to fight for it. We will not have officers forced upon us who are so degraded as to submit to be sustained by the bayonet's point. We cannot be dragooned into servile obedience to any man.

These things settled, Captain, and all the like preliminaries of etiquette are easily arranged; and permit me here to state that no man will be more courteous and civil than Governor Young, and nowhere could you find in your capacity of an officer of the United States a more generous and hearty welcome than at the hands of his excellency. But when, instead of battling with the enemies of our country, you come (though probably reluctantly) to make war upon my family and friends, our civilities are naturally cooled, and we instinctively grasp the sword.

* * * * *

I need not here assure you that personally there can be no feelings of enmity between us and your officers. We regard you as the agents of the administration in the discharge of a probably unpleasant duty, and very likely ignorant of the ultimate designs of the administration. As I left the East this summer, you will excuse me when I say I am probably better posted in some of these matters than you are, having been one of a delegation from the citizens of this Territory to apply for admission into the Union. I can only regret that it is not our real enemies that are here instead of you. We do not wish to harm you or any of the command to which you belong, and I can assure you that in any other capacity than the one you now occupy, you would be received as civilly and treated as courteously as in any other portion of our Union.

On my departure from the States, the fluctuating tide of popular opinion against us seemed to be on the wane. By this time there may be quite a reaction in the public mind. If so, it may probably affect materially the position of the administration, and tend to more constitutional, pacific and humane measures. In such an event our relative positions would be materially changed, and instead of meeting as enemies, we could meet, as all Americans should, friends to each other, and united against our legitimate enemies only.

It was not until the first week of November that General Johnston, commander of the Utah Expedition, joined Colonel Alexander on Black's Fork. To that point Johnston, by dispatch from South Pass, had previously directed the army to proceed. He was accompanied by Colonel Smith and the supply trains. Colonel Cooke was still in the rear. Johnston was a great general, and

under the magic of his master hand the baffled and dispirited troops were suddenly inspired with new life and energy. He at once ordered a forward movement to Fort Bridger, repudiating Alexander's project of a detour to the northward, and haughtily spurning the idea of departing a single point from the direct route through Echo Canyon to the Mormon metropolis. Later, however, his ardor somewhat cooled—the climate and surroundings were extremely favorable to such a change—and he even contemplated, it is said, acting upon the idea previously abandoned by his subordinate and which he himself had severely criticised.

If Alexander's advance up Ham's Fork had been a march of suspense and discouragement, what shall be said of Johnston's procession of misery from Black's Fork to Fort Bridger? The distance was but thirty-five miles, fully one-sixth of which was covered by the long though closely packed trains of this column of misfortune. But the country they crossed was a frozen, snow-covered desert swept by November's bitter blasts, with little or no forage for the famishing cattle, and no fuel but sage-brush and willows. The Mormons took care of many of the cattle, running off five hundred head on the very evening before the march began, but many of the poor beasts dropped dead in their tracks as they wearily trudged along, or were frozen stiff during the awful nights succeeding the days of dreary toil. Some mornings the camp was almost surrounded by dead carcasses of animals that had succumbed to the icy breath of approaching winter. Even some of the men were severely frost-bitten. Snow, alternating with sleet and hail, fell almost continuously upon the retreating troops, the thermometer sinking at times to 16° below zero. Fifteen days were consumed in reaching the point—thirty-five miles distant—where until recently had stood Fort Bridger. But the fort was now no more. It had been burned, together with Fort Supply, ten miles away, by the Mormons, who were now slowly retiring before Johnston's advance, and concentrating their forces behind the icy and rocky ramparts of Echo Canyon.

Just before reaching Bridger, Johnston was joined on November 19th by Colonel Cooke's cavalry, five hundred strong. The dragoons had almost perished in the storms at Devil's Gate and South Pass. With Colonel Cooke came Governor Cumming and other civil officials. In Cooke's report to Colonel Johnston, the following graphic passages, descriptive of his terrible experience, occur:

On the 6th of November, we found the ground once more white and the snow falling; but then very moderately; I marched as usual. On a four-mile hill, the north wind and drifting snow became severe; the air seemed turned to frozen fog; nothing could be seen; we were struggling in a freezing cloud. The lofty wall at "Three Crossings," was a happy relief; but the guide, who had lately passed there, was relentless in pronouncing there was no grass. The idea of finding and feeding upon grass, in that wintry storm, under the deep snow, was hard to entertain; but as he promised grass and other shelter, two miles further, we marched on, crossing twice more the rocky stream, half-choked with snow and ice; finally he led us behind a great granite rock, but all too small for the promised shelter. Only a part of the regiment could huddle there in the deep snow; whilst the long night through, the storm continued and in fearful eddies from above, before, behind, drove the falling and drifting snow.

The morning light had nothing cheering to reveal, the air still filled with driven snow; the animals soon came driven in, and, mingled in confusion with men, went crunching the snow in the confined and wretched camp, tramping all things in their way. It was not a time to dwell on the fact that from that mountain desert there was no retreat, nor any shelter near; but a time for action.

* * * * *

November 8th.—The mercury this morning marked forty-four degrees below the freezing point. The march was commenced before eight o'clock, and soon a high north-west wind arose, which, with the drift, gave great suffering. Few could ride long; but, of necessity, eighteen miles were marched to Bitter Creek. * * *

November 10th.—The north-west wind continued fiercely, enveloping us in a cloud which froze and fell all day. Few could have faced that wind. The herders left to bring up the rear with extra, but nearly all broken down mules, could not force them from the dead bushes of the little valley; and they remained there all day and night, bringing in next day the fourth part that had not frozen. Thirteen miles were marched, and the camp was made four miles from the top of the pass. A wagon that day cut partly through the ice of a branch and there froze so fast that eight mules could not move it empty. Nearly all the tent pins were broken in the last camp; a few of iron were here substituted. Nine trooper horses were left freezing and dying in the road that day, and a number of soldiers and teamsters had been frost-bitten. It was a desperately cold night. The thermometers were broken, but, by comparison, must have marked twenty-five degrees below zero. A bottle of sherry wine froze in a trunk. * * *

I have one hundred and forty-four horses, and have lost one hundred and thirty-four. Most of the loss has occurred much this side of South Pass, in comparatively moderate

weather. It has been of starvation ; the earth has a no more lifeless, treeless, grassless desert ; it contains scarcely a wolf to glut itself on the hundreds of dead and frozen animals, which for thirty miles nearly block the road ; with abandoned and shattered property, they mark, perhaps beyond example in history, the steps of an advancing army with the horrors of a disastrous retreat.

The ruins of Fort Bridger were utilized by General Johnston for the storage of supplies, a sufficient garrison, with artillery, being left to guard the improvised fortress, while the main army—the General having abandoned the idea of pushing through the mountains that season—went into winter quarters on Black's Fork. There arose Camp Scott.* Near by, a primitive settlement called Eckelsville sprang up. There dwelt in “dug-outs” Chief Justice Eckels, for whom the place was named, also Governor Cumming and other officials who had accompanied the army to Utah.

Governor Cumming, on the 21st of November, addressed a communication to Governor Young, enclosing the following proclamation :

GREEN RIVER COUNTY, NEAR FORT BRIDGER, UTAH TERRITORY,

21st November, 1857.

To the People of Utah Territory :

On the 11th July, 1857, the President appointed me to preside over the executive department of the government of this Territory. I arrived at this point on the 19th of this month, and shall probably be detained some time in consequence of the loss of animals during the recent snow-storm. I will proceed at this point to make the preliminary arrangements for the temporary organization of the Territorial Government.

Many treasonable acts of violence have recently been committed by lawless individuals supposed to have been commanded by the late Executive. Such persons are in a state of rebellion. Proceedings will be instituted against them in a court organized by Chief Justice Eckels held in this County, which Court will supersede the necessity of appointing military commissions for the trial of such offenders.

It is my duty to enforce unconditional obedience to the Constitution, to the Organic law of this Territory, and to all the other laws of Congress, applicable to you. To enable me to effect this object, I will in the event of resistance rely, first upon a *posse comitatus* of the well disposed portion of the inhabitants of this Territory, and will only resort to a military *posse* in case of necessity : I trust this necessity will not occur.

I come among you with no prejudices or enmities, and by the exercise of a just and

* Camps Winfield and Scott were of course named after the General-in-Chief of the United States Army.

firm administration, I hope to command your confidence. Freedom of conscience and the use of your own peculiar mode of serving God, are sacred rights, the exercise of which is guaranteed by the Constitution and with which it is not the province of the Government or the disposition of its representatives in this Territory to interfere.

In virtue of my authority as commander in chief of the militia of this Territory, I hereby command all armed bodies of individuals by whomsoever organized, to disband, and return to their respective homes. The penalty of disobedience to this command will subject the offenders to the punishment due to traitors.

A. CUMMING,
Governor of Utah Territory.

Very little attention was paid to this proclamation, issued as it was by an official who had not yet taken the oath of office, and consequently was not duly installed in the gubernatorial chair. Perhaps Governor Cumming saw the weakness of his position, after issuing the pronunciamiento. At any rate, eleven days later he took an official oath as Governor of Utah before Chief Justice Eckels, at Eckelsville. But even then he was not one whit better off than before, since the Chief Justice himself had not qualified according to law, and was not in a position to administer such an oath, or exercise any other function of the office to which he had been appointed.*

Nevertheless, as Governor Cumming had threatened, the Chief Justice proceeded to organize a court, and amused himself all winter piling up indictments against the Mormon leaders and the more conspicuous of their followers, whom he intended to try for treason "in the spring."

As to disbanding at the bidding of Governor Cumming, or any other man east of the Wasatch Mountains, the Utah militia had not the remotest idea. They were defending their homes against the despoiler—at least that was their view of the matter—and were ready to die, if need be, rather than relinquish one iota of their sacred rights as freemen. Brigham Young was still their Governor. When he said "disband," so it would be, but not before. Thus, while Governor Cumming proclaimed, Chief Justice Eckels and his court indicted, Colonel Johnston threatened, and the whole country was

See Sec. 11, Organic Act of Utah, chapter xxiii of this volume.

boiling with wrath and indignation, mostly at the Mormons, for what they had done and were doing, but many at President Buchanan and his cabinet for compelling the Saints to assume the attitude they had taken, the militia quietly settled down behind their breastworks in Echo Canyon and prepared to dispute to the death any advance that might be made by the invading army. Reinforcements from all parts of Utah gathered to the common defense—young men, old men and boys—until the forces confronting Johnston and his troops were nearly twenty-five hundred strong; almost equal to the numbers of the expedition. Everything in the shape of a weapon was brought into requisition, in anticipation of the struggle supposed to be impending.

But General Johnston, however determined he had been before his arrival to push on to Salt Lake Valley that season, sweeping away all opposition that might be offered by those whom he termed "traitors and rebels," on surveying the situation concluded to postpone his threatened advance and see what could be done to save his crippled army from destruction; not by the Mormons, who did not desire to destroy it, but by the merciless and inexorable elements. Hence his decision—a wise one—to go into winter quarters on Black's Fork and await the advent of milder weather. Such of his cattle as frost had not killed or the mountaineers captured, after being herded for a time on Henry's Fork, were brought to camp, slaughtered and converted into "jerked beef" for the commissariat. Captain Marcy was sent to New Mexico and another party to Oregon to obtain cattle and fresh mounts for the cavalry, and the Army of Utah settled down to pass away the winter and prepare for waging vigorous warfare against the Mormons in the spring.

At Washington, meanwhile, great excitement reigned. The Government, being informed of what had occurred in Utah, felt humiliated at the disasters that had befallen the expedition, and was beginning to wince beneath the goad of public criticism for having inaugurated it. Since it could not recede without admitting itself in error and suffering further humiliation, it was resolved to prosecute

its policy to the extreme, and force a speedy settlement of the now vexing question. Congress was asked to vote more troops and money for the purpose, and after much discussion, during which the Utah situation was pretty thoroughly ventilated, authorized the President to call into service three thousand men to march to Utah and reinforce the army on Black's Fork. These troops were the Sixth and Seventh regiments of Infantry, the First Cavalry and two batteries of artillery. Forty-five hundred wagons were to transport their supplies to the seat of war. Fifty thousand oxen and four thousand mules were to be purchased, and about two thousand teamsters, wagon-masters, etc., employed by the War Department for this supplementary expedition, which it was estimated would cost the United States Treasury about five million dollars. Contractors again rejoiced, and everything for them looked promising.

At the head-quarters of the Utah militia, on November 21st, the following infantry organizations were reported as present by Colonel N. V. Jones, through his adjutant, Orson K. Whitney. The Fifth Regiment, from the Weber Military District, under Colonel C. W. West; the Second Regiment, Second Brigade, under Colonel Thomas Callister; the Davis County troops, under Colonel P. C. Merrill; the Provo troops, under Colonel W. B. Pace; the Peteet-neet District troops, under Major A. K. Thurber; the Lehi companies under Major Hyde; the Extra Battalion under Major Rowberry; the First Battalion, Third Regiment, First Brigade, Infantry, under Major Sharp; the Second Battalion, same regiment, under Major Blair, and the Silver Greys under Colonel Harmon. The Second Battalion of Life Guards under Major J. D. T. McAllister and a company of light artillery under Adjutant Atwood were also present. Colonel Jones' force aggregated nineteen hundred and fifty-eight men. In addition to these there were cavalry commands under Colonel Burton, Lot Smith, William Maxwell and others, still out reconnoitering in the vicinity of Fort Bridger. Besides Lieutenant-General Wells and his staff, other military notables in Echo Canyon about this time were Major-General George D. Grant and Brigadier-

General Franklin D. Richards. During the fall Apostle Charles C. Rich and others had visited the camp from Salt Lake City.

As soon as it was ascertained that Johnston's army had gone into winter quarters and did not design carrying on a winter campaign, all further interference with the troops by the militia was forbidden. Some of the Federal soldiers, captured by Colonel Callister, were released by order of Governor Young, who later took additional steps to convince the army then threatening the chief city of the Saints, that it was purely a defensive warfare the people were waging and that in their hearts they harbored no malice. Learning that the soldiers at Camp Scott were suffering for want of salt to season their meat—which was but one of many privations by them endured—Governor Young ordered a wagon-load of the article conveyed to General Johnston and presented to him with his compliments.* But the proud commander refused to accept the proffered gift, stating that he did not wish to hold any communication with the Mormon rebel, Brigham Young. The salt, however, being purposely left outside the camp, was taken back and gladly used by the common soldiers, while Johnston and his officers, to preserve their pride as well as their provisions, purchased a supply from the Indians at the rate of five dollars per pound.

Apropos of this incident, the following paragraph of a letter written by Adjutant-General Ferguson to Colonel Philip St. George Cooke, during the winter of 1857-8, will be interesting. General Ferguson had been informed that Colonel Cooke, who once highly praised his Mormon soldiers, the Battalion, had written letters east speaking in derogatory terms of the Utah militia and asserting that their purpose was to starve and destroy the troops at Camp Scott. With heart of fire and pen of flame Ferguson thus wrote to his old commander :

* Messrs. Earl and Woodard were the Governor's messengers. The salt was carried as far as possible by wagon, and then, the snow being too deep for further travel by team, it was transferred to pack animals. Governor Young stated, in his letter of gift to General Johnston, that if he feared anything deleterious in the salt, the messengers, to reassure him, would taste it in his presence.

“We could ourselves have selected the spot for your destruction and furnished you a winding sheet in the snows of the South Pass, or in the ashes of your own trains on Green River. At whose mercy were the unprotected trains that lay for weeks within our reach and from which you have drawn your subsistence during the winter? What act of ours bears testimony to your base insinuations? Was it the order forbidding our men to fire at your shivering pickets, or the recall of our detachments, that you might prepare your winter quarters in peace? Was it the return of your people after a short humane confinement, while you vented your spleen on one poor fellow, by abusing him in cold chains, during the winter, under the terrors of an illegal gallows? Was it the invitation to the officers of your army to participate, during the winter, in the hospitalities of our mountain home? Was it the offer of provisions for the whole army, when your supplies should be exhausted? Was it the supply of salt to season your fresh meat furnished by us, and spurned with a petty peevishness by your commander? These, sir, are your proofs; these, your arguments to sustain your accusations.”

Colonel Cooke in reply disclaimed the authorship of any letter speaking disparagingly of his old comrades of the Mormon Battalion.

About the 1st of December the militia began returning to their homes, leaving but a small out-post to watch the enemy during the winter and report all his movements to headquarters, at Salt Lake City. The citizen soldiers had made good their resolve,—to prevent the Federal army from passing the Wasatch Mountains, and to do it without shedding a drop of the enemy's blood. But one fatality had occurred, and that in the Mormon camp in Echo Canyon. A soldier climbing up the rocky side of the ravine, dared a comrade to fire at him, thinking himself out of range. The comrade thought so too, and leveling his rifle in sport, shot his friend dead.

General Wells left Echo Canyon on the 4th of December, and Colonel Burton followed next day. After their departure Captain



John R. Minder

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getic and observe good order, discipline and wisdom in all your works, that good may be the result. Remember that to you is entrusted for the time being the duty of standing between Israel and their foes, and as you would like to repose in peace and safety while others are on the watchtower, so now while in the performance of this duty do you observe the same care, vigilance and activity which you would desire of others when they come to take your place. Do not let any inaction on the part of the enemy lull you into a false security and cause any neglect on your part.

Praying the Lord to bless and preserve you in life, health and strength, and wisdom and power to accomplish every duty incumbent upon you and bring peace to Israel to the utter confusion and overthrow of our enemies,

I remain, your brother in the gospel of Christ,
[Signed,] DANIEL H. WELLS,
Lieutenant-General Commanding.

P. S. Be careful to prevent fire being kindled in or near the commissary storehouse.

About Christmas time Captain Winder was relieved by Major H. S. Beatie, and he in turn by Captain Brigham Young.* The commands were changed at the same time. Deserters from Camp Scott, both soldiers and teamsters, constantly passed down Echo Canyon during the winter, some of them almost perishing before they could reach the Mormon outposts, which they had supposed on setting out to be much nearer the Federal lines. By this means Governor Young, General Wells and their associates were kept fully informed of affairs at Camp Scott and its vicinity, and the need of scouts and pickets, except to rescue the poor wretches who continually fell into their hands, was almost entirely obviated.

In the city that winter mirth and festivity reigned supreme. Balls, theaters, sociables and other amusements served to dispel every thought of gloom, every feeling of nervous apprehension as to what might follow. Though all knew that the advent of spring would witness a renewal of operations in the mountains, no lip quivered, no cheek blanched, no heart faltered at the prospect. Mingling with the song of joy, the pæan of praise, welling up from the hearts of a people who felt as sensibly as did Israel of old after passing the Red Sea, that Jehovah had delivered His people and engulfed their

* Brigham Young Junior, son of the Governor.

foes, could be heard the clink of steel, the sound of hammer and forge, and other notes of "dreadful preparation," fashioning weapons for the coming conflict, as fully expected as it was thoroughly unfeared.

In his message to the Legislature in December, Governor Young dilated at length upon the situation, and justified the course that he and his compatriots had pursued. "Fully aware," said he, "as has been justly written, that 'patriotism does not consist in aiding government in every base or stupid act it may perform, but rather in paralyzing its power when it violates vested rights, affronts insulted justice, and assumes undelegated authority.'" The Legislature unanimously concurred in the message, policy, and acts of the Governor during the prevailing troubles. In January, 1858, memorials from the Legislature and from the citizens en masse, setting forth the true state of affairs in the Territory, and praying for constitutional rights, were signed and sent to Washington.

CHAPTER XXXI.

1858.

PRESIDENT BUCHANAN BEGINS TO SEE HIS BLUNDER—COLONEL KANE THE MEDIATOR—HIS MISSION TO UTAH—THE MORMONS AGREE TO RECEIVE GOVERNOR CUMMING, BUT NOT WITH AN ARMY AT HIS HEELS—COLONEL KANE VISITS CAMP SCOTT—HE ESCORTS THE NEW EXECUTIVE TO SALT LAKE CITY—CORDIAL MEETING OF THE TWO GOVERNORS—JUDGE DRUMMOND'S FALSEHOOD EXPLODED—THE COURT RECORDS FOUND INTACT—THE "MOVE" SOUTH—THE PEACE COMMISSIONERS—PRESIDENT BUCHANAN'S PARDON—JOHNSTON'S ARMY ENTERS THE VALLEY—CAMP FLOYD—THE CITIZENS RETURN TO THEIR HOMES.

NOTWITHSTANDING the apparent resolve on the part of the Federal Government to prosecute the "war" in Utah to the bitter end, and push matters with sword, bayonet and cannon to a speedy and successful issue, it is believed that at this very time

the administration, or the better part of it, was repenting of the rash step it had taken in precipitating the needless conflict, and earnestly desirous of retracing that step could it be done without loss of dignity and self-respect. President Buchanan, under the pressure of public opinion,—the reaction referred to by Apostle Taylor in his letter to Captain Marcy,—was beginning to see the fearful blunder he had committed in deciding, upon mere hearsay and one-sided report, that Utah was in a state of rebellion, and sending an armed force to the Territory to suppress an insurrection and forcibly install in office the new Federal appointees without first ascertaining that there was any need for such action. In coming to this conclusion,—a better-late-than-never determination,—the President was assisted by that powerful moral engine, the press, which, on both sides of the Atlantic, was now pouring out upon the misguided Executive and his evil counselors the vinegar and vitriol of caustic criticism.

It was just at this juncture that Colonel Thomas L. Kane, prompted no less by love of country than by his friendship for the Mormon people, went to Washington from his home in Philadelphia, and offered his services to President Buchanan to act as a mediator in the pending controversy and effect if possible a peaceable settlement of the difficulty. A word here of an event preceding this visit of the Colonel to the capital will be appropriate.

In the summer of 1857, before the Federal troops had entered Utah, and as soon as Governor Young had decided to place the Territory under martial law, he resolved to acquaint the national authorities with the real motive impelling him to such a step, in the hope that they would recognize the propriety of his course and that an amicable adjustment of differences might result. He therefore sent a special messenger to Colonel Kane, requesting him to see the President and lay the matter before him. Hon. Samuel W. Richards, who had previously performed secret service of a similar nature, was the courier entrusted with this important message. Accompanied by George G. Snyder he successfully executed his errand, taking observations as he went respecting the approaching army, and sending the information to Salt Lake City. After visiting Colonel Kane and delivering to him the dispatches from Governor Young, Mr. Richards crossed the Atlantic, carrying instructions to the Mormon missionaries in Europe to return to Utah as soon as possible. Like directions were forwarded to the Elders laboring in the United States and in Canada. Early in 1858, Elder Richards led homeward a small company of missionaries who felt willing to risk any difficulties that might be encountered on the way. This party left the frontier in March and arrived at Salt Lake City in May, having evaded the troops stationed at and in the vicinity of Camp Scott, as well as others who followed them from Fort Laramie and Green River.

One incident of their journey after leaving the last-named locality is well worth recording. "Soon after leaving Green River," says Elder Richards, "we fell in with a band of several thousand

Indians en route to Bridger, and with whom for a portion of the distance we made ourselves traveling companions. While in company with these Indians, we learned from them that they had been sent for to come to Bridger and get blankets, guns and ammunition to go and shoot the Mormons, and that they were going there for that purpose. Information obtained from them, without solicitation, disclosed the fact that they had been engaged by the officers of that army to move upon the Mormon settlements for an indiscriminate slaughter in retaliation for the opposition Governor Young had shown to their entering the Valley before a proper understanding could be had with the Government as to the object of their presence as an armed force marching into the midst of a peaceable community. It is not presumable," adds the Elder with some warmth, "that any such cowardly and worse than savage proposition can be accredited to the general government, but it afforded proof of the character of some of the officers connected with that army, and is a tell-tale evidence of what the people of Utah might have expected at their hands, had they been permitted to carry out their plans."* Mr. Richards states, moreover, that he was credibly informed, by parties who had come in contact with the troops, that on the march, as they encountered severe weather and hardships, they were encouraged by their officers with promises of "all the Mormon women they wanted" after they should reach their destination.

Colonel Kane, agreeable to Governor Young's request, visited President Buchanan and laid before him the views of the Mormon leader, according to the latter's desire. Subsequently he offered his services to the President as a mediator, and proceeded to Utah as a

* Dr. Garland Hurt, the United States Indian Agent, was accused of inciting the savages during this period to attack the Utah settlements. He was the only non-Mormon Federal official left in the Territory after Judge Drummond's departure. After martial law was declared, he refused to avail himself of the Governor's passport, which was offered him, but remained among the Indians for some time, and then joined the army at Camp Scott. The Indians who attacked the Salmon River settlement in February, 1858, were believed to have been incited by anti-Mormons.



Dr. J. W. Richards

J. W. Richards

1890

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private envoy of the Government. The Colonel was in feeble health, and his mission a diplomatic errand both delicate and difficult. It devolved upon him, as a representative of the Government, to uphold its dignity, and at the same time concede to the people of the Territory, who felt sorely aggrieved at the treatment they had received from the administration, all that was just and right. Perhaps no other man, at that time, could have undertaken such an errand with any hope of success. But Colonel Kane undertook it, in spite of its difficulty, in spite also of his feeble health; and the success that crowned his effort is a laurel wreath that will never fade.

Sailing from New York by California steamer on the 5th of January, 1858, he landed in due time on the Pacific coast. Governor Young being advised of his coming, sent a special messenger, in the person of William S. Godbe, to meet him. It was about this time that the Mormon settlements at San Bernardino, Carson Valley and other parts were breaking up and most of the people returning to their former homes in the Rocky Mountains to assist in "defending Zion." Colonel Kane, with Mr. Godbe, hurried on to Salt Lake Valley, where he arrived on the 25th of February. He immediately sought and secured an interview with Governor Young and other leading authorities, to whom he was formally introduced as "Dr. Osborne." By that assumed name he had registered on board the California steamer, and during his subsequent travels. He was soon recognized, however, by his old friends the Apostles, who had last seen him at their camps on the Missouri over eleven years before, and who now greeted as cordially "Colonel Kane," on the score of friendship, as they had received with all due courtesy "Dr. Osborne," the messenger from Washington. It was about 8 p. m. on the day of his arrival that the Colonel was ushered into the presence of Governor Young, at his residence, and introduced by Hon. Joseph A. Young as 'Dr. Osborne.' After resting a few minutes in an arm-chair,—for he was still quite feeble, and weary and worn from his long journey, he arose and addressed the assembled council in these words :

"GOVERNOR YOUNG AND GENTLEMEN: I come as an ambassador from the chief Executive of our nation, and am prepared and duly authorized to lay before you, most fully and definitely, the feelings and views of the citizens of our common country and of the Executive towards you, relative to the present position of this Territory, and relative to the army of the United States now upon your borders.

"After giving you the most satisfactory evidence in relation to matters concerning you, now pending, I shall then call your attention, and wish to enlist your sympathies, in behalf of the poor soldiers who are now suffering in the cold and snow of the mountains. I shall request you to render them aid and comfort, and to assist them to come here, and to bid them a hearty welcome into your hospitable valley.

"Governor Young, may I be permitted to ask a private interview for a few moments with you? Gentlemen, excuse my formality."

Then followed a half hour's interview between Governor Young and Colonel Kane in an adjoining room. On returning the Colonel informed the council that they had a good friend in Captain Van Vliet, who had not only endeavored, according to promise, to stop the troops east of Fort Bridger, but had proceeded to Washington, where he had used his influence in favor of Utah and her people. Conversation on various topics ensued, during which the Colonel, in answer to a question, stated that Dr. Bernhisel, the Utah delegate, re-elected to Congress in 1857, had taken his seat; that the Arkansas member and a few others had opposed it, but had been treated as fools by more sagacious members, as the refusal of the seat to Delegate Bernhisel would have been tantamount to a declaration of war. The Colonel complimented his Mormon friends on the great colonizing work they had accomplished since last he saw them, and upon the manfulness and patience they had exhibited in the present contest. He also spoke a good word for President Buchanan and his cabinet, who he said were more united and worked together better than some former cabinets had done.

"I suppose," said Governor Young, his tone slightly tinged with satire, "that they are united in putting down Utah."

"I think not," answered the Colonel. "I wish you knew how much I feel at home," he continued. "I hope I shall have the privilege of breaking bread with these, my friends."

"I want to take care of you, friend Thomas," warmly rejoined the Governor. "The Lord sent you here, and He will not let you die. No; you cannot die till your work is done. I want to have your name live to all eternity. You have done a great work, and you will do a greater work still."

More conversation followed, after which the council dissolved, and Colonel Kane, still under the soubriquet of "Dr. Osborne," was conveyed to the hospitable home of Elder William C. Staines, where he found comfortable quarters and tender nursing.* The Elder, who had heard of but had never till then met the Colonel, having discovered a few days later the identity of his guest, asked him why he desired to be introduced to him as Dr. Osborne. The latter replied: "My dear friend, I was once treated so kindly at Winter Quarters that I am sensitive over its memories. I knew you to be a good people then, but I have heard so many hard things about you since, that I thought I would like to convince myself whether or not the people possessed the same humane and hospitable spirit which I once found in them. I thought, if I go to the house of any of my great friends of Winter Quarters, they will treat me as Thomas L. Kane, with a remembrance of some services which I may have rendered them. So I requested to be sent to some stranger's house as 'Dr. Osborne,' that I might know how the Mormon *people* would treat a stranger at such a moment as this, without knowing whether I might not turn out to be either an enemy or a spy. And now, Mr. Staines, I want to know if you could have treated Thomas L. Kane better than you have treated Dr. Osborne?" Elder Staines answering in the negative, the Colonel added: "And thus my friend I have

* This residence of Elder Staines' subsequently became the Devereux House, home of the late Hon. William Jennings.

proved that the Mormons will treat the stranger in Salt Lake City as they once did Thomas L. Kane at Winter Quarters.”*

After a few days of rest and recuperation, Colonel Kane set out for Camp Scott, to confer with Governor Cumming upon the subject previously presented by him to Governor Young. The position of the Mormon leader and his associates was this: They were willing to receive Governor Cumming and his fellow officials and give them a loyal and whole-souled welcome, if they would come into the Valley without the army. But they were not willing that the troops should enter their capital, nor be quartered in any city or settlement of the Territory. Such was the message that the mediator Colonel Kane bore to the Federal officials on Black's Fork.

It was a severe journey, even for a well man, the distance being a hundred and thirteen miles, with deep snow all the way. But the gallant Colonel bore up bravely, and, having dismissed his Mormon escort just outside the Federal lines, arrived at his destination on or about the 10th of March. It is said that as he crossed the line he was challenged and fired at simultaneously by an over-zealous

sentry, who in return received a ringing blow over the head from the Colonel's gun-stock. Surrounded in a moment by soldiers, all greatly excited, he coolly requested to be conducted to the presence of Governor Cumming. This was done, and by that official the President's messenger was cordially received and entertained.

Colonel Kane's reason for directly seeking Governor Cumming and conferring with him in lieu of with General Johnston, is probably apparent to the reader without explanation. To the Colonel, Governor Cumming was the virtual head and front of the Utah Expedition, and the army merely the *posse comitatus* of the new Executive. The ambassador's business was therefore with the civil official, and not with the military commander. Governor Cumming was soon convinced of the wisdom and propriety of Colonel Kane's mission, and agreed to place himself under his guid-

* Colonel Kane had special reference to the kind treatment he received from the Saints during a severe illness that he suffered while at their camps on the Missouri.

ance and proceed with him, unaccompanied by troops, to the Mormon capital.

Such a movement General Johnston strenuously opposed. Whatever Colonel Kane thought, or had succeeded in causing Governor Cumming to think, the proud commander, in his own eyes, was the principal personage at Camp Scott. Already offended at being ignored by the Colonel, he was affronted still more on learning of the nature of his mission, the success of which meant the setting aside of the military posse, which, according to the spirit of its instructions, could only act in response to the Governor's requisition, except in sheer self-defense. Now to Albert Sidney Johnston had been entrusted the duty of conducting the Federal officials to Utah, planting them in their places and maintaining them there with bayonets and cannon. That duty he was determined to perform, and if further opposed, to trample under heel and humiliate, as they had humiliated him, these "Mormon rebels." Such was Johnston's program. Already in fancy he saw it executed, and was reaping from the field of success the favor and promotion that were sure to follow. But here was an interloper, who wished to blight these budding laurels, who had the temerity to propose peace, and who, if he succeeded in winning the Governor to his views, would deprive the army of the glorious opportunity which the coming spring would give to accomplish the purpose for which it was sent, retrieve the losses it had sustained, and perhaps strike a telling blow in revenge. Such an arrangement might suit President Buchanan and Governor Cumming, but it did not please General Johnston one particle. He determined to use all his influence to thwart and bring to naught Colonel Kane's mission of peace and good-will. He warned Governor Cumming that the Mormons only wanted to get him into their power to poison him, and tried in every way to induce him to stay with the troops and accompany them on their triumphal march to the valley. But the Governor remained firm, and Colonel Kane triumphed. Thus began the breach between Governor Cumming and General Johnston, which ended not during the period of their sojourn in Utah.

A duel between General Johnston and Colonel Kane was barely averted during the stay of the latter at Camp Scott. The former, who at first affected to regard the President's envoy as "a Mormon spy," sent an orderly to arrest him. Governor Cumming—who was a chivalric Georgian—no less than Colonel Kane was highly insulted at this act, and the haughty commander condescended to explain. He claimed that the order of arrest was in reality an invitation to dinner, which his messenger had misdelivered. Colonel Kane, however, sent a challenge to General Johnston, who doubtless would have accepted it had he not feared dismissal from the service. Through the influence of Chief Justice Eckels the "affair of honor" terminated without a meeting.

On the 5th of April the Governor left Camp Scott in company with Colonel Kane and two servants. Outside the Federal lines they were met by a company of Utah cavalry under General William H. Kimball and escorted through Echo and Weber canyons to Salt Lake City. It was arranged to conduct the Governor through Echo

Canyon in the night time. Bonfires were kindled along the heights, and the small militia force attending him was so distributed and duplicated as to cause him to suppose that he was passing through the lines of a formidable and far-reaching host. He little knew then, though he afterwards learned, that the men who first accosted him, demanding the countersign, were a portion of his own escort, who, a little later, having preceded the carriage containing His Excellency, again stopped him for the same purpose, and so on during most of the journey to the city. They arrived there on the 12th. The Mayor, Aldermen and other officials met them on the way and conducted the new Executive to the residence of Elder Staines. There Governor Cumming was introduced by Colonel Kane to Governor Young, who immediately called to tender his respects to his successor. Their meeting was a very cordial one. Three days later Governor Cumming addressed the following communication to General Johnston:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, U. T., April 15th, 1858.

SIR: I left camp on the 5th, en route to this city, in accordance with a determination communicated to you on the 3rd inst., accompanied by Colonel Kane as my guide, and two servants. Arriving in the vicinity of the spring, which is on this side of the "Quaking Asp" hill, after night, Indian camp fires were discerned on the rocks overhanging the valley. We proceeded to the spring, and after disposing of the animals, retired from the trail beyond the mountain. We had reason to congratulate ourselves upon having taken this precaution, as we subsequently ascertained that the country lying between your outposts and the "Yellow Creek" is infested by hostile renegades and outlaws from various tribes.

I was escorted from Bear River Valley to the western end of Echo Canyon. The journey through the canyon being performed, for the most part, after night, it was about 11 o'clock p. m., when I arrived at Weber Station. I have been everywhere recognized as Governor of Utah; and, so far from having encountered insults or indignities, I am gratified in being able to state to you that, in passing through the settlements, I have been universally greeted with such respectful attentions as are due to the representative authority of the United States in the Territory.

Near the Warm Springs, at the line dividing Great Salt Lake and Davis counties, I was honored with a formal and respectful reception by many gentlemen including the mayor and other municipal officers of the city, and by them escorted to lodgings previously provided, the mayor occupying a seat in my carriage.

Ex-Governor Brigham Young paid me a call of ceremony as soon as I was sufficiently relieved from the fatigue of my mountain journey to receive company. In subsequent interviews with the ex-Governor, he has evinced a willingness to afford me every facility I may require for the efficient performance of my administrative duties. His course in this respect meets, I fancy, with the approval of a majority of this community. The Territorial seal, with other public property, has been tendered me by William H. Hooper Esq., late Secretary *pro tem*.

I have not yet examined the subject critically, but apprehend that the records of the United States Courts, Territorial Library, and other public property, remain unimpaired.

Having entered upon the performance of my official duties in this city, it is probable that I will be detained for some days in this part of the Territory.

I respectfully call your attention to a matter which demands our serious consideration. Many acts of depredation have been recently committed by the Indians upon the property of the inhabitants—one in the immediate vicinity of this city. Believing that the Indians will endeavor to sell the stolen property at or near your camp, I herewith inclose the Brand Book (incomplete) and memoranda (in part) of stock lost by citizens of Utah since February 25th, 1858, which may enable you to secure the property and punish the thieves.

With feelings of profound regret I have learned that Agent Hurt is charged with having incited to acts of hostility the Indians in Uinta Valley. I hope that Agent Hurt will be able to vindicate himself from the charges contained in the enclosed letter from William H. Hooper, late Secretary *pro tem*., yet they demand a thorough investigation.

I shall probably be compelled to make a requisition upon you for a sufficient force to

chastise the Indians alluded to, since I desire to avoid being compelled to call out the militia for that purpose.

The gentlemen who are entrusted with this note, Mr. John B. Kimball and Mr. Fay Worthen, are engaged in mercantile pursuits here, and are represented to be gentlemen of the highest respectability, and have no connection with the Church here. Should you deem it advisable or necessary, you will please send any communication intended for me by them. I beg leave to commend them to your confidence and courtesy. They will probably return to the city in a few days. They are well known to Messrs. Gilbert, Perry and Burr, with whom you will please communicate.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

A. CUMMING,

Governor Utah Territory.

To A. S. Johnston, commanding Army of Utah, Camp Scott, U. T.

Colonel Kane, having accomplished his mission, and seen the new Governor duly installed, returned to report the success of his noble and disinterested labors to President Buchanan. He traveled overland, and was accompanied as far as the Missouri River by a mounted escort furnished by Governor Young and led by Howard Egan. Some years later General Kane,—for he was then a General, having been promoted for gallant services in defense of the Union during the Civil War,—again visited Utah and for several months

was the guest of President Young. On more than one occasion, in the east, he valiantly used pen and tongue in behalf of the Territory and its people. His name is a household word in a multitude of homes in the Rocky Mountains, and his pure example of friendship and patriotism will ever burn brightly, a beacon and a guiding star, before the eyes of Utah's sons and daughters.

Governor Cumming, on the 2nd of May, about three weeks after his arrival at Salt Lake City, reported to Hon. Lewis M. Cass, Secretary of State, the local situation. His report included the foregoing epistle to Colonel Johnston, and gave additional items of information. The most important of these may be summarized as follows:

(1) The Governor stated that since his arrival he had examined the records of the Supreme and District courts—which Judge Drummond had accused the Mormons of destroying—and was “now prepared to report” that they were “PERFECT AND UNIMPAIRED.”





Thomas L. Kane



(2) The Legislative records and other books belonging to the Secretary of State had also been found in perfect preservation.

(3) The Territorial Library in charge of Mr. William C. Staines had been kept in most excellent condition.

(4) It had been represented to His Excellency that a number of persons desirous of leaving the Territory were unable to do so, and considered themselves unlawfully restrained of their liberties. He had taken steps to ascertain the truth or falsity of this report, and while it was true that he had registered fifty-six men, thirty-eight women and seventy-one children who desired his protection and assistance in proceeding to the States, it was also true that certain leading men among the Mormons had "promised them flour and to assist them in leaving the country."* Most of those who desired to depart were of English birth and wished to leave for the purpose of improving their circumstances and realizing elsewhere more money for their labor.

On Sunday, the 27th of April, Governor Cumming attended the Mormon Tabernacle, where he was introduced by President Young as Governor of Utah, and invited to address the crowded congregation of between three and four thousand people assembled there for public worship. Says His Excellency: "I informed them that I had come among them to vindicate the national sovereignty; and that it was my duty to secure the supremacy of the Constitution and the laws; that I had taken my oath of office to exact an unconditional submission on their part to the dictates of the law. I was not interrupted. In a discourse of about thirty minutes' duration, I touched (as I thought best) boldly upon all the leading questions at issue between them and the general government. I remembered that I had to deal with men embittered by the remembrance and recital of many real and imaginary wrongs, but did not think it wise to withhold from them the entire truth. They listened respectfully to all I had to say—approvingly, even, I fancied

* Governor Young, during October, 1857, had sent by a protecting escort several such persons to the camp of Colonel Alexander on Ham's Fork.

—when I explained to them what I intended should be the character of my administration. In fact the whole character of the people was calm, betokening no consciousness of having done wrong, but rather, as it were, indicating a conviction that they had done their duty to their religion and to their country. I have observed that the Mormons profess to view the Constitution as the work of inspired men, and respond with readiness to appeals for its support.”

The Governor's report goes on to say that after closing his remarks he arose and stated that he would be glad to hear from any who might be inclined to address him upon topics of interest to the community. Thereupon “several powerful speakers” in succession addressed the meeting, dilating upon the assassination of Joseph Smith and his friends, the services rendered by the Mormon Battalion to an ungrateful country, the sufferings of the Saints in their dreary pilgrimage across the plains, etc., and capping the climax by declaring that the Federal Government was desirous of introducing the national troops into the Territory whether or not a necessity existed for their employment to support the authority of the civil officers. At the bare mention of the troops a scene of wild uproar ensued, the congregation joining with the speakers in a thunderous protest against the coming of the army; “more frenzy,” says the Governor, “than I had expected to witness among a people who habitually exercise great self-control. * * *

I was fully confirmed in the opinion that this people, with their extraordinary religion and customs, would gladly encounter certain death rather than be taxed with a submission to the military power, which they considered to involve a loss of honor. * * *

In my first address I informed them that they were entitled to a trial by their peers; that I had no intention of stationing the army in immediate contact with their settlements, and that the military posse would not be resorted to until other means of arrest had been tried and failed. I found the greatest difficulty in explaining these points, so great was the excitement. Eventually, however, the efforts of Brigham Young were successful in calming the tumult. * * *

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It is proper I should add that more than one speaker has since expressed his regret at having been betrayed into intemperance of language in my presence."

Governor Cumming's report to the Secretary of State closes as follows: "The President and the American people will learn with gratification the auspicious issue of our difficulties here. I regret the necessity, however, which compels me to mingle with my congratulations the announcement of a fact that will occasion great concern. The people, including the inhabitants of this city, are moving from every settlement in the northern part of the Territory. The roads are everywhere filled with wagons loaded with provisions and household furniture, the women and children often without shoes or hats, driving their flocks they know not where. They seem not only resigned but cheerful. 'It is the will of the Lord,' and they rejoice to exchange the comforts of home for the trials of the wilderness. Their ultimate destination is not, I presume, definitely fixed upon. 'Going south,' seems sufficiently definite for the most of them, but many believe that their ultimate destination is Sonora.

"Young, Kimball and most of the influential men have left their commodious mansions, without apparent regret, to lengthen the long train of wanderers. The masses everywhere announce to me that the torch will be applied to every house indiscriminately throughout the country, so soon as the troops attempt to cross the mountains. I shall follow these people and try to rally them.

"Our military force could overwhelm most of these poor people, involving men, women and children in a common fate; but there are among the Mormons many brave men, accustomed to arms and horses; men who could fight desperately as guerrillas; and if the settlements are destroyed, will subject the country to an expensive and protracted war, without any compensating results. They will, I am sure, submit to 'trial by their peers,' but they will not brook the idea of trials by 'juries' composed of 'teamsters and followers of the camp,' nor of an army encamped in their cities or dense settlements.

"I have adopted means to recall the few Mormons remaining in arms, who have not yet, it is said, complied with my request to withdraw from the canyons and eastern frontiers. I have also taken measures to protect the buildings which have been vacated in the northern settlements. I am sanguine that I will save a great part of the valuable improvements there.

"I shall leave this city for the south tomorrow. After I have finished my business there, I shall return as soon as possible to the army, to complete the arrangements which will enable me, before long, I trust, to announce that the road between California and Missouri may be traveled with perfect security by trains and emigrants of every description.

"I shall restrain all operations of the military for the present, which will probably enable me to receive from the President additional instructions, if he deems it necessary to give them."

It was even as Governor Cumming stated. The people of Utah, finding that the Government was bent upon quartering its troops within the Territory, and having no faith in the assurance that their rights would be respected by General Johnston and his army,—more than ever embittered by their recent experience, and allied, as the Saints supposed, to bands of merciless savages,—had resolved upon another exodus, which they were now in the act of executing. Thirty thousand people had abandoned their homes and were moving southward, leaving behind them in Salt Lake City and the various settlements of northern Utah only a sufficient number of men to set fire to their houses, orchards and farms, in case a door latch should be lifted or a gate swung open by hostile hand. Brigham Young had said to Captain Van Vliet, when that officer spoke of the probability of the Government sending sufficient reinforcement to the invading army to overcome all opposition: "We are aware that such will be the case, but when those troops arrive they will find Utah a desert." The Mormon leader was preparing to keep his word. The troops might push their way through the mountains, but when they reached "Zion" they would find it a desolation, a city not inhabited; the

fruitful field a desert, and the land of smiling orchards a burnt and blackened waste.

But Brigham Young had another purpose in view. While sternly resolved, if pushed to the extremity, upon carrying into effect his design to "utterly lay waste the land," he also had in mind the trial of a great moral experiment. A consummate strategist, he knew full well that the movement he and his people were now making was the best possible method of attracting to Utah the gaze of the civilized world, and of turning the fickle tide of public opinion in their favor. The burning of the Government trains had done something in this direction; it had brought Colonel Kane and was about to bring a Peace Commission to investigate the situation. The exodus might do the rest, but if not, the worst was known and resolved upon. At any rate the issues involved were well worth the experiment. Such was the meaning of the exodus of 1858.

Note the result. The New York *Times* thus reflected the general sentiment of the American press upon the subject:

Whatever our opinions may be of Mormon morals or Mormon manners, there can be no question that this voluntary abandonment by 40,000 people of homes created by wonderful industry, in the midst of trackless wastes, after years of hardships and persecution, is something from which no one who has a particle of sympathy with pluck, fortitude and constancy can withhold his admiration. Right or wrong, sincerity thus attested is not a thing to be sneered at. True or false, a faith to which so many men and women prove their loyalty, by such sacrifices, is a force in the world. After this last demonstration of what fanaticism can do, we think it would be most unwise to treat Mormonism as a nuisance to be abated by a *posse comitatus*. It is no longer a social excrescence to be cut off by the sword; it is a power to be combated only by the most skillful political and moral treatment. When people abandon their homes to plunge with women and children into a wilderness, to seek new settlements, they know not where, they give a higher proof of courage than if they fought for them. When the Dutch submerged Holland, to save it from invaders, they had heartier plaudits showered upon them than if they had fertilized its soil with their blood. We have certainly the satisfaction of knowing that we have to deal with foemen worthy of our steel. * *

* If the conduct of the recent operations has had the effect of strengthening their fanaticism by the appearance of persecution, without convincing them of our good faith and good intentions, and worse still, has been the means of driving away 50,000 of our fellow-citizens from fields which their labor had reclaimed and cultivated, and around which their affections were clustered, we have something serious to answer for. Were

we not guilty of a culpable oversight in confounding their persistent devotion with the insubordination of ribald license, and applying to the one the same harsh treatment which the law intends for the latter alone? Was it right to send troops composed of the wildest and most rebellious men of the community, commanded by men like Harney and Johnston, to deal out fire and sword upon people whose faults even were the result of honest religious convictions? Was it right to allow Johnston to address letters to Brigham Young, and through him to his people, couched in the tone of an implacable conqueror toward ruthless savages? Were the errors which mistaken zeal generates ever cured by such means as these? And have bayonets ever been used against the poorest and weakest sect that ever crouched behind a wall to pray or weep, without rendering their faith more intense, and investing the paltriest discomforts with the dignity of sacrifice?

* * * * *

We stand on the vantage ground of higher knowledge, purer faith and acknowledged strength. We can afford to be merciful. At all events, the world looks to us now for an example of political wisdom such as few people, now-a-days, are called on to display. Posterity must not have to acknowledge with shame that our indiscretion, or ignorance, or intolerance drove the population of a whole State from house and home, to seek religious liberty and immunity from the presence of mercenary troops, in any part of the continent to which our rule was never likely to extend."

The London *Times*, the journalistic "thunderer" of Europe, gave utterance to the following:

The intelligence from Utah is confirmatory of the news that came by the last steamer. This strange people are again in motion for a new home, and all the efforts of Governor Cumming to induce the men to remain and limit themselves to the ordinary quota of wives have been fruitless. We are told that they have left a deserted town and deserted fields behind them, and have embarked for a voyage, over 500 miles of untracked desert, to a home, the locality of which is unknown to any but their chiefs. Does it not seem incredible that, at the very moment when the marine of Great Britain and the United States are jointly engaged in the grandest scientific experiments that the world has yet seen, 30,000 or 40,000 natives of these countries, many of them of industrious and temperate habits, should be the victims of such arrant imposition? Does it not seem impossible that men and women, brought up under British and American civilization, can abandon it for the wilderness and Mormonism? There is much that is noble in their devotion to their delusions. They step into the waves of the great basin with as much reliance on their leader as the descendants of Jacob felt when they stepped between the walls of water in the Red Sea. The ancient world had individual Curiatii, Horatii, and other examples of heroism and devotion; but these western peasants seem to be a *nation* of heroes, ready to sacrifice everything rather than surrender one of their wives, or a letter from Joe Smith's golden plates.

* His manner, said the *Times*, was "worthy of Bajazet dealing with a rebellious Pasha."

Governor Cumming had indeed striven in vain to induce the people to remain in their homes. Returning from a visit to Camp Scott, whither he went about the middle of May to bring his wife to Salt Lake City, he had found the place almost deserted; only a few men being left to guard the city and set fire to it if the troops attempted to occupy the town, molest any person or seize upon a piece of property. In the gardens were heaped bundles of straw and other combustible materials, and every preparation had been made for "the burning." Mrs. Cumming was so affected at the sight, and by the tomb-like stillness everywhere prevailing, that she burst into tears, expressing her deep sympathy for the migrating Saints. She entreated her husband not to allow the army to stay in the city, and begged him to do something to "bring the Mormons back."

"Rest assured, madam," said the kind-hearted old Governor,—his eyes glistening with compassion, and his lip quivering with suppressed emotion,—“rest assured I shall do all that I can. I only wish I could be in Washington for two hours. I am persuaded I could convince the Government that we have no need for troops.”

President Buchanan, on receiving from Secretary Cass the report of Governor Cumming, setting forth the state of affairs in Utah, addressed the following communication to Congress:

To the Senate and House of Representatives :

I transmit the copy of a dispatch from Governor Cumming to the Secretary of State, dated at Great Salt Lake City on the 2nd of May, and received at the Department of State yesterday. From this there is reason to believe that our difficulties with the Territory of Utah have terminated, and the reign of the Constitution and laws has been restored. I congratulate you on this auspicious event.

I lose no time in communicating this information and in expressing the opinion that there will be no occasion to make any appropriations for the purpose of calling into service the two regiments of volunteers authorized by the Act of Congress approved on the 7th of April last, "for the purpose of quelling disturbances in the Territory of Utah, for the protection of supply and emigrant trains and the suppression of Indian hostilities on the frontier."

I am the more gratified at this satisfactory intelligence from Utah, because it will afford some relief to the treasury at a time demanding from us the strictest economy ; and when the question which now arises upon every appropriation is, whether it be of a char-

acter so important and urgent as to brook no delay, and to justify and require a loan, and most probably a tax upon the people to raise the money necessary for its payment.

In regard to the regiment of volunteers authorized by the same act of Congress to be called into service for the defense of the frontier of Texas against Indian hostilities, I desire to leave this question to Congress, observing, at the same time, that in my opinion this State can be defended for the present by the regular troops, which have not yet been withdrawn from its limits.

JAMES BUCHANAN.

WASHINGTON CITY, June 10, 1858.

Meantime a Peace Commission had been sent by the President to treat with the Mormon leaders, and offer a full and free pardon to the people for all past treasons and seditions, if they would return to their allegiance to the Federal Government. The Commissioners were Governor L. W. Powell, of Kentucky, and Major Ben McCullough, of Texas. On the 11th and 12th of June, they met with the First Presidency, the Apostles and many other prominent Mormons at the Council House in Salt Lake City; the Church leaders having returned from the south for that purpose. President Buchanan's proclamation of pardon was to this effect: After

reciting the various crimes alleged against the people of Utah by Judge Drummond and others, virtually affirming the truth of those tales, and giving that as his reason for ordering the army to Utah, His Excellency detailed the events that had subsequently taken place in the Territory, dwelling particularly upon the burning of the Government trains and the opposition presented to the Federal troops by the local militia. He reminded the citizens that this was rebellion against the government to which they owed allegiance, involving them in the guilt of treason, which if persisted in would bring them to condign punishment. He disclaimed any intention of interfering with their religion, which he admitted was a question between God and themselves. But said the President: "This rebellion is not merely a violation of your legal duty; it is without just cause, without reason, without excuse. You never made a complaint that was not listened to with patience. You never exhibited a real grievance that was not redressed as promptly as it could be. The laws and regulations enacted for your government

by Congress have been equal and just. * * * Human wisdom never devised a political system which bestowed more blessings or imposed lighter burdens than the Government of the United States in its operation upon the Territories." He then said: "But being anxious to save the effusion of blood and to avoid the indiscriminate punishment of a whole people for crimes of which it is not probable that all are equally guilty, I offer now a free and full pardon to all who will submit themselves to the authority of the Federal Government."

Such was the substance of the document presented by the Peace Commissioners to the Mormon council. After hearing from Governor Powell, Major McCullough and others upon the subject, President Young addressed the assembly. He said:

"I have listened very attentively to the Commissioners, and will say, as far as I am concerned, I thank President Buchanan for forgiving me, but I really cannot tell what I have done. I know one thing, and that is, that the people called 'Mormons' are a loyal and a law-abiding people, and have ever been. Neither President Buchanan nor any one else can contradict the statement. It is true, Lot Smith burned some wagons containing Government supplies for the army. This was an overt act, and if it is for this we are to be pardoned, I accept the pardon.

* * * * *

"What has the United States Government permitted mobs to do to us? Gentlemen, you cannot answer that question! I can, however, and so can thousands of my brethren. We have been whipped and plundered; our houses burned, our fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters and children butchered and murdered by the scores. We have been driven from our homes time and time again; but have troops ever been sent to stay or punish those mobs for their crimes? No! Have we ever received a dollar for the property we have been compelled to leave behind? Not a dollar! Let the Government treat us as we deserve; this is all we ask of them. We have always been loyal, and expect to so continue; but, *hands off!* Do not send

your armed mobs into our midst. If you do, we will fight you, as the Lord lives! Do not threaten us with what the United States can do, for we ask no odds of them or their troops. We have the God of Israel—the God of battles on our side; and let me tell you, gentlemen, we fear not your armies.

* * * * *

“Now let me say to you Peace Commissioners, we are willing those troops should come into our country, but not to stay in our city. They may pass through it, if needs be, but must not quarter less than forty miles from us.

“If you bring your troops here to disturb this people, you have got a bigger job than you or President Buchanan have any idea of. Before the troops reach here, this city will be in ashes, every tree and shrub will be cut to the ground, and every blade of grass that will burn shall be burned.

“Our wives and children will go to the canyons, and take shelter in the mountains; while their husbands and sons will fight you; and, as God lives, we will hunt you by night and by day, until your armies are wasted away. No mob can live in the homes we have built in these mountains. That’s the program, gentlemen, whether you like it or not. If you want war, you can have it; but, if you wish peace, peace it is; we shall be glad of it.”

Said the Commissioners in their report of the speeches: “They (the Mormons) denied that they had ever driven any officials from Utah, or prevented any civil officer from entering the Territory. They admitted that they burned the army trains and drove off the cattle from the army last fall, and for that act they accepted the President’s pardon.”

At the close of the conference the Commissioners addressed the following epistle to General Johnston:

GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH TERRITORY,

June 12th, 1858.

DEAR SIR: We have the pleasure of informing you that after a full and free conference with the chief men of the Territory, we are informed by them that they will yield obedience to the Constitution and laws of the United States; that they will not resist the

execution of the laws in the Territory of Utah; that they cheerfully consent that the civil officers of the Territory shall enter upon the discharge of their respective duties, and that they will make no resistance to the army of the United States in its march to the valley of Salt Lake or elsewhere. We have their assurance that no resistance shall be made to the officers, civil or military, of the United States, in the exercise of their various functions in the Territory of Utah.

The houses, fields and gardens of the people of this Territory, particularly in and about Salt Lake City, are very insecure. The animals of your army would cause great destruction of property if the greatest care should not be observed in the march and the selection of camps. The people of the Territory are somewhat uneasy for fear the army, when it shall reach the valley, will not properly respect their persons and property. We have assured them that neither their persons nor property will be injured or molested by the army under your command.

We would respectfully suggest, in consequence of the feeling of uneasiness, that you issue a proclamation to the people of Utah, stating that the army under your command will not trespass upon the rights or property of peaceable citizens during their sojourn in or march through the Territory. Such a proclamation would greatly allay the existing anxiety and fears of the people, and cause those who have abandoned their homes to return to their houses and farms.

We have made inquiry about grass, wood, etc., necessary for the subsistence and convenience of your army. We have conversed with Mr. Ficklin [U. S. deputy marshal] fully on this subject, and given him all the information we have which he will impart to you.

We respectfully suggest that you march to the valley as soon as it is convenient for you to do so.

We have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servants,

L. W. POWELL,

BEN McCULLOUGH,

Commissioners to Utah.

To General A. S. Johnston, commanding Army of Utah, Camp Scott, U. T.

General Johnston, who had already started for Salt Lake Valley, on June 14th replied to the Commissioners from his camp on Bear River. He expressed surprise at the uneasiness felt by the people at the treatment they might receive from the army; stated that it had duties to perform in execution of orders from the Department of War which, from their nature, could not lead to interference with the people in their varied pursuits, and that if no obstructions were presented to the discharge of said duties, there need not be the slightest apprehension that any person whatever would have any cause for complaint. He complied with the suggestion relating to the

issuance of a proclamation, in which he assured the people that no one should be "molested in his person or rights or in the peaceful pursuit of his avocations."

On the same day Governor Cumming issued the following proclamation:

To the inhabitants of Utah and others whom it may concern:

Whereas, James Buchanan, President of the United States, at the City of Washington, the sixth day of April, eighteen hundred and fifty-eight, did, by his proclamation, offer to the inhabitants of Utah who submit to the laws, a free and full pardon for all treasons and seditions heretofore committed, and

Whereas, The proffered pardon was accepted with the prescribed terms of the Proclamation by the citizens of Utah;

Now, therefore, I, Alfred Cumming, Governor of Utah Territory, in the name of James Buchanan, President of the United States, do proclaim, that all persons who submit themselves to the laws, and to the authority of the Federal Government, are by him freely and fully pardoned for all treasons and seditions heretofore committed. All criminal offenses associated with or growing out of the overt acts of sedition and treason are merged in them, and are embraced in the free and full pardon of the President, and I exhort all persons to persevere in a faithful submission to the laws, and patriotic devotion to the Constitution and Government of our common country. Peace is restored to our Territory. All civil officers, both Federal and Territorial, will resume the performance of the duties of their respective offices without delay, and be diligent and faithful in the execution of the laws. All citizens of the United States in this Territory will aid and assist the officers in the performance of their duties.

Fellow-citizens, I offer to you my congratulations for the peaceful and honorable adjustment of recent difficulties. Those citizens who have left their homes I invite to return as soon as they can do so with propriety and convenience. To all I announce my determination to enforce obedience to the laws, both Federal and Territorial. Trespasses upon property, whether real or personal, must be scrupulously avoided. Gaming and other vices are punished by Territorial statutes with peculiar severity, and I commend the perusal of these statutes to those persons who may not have had an opportunity of doing so previously.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the Territory to be affixed at Great Salt Lake City, in the Territory of Utah, this fourteenth day of June, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight, and of the Independence of the United States the Eighty-second.



JOHN HARTNETT,
Secretary.

By the Governor,
A. CUMMING.

The migrating Saints were still in the south, though the bulk of the people had gone no farther than Utah County. Thither Gov-

ernor Cumming and the Peace Commissioners followed them, advising them to return to their homes, and repeatedly pledging them protection. The Governor pleaded with them as a father might plead with his children. "There is no longer any danger," said he, "General Johnston and his army will keep faith with you. Everyone concerned in this happy settlement will hold sacred the amnesty and pardon of the President of the United States."

"We know all about it, Governor," replied Brigham Young. "We have on just such occasions seen our disarmed men hewn down in cold blood, our virgin daughters violated, our wives ravished to death before our eyes. We know all about it, Governor Cumming." Evidently the Mormon leader was waiting to see how General Johnston would conduct himself on entering Salt Lake City,—how he would keep faith with the people as to the property they had left behind, before entrusting his life and theirs to the mercies of the troops.

On the 26th of June, Johnston's army, descending Emigration Canyon, entered Salt Lake Valley,* passed through the all but deserted city and crossing the Jordan camped upon the river bank about two miles from the center of town. The troops marched in the following order: Colonel C. F. Smith's battalion, constituting the vanguard; Colonel Alexander and the Tenth Infantry, with Phelps' battery; Colonel Waite and the Fifth Infantry, with Reno's battery; Colonel Loring's battalion of mounted rifles; Volunteers under Lieutenant-Colonel Bee; Second Dragoons under Colonel Cooke, constituting the rear guard. General Johnston accompanied the army. Some of the officers, it is said, were deeply moved by what they witnessed. Colonel Cooke, as he rode through the silent streets, bared his head in honor of the brave men, so recently his

* Mr. Stenhouse says that the troops were amused at beholding the Mormon breastworks in Echo Canyon. We think he is mistaken. It was the Mormons who were amused. The troops were mad that they had been kept out in the snow all winter, as much by the reputation of those "impregnable breastworks" as by the valor of the men defending them.

foes, many of whom he had formerly led in their country's cause against Mexico. The troops on the march preserved excellent order, and true to the pledge given by their commander, molested neither person nor property. Three days they remained on the Jordan, and then marched to Cedar Valley, thirty-six miles southward, where a site for an encampment had been selected. There they founded Camp Floyd, so named in honor of the Secretary of War.

Early in July the Mormon leaders returned to their homes. Their people, who had followed them southward, and would willingly have gone to the ends of the earth at their bidding, also came back to re-inhabit and re-possess their homes and the fruits of their industry, which they had offered, as virtually as Abraham offered Isaac, a sacrifice at the shrine of religious duty.

CHAPTER XXXII.

AFTER "THE WAR"—THE FEDERAL COURTS IN OPERATION—JUDGE SINCLAIR SEEKS TO RENEW THE STRIFE—HE SENTENCES A MURDERER TO BE HUNG ON SUNDAY—JUDGE CRADLEBAUGH'S ADMINISTRATION—THE STORY OF THE MOUNTAIN MEADOWS MASSACRE—CRADLEBAUGH'S VAIN ATTEMPT TO FASTEN THE AWFUL CRIME UPON THE MORMON LEADERS—HE SUMMONS THE MILITARY TO HIS AID—THE COURT HOUSE AT PROVO SURROUNDED BY FEDERAL BAYONETS—THE CITIZENS PROTEST AND THE GOVERNOR PROCLAIMS AGAINST THE MILITARY OCCUPATION—A CONSPIRACY TO ARREST PRESIDENT YOUNG THWARTED BY GOVERNOR CUMMING—ATTORNEY-GENERAL BLACK REBUKES THE UTAH JUDGES—THE ANTI-MORMONS SEEK THE REMOVAL OF GOVERNOR CUMMING—COLONEL KANE TO THE RESCUE—HOW UTAH WAS AFFECTED BY JOHNSTON'S ARMY—HORACE GREELEY AT SALT LAKE CITY—MORE NEWSPAPERS—THE "VALLEY TAN" AND THE "MOUNTAINEER"—WILLIAM H. HOOPER DELEGATE TO CONGRESS—THE PONY EXPRESS—THE CIVIL WAR—CAMP FLOYD ABANDONED.

SOON after the arrival of the Federal officials who accompanied and immediately followed Johnston's army to Utah, the three judges, David R. Eckels, Charles E. Sinclair, and John Cradlebaugh, were assigned to their respective districts, and the machinery of the United States courts was set in motion. Chief Justice Eckels, preferring the military atmosphere to which for several months he had been accustomed, took up his residence at Camp Floyd; Associate Justice Sinclair was assigned to the Third Judicial District, which, as now, embraced Salt Lake City, while Associate Justice Cradlebaugh, who was the last of the three to arrive, was appointed to the Second District, comprising the southern counties. The other officials were: John Hartnett, Secretary; Alexander Wilson, United States Attorney; Peter K. Dotson, Marshal, and Jacob Forney, Superintendent of Indian Affairs. It had been deemed proper by the authorities at Washington to separate the last-named office from that of Governor. All but one of the new officials were non-residents of Utah. The exception was the United States Marshal, Mr. Dotson.

Judge Sinclair opened court at Salt Lake City in November, 1858. His first move was not a reassuring one to the people, who, trusting in the pledge given by Governor Cumming and the Peace Commissioners, that the Federal representatives would keep faith with the citizens and hold sacred the amnesty extended by President Buchanan, had abandoned their exodus and returned to their homes and various avocations. It seemed to them an attempt to ignore or override the President's decree; to render null and void his offer of pardon which the people had accepted. In short, Judge Sinclair, in charging the grand jury of his court, urged them to indict ex-Governor Young, Lieutenant-General Wells and other prominent Mormons for treason; also for intimidation of court and for polygamy. The Judge held that President Buchanan's pardon, while it was "a public fact in the history of the country," "ought to be brought judicially by plea, motion or otherwise." This meant that the decree of the Chief Magistrate of the nation was not to have full force and effect until he, Charles E. Sinclair, appointed by said Chief Magistrate an Associate Justice of Utah, had sat upon it and pronounced it valid; or, as Mr. Stenhouse puts it, "he wanted to bring before his court Brigham Young and the leading Mormons to make them admit that they had been guilty of treason, and make them humbly accept from him the President's clemency."*

The vain-glorious attempt failed, as it deserved to do. A sensible man, one not so anxious to re-open the wound then healing, to renew the strife which had just been brought to a close, was the United States Attorney, Alexander Wilson. He refused to present to the jury bills for indictments for treason, on the ground that the President's pardon had been presented by the Peace Commissioners and accepted by the people, whereupon peace had been proclaimed by the Governor of the Territory. An indictment was secured against James Ferguson for intimidation of court, the act of which occurred in Judge Stiles' district at Salt Lake City in 1854, and grew

* "The Rocky Mountain Saints," page 402.

out of the rivalry existing between the Federal and Territorial officers and tribunals referred to in a former chapter. The case against Mr. Ferguson never came to judgment. As to polygamy, there being no law against the practice,—for it was not until 1862 that Congress legislated against polygamy as “bigamy,”—the grand jury failed to return any indictments on that score.

The only other act of Judge Sinclair's that causes his name to be remembered in Utah—barring his collusion with other officials to secure the arrest of Brigham Young on a trumped-up, baseless charge of counterfeiting—was his sentencing a man who had committed murder to be executed on the Sabbath. This man was Thomas H. Ferguson, a non-Mormon, who, while drunk, had shot and killed his employer, Alexander Carpenter, another non-Mormon. The homicide occurred September 17th, 1859, and the execution—the day originally set having been changed—on Friday, the 28th of October.* Judge Sinclair was quite a young man, which may partly account for some of his idiosyncrasies.

Meantime Judge Cradlebaugh had begun operations in the Second Judicial District. This court convened at Provo on the 8th of March, 1859. The seat of the Second District was at Fillmore, the former capital of the Territory, and it was there, on the first Monday of November, 1858, that Judge Cradlebaugh should have opened court. Such was the appointment made for him before his arrival by Judges Eckels and Sinclair, constituting a majority of the supreme bench of Utah, empowered by Congress to arrange those matters. The appointment was made in August, 1858, but Judge Cradlebaugh did not arrive upon the scene of his labors until the first week in November. This was probably his reason for not

* Said the condemned man on the scaffold: “I was tried by the statutes of Utah Territory, which give a man the privilege of being shot, beheaded or hanged. But was it given to me? No, it was not. All Judge Sinclair wanted was to sentence some one to be hanged, then he was willing to leave the Territory; and he had too much whiskey in his head to know the day he sentenced me to be executed on, and would not have known, if it had not been for the people of Utah laughing at him. It would have been on Sunday. A nice Judge to send to any country!”

beginning on time; but why he did not open court at the place appointed, but arbitrarily changed it from Fillmore to Provo, in the absence of an avowed reason must be surmised. We surmise, therefore, that it was in order to be nearer Camp Floyd; it being the design of Judge Cradlebaugh, in inaugurating the extraordinary proceedings by him contemplated, to call to his aid the strong arm of the military. That design, as we shall see, was strictly carried out.

Judge Cradlebaugh proposed to investigate, among other things, the Mountain Meadows massacre, referred to previously. The facts relating to this terrible tragedy, as gathered from the most reliable sources,—some of which have never before been drawn upon,—will now be laid before the reader.

The summer of 1857 furnished the bloodiest page in all the history of Utah. The theme is approached by the chronicler with shuddering, and its recital must fill the heart of every reader with horror. There is a crime that is worse than murder—a massacre; and massacre never assumes form so horrid as when its victims are defenseless,—most dreadful of all when with the slain mingles the blood of helpless women and innocent children.

About midsummer of the year mentioned a large body of Missouri and Arkansas emigrants, en route to California, reached Salt Lake City. They traveled in two separate parties, and were well provided with stock, implements and the supplies constituting the usual emigrant outfit. For some days after their arrival, during which time they had repairs made in their vehicles and had their animals shod, they were in doubt as to which route of the two then commonly used to the Coast they should follow. At length the Arkansas party decided, probably upon the advice of General Charles C. Rich who was familiar with both, to take the northern route, which, it will be remembered, crossed Bear River and proceeded along the Humboldt. They started, but made only a few days' journey,—it was afterwards learned that they went no farther than Bear River—when for some reason, probably because southern California was their destination, the majority concluded to return

and take the southern route, leading through southwestern Utah. Proceeding southward through the Utah settlements, the two companies, one of which, the Arkansas party, was led by a man named Fancher, and the other, the Missouri party, was under command of a Mr. Dukes, became separated by several days' journey. It is known that Dukes' company were delayed some time near Beaver. Here they had trouble with the Indians, one of whom they had shot. Being attacked, they corralled their wagons and sought protection in a rifle pit. Two of them were wounded, but the Indians were soon placated through the intervention of officers of the Utah militia, who distributed to them liberal contributions of beef. Fancher's party in the meantime kept moving ahead, and had penetrated the Indian country and were beyond the line of settlements before the Missouri company advanced from this camp.

It was a time of great anxiety if not of intense excitement in Utah. News had just come that the troops sent by President Buchanan were nearing the Territory, and every express brought reports of the brutal and infamous threats with which the camps of the soldiery resounded. In their wagons, they declared, were the ropes with which the Mormon leaders were to be hanged. With their recent experiences in Missouri and Illinois fresh in their minds, the settlers were naturally in a state of the utmost anxiety as to the developments of the future. Martial law was all but declared in Utah, and the people were fully warned as to the exceeding gravity of the situation. Under the circumstances it was their plain duty to watch for signs of hostility on the part of emigrants or others who sought to pass through the Territory.

Whatever may have been the conduct of these companies when they encountered the Utah outposts on the east, there seems to be no question that not long after their arrival in Salt Lake Valley they gave abundant evidence of their hostility and vindictiveness. During their entire journey through the Territory they appear to have conducted themselves in the most offensive manner. They swaggered through the towns, declaring their intention, as soon

as they should have conveyed their women and children to a place of safety, to return with military force sufficient to complete such destruction of the Mormons as the United States soldiery might leave unfinished. They averred that the murdered leaders of the Church had received but tardily their deserts, and gave the impression, if they did not positively boast, that in their company were hands that had been reddened with the Prophet's blood. Nor were their offenses confined to harrowing and insulting words. They acted like a band of marauders, preying upon the possessions of those whose country they traversed, and committing all manner of petty indignities upon person and property. Still graver crimes were charged against them by the Indians. They were said not only to have wantonly shot some of the braves, but were known to have left poisoned beef where the savages would be likely to get it. Several deaths, attributed to this cause, occurred among the Indians near Fillmore, and numbers of their animals perished through drinking water from springs poisoned by the emigrants when about to break camp.

One result of this deliberate policy of exasperation was the attack by Indians on the rear party, the Missouri contingent, at its camp near Beaver. Dissuaded at that time from their design to take summary revenge for the atrocities committed against them, the Indians hung on the horizon of their foe, as the latter drove out past the last settlements, and when in the very heart of the Indian country the attack was renewed. Again the services of the Mormons, two or three of whom had been detailed to overtake and accompany the emigrants as guides and interpreters, stood the besieged in good stead. The enraged savages were bought off with the loose stock of the company, agreeing to leave unmolested the teams and wagons and take no life. These emigrants resumed their journey and reached their destination in safety.*

* Soon afterwards the Indians were persuaded by the president of the Southern Utah Indian mission—Jacob Hamblin—to surrender the stock, and all that had not been killed was delivered by him to an agent who came to receive it in response to his notification that it was held subject to his order.

For the leading party, however, a horrible fate was reserved. Though in the main composed of families that bore the appearance of respectability, there was a rough and lawless element in their ranks that lost no opportunity of exhibiting its bitterness and destructiveness. Against this company, as stated, was laid the fearful charge of injecting poison into the carcass of one of their oxen,* first having learned that the Indians would be likely to eat the meat, and of throwing packages of poison into the springs. In other ways they contrived to render themselves obnoxious to the settlers and hateful to the natives.

It is hinted, too, that coming from the state and some even from the county in which one of the Apostles, Parley P. Pratt, had been assassinated only a short time before, the blood-thirsty talk of the emigrants had intensified the feeling their other conduct had aroused among the people. In the spring of this same year Apostle Pratt had stood trial in Arkansas on the charge of having married the wife and abducted the children of Hector McLean, a Louisianian by birth but then a resident of California. The charge was not sustained, and the defendant was acquitted. But McLean's threat of vengeance and the solicitation of friends impelled the Apostle to seek safety in flight. Undertaking to make his way alone on horseback through a wild and sparsely settled country, he was intercepted by accomplices of McLean and held until the latter could come up and dispatch him. The assassin in his fury not only plunged his knife repeatedly into the body of his victim, but also shot him through the breast with a pistol snatched from the hand of a comrade. Neither principal nor accomplices in the tragedy were ever brought to justice, though the testimony at the coroner's inquest substantiated the facts here narrated.†

* This act was witnessed by men who camped near the emigrants at Corn Creek.

† Parley P. Pratt was murdered near Van Buren, Arkansas, May 13, 1857. George Q. Cannon was chosen to succeed him as one of the Twelve Apostles. His name was presented to the general conference of the Church by President Young, April 7, 1860, and he was ordained August 26th of that year.

As the Arkansas emigrants drew farther away from the larger and stronger towns and approached the isolated and straggling settlements on the southern and western border, they grew more defiant in language and actions. Cedar City was the last place of any consequence on the route. Here their customary proceeding of burning fences, whipping the heads off chickens or shooting them in the streets or private dooryards, to the extreme danger of the inhabitants, was continued. One of them, a blustering fellow riding a grey horse flourished his pistol in the face of the wife of one of the citizens, all the time making insulting proposals and uttering profane threats. When the town marshal notified them that they were violating the city ordinances they set his authority at defiance, declaring they would fight before any of their party should be surrendered. They seemed to think they had completely intimidated the people, and as a parting threat told in some quarters that they were going to camp in the Mountain Meadows until they should have fattened their beef animals so that an invading auxiliary force, expected from the west, would have plenty of supplies. It is probable that they had chosen Mountain Meadows as the last point for a prolonged halt through a suggestion given them by Jacob Hamblin, a member of George A. Smith's party, whom they had met at Corn Creek, now Kanosh, fifteen miles south of Fillmore, about the 23rd of August. Knowing of Hamblin as a pioneer in the southern country, the emigrants asked him about the road, and inquired as to a suitable place to rest and recruit their teams before crossing the desert. He suggested to them the south end of Mountain Meadows, a few miles from his ranch, where there was plenty of good feed and water for the animals.

Apostle Smith was returning from a tour of the southern settlements, during which he had at almost every opportunity given pointed advice to the people on the crisis which seemed to be impending. He had only just returned to Utah after a year's absence, and as some of his family lived in Iron County, he had left Salt Lake City about the end of July to visit them. On this journey, both going and coming, he warned the people against wasting their

grain or using it for horse-feed, as crops had been short for several years. He advised against selling to emigrants for this purpose, but distinctly urged the duty of furnishing strangers with what bread-stuffs they needed for themselves and families. That these emigrants and others were able to supply themselves with the necessities of life for their long journey was directly due to this humane counsel and its general acceptance. The fact that he had never heard of the Arkansas emigrants before he met them at Corn Creek, where he camped near them one night on his way back to Salt Lake City, and that he immediately started east and heard no more of them until he reached Bridger, appears to have escaped the notice of those who subsequently sought to associate him with the tragedy at Mountain Meadows. He was as innocent of connection with that crime as a babe unborn.

The ill-starred company, traveling slowly, reached Beaver, Parowan and Cedar City in succession, passing the last-named place about the 27th or 28th of August. Here, as at Parowan, they were able to purchase grain, and though doubtless regarded with distrust, were treated with humanity. Proceeding a few miles farther they camped several days near some of the springs in the vicinity, trading stock with the settlers and buying more grain. Their insolent conduct continued, and yet they seemed loth to leave the last signs of civilization,—the society of a people whom they hated.

Meantime the Indians were becoming aroused at the reports which had reached them of this company's deeds at Corn Creek and other places. The red men shared in no small degree the excitement of the whole country over the prospects of early war. No doubt the horses and herds of the emigrants were also something of a temptation to the savages.

Cedar was the most distant town from Salt Lake City on the line of travel to southern California, and for that reason the first point in the Territory which an expedition from that direction would reach. Their very remoteness made the settlers peculiarly alert and watchful for the first manifestations of that era of sanguinary distress that

was universally believed to be impending. It was accordingly the custom for the more prominent citizens to meet together frequently to discuss the situation and exchange ideas and suggestions as to what course should be taken with reference to any emergency. In their scattered condition,—many of them living on farms and ranches several miles distant,—it was no easy task to secure attendance at such a meeting except by previous appointment. Thus it happened that Sunday, when the people were accustomed to assemble for religious worship, came to be chosen for these brief consultations, the men folks meeting in council before the usual services began, or remaining a short time after they were concluded. Such was the case on Sunday, the 30th of August, the second or third day after the Arkansas company had passed through. The conduct of that company in and near Cedar, and the knowledge of their lawlessness all along the line of previous settlements, associated with the ferocious threat that their early return as a mob of destroyers might be expected, caused earnest and even indignant allusion to them at this particular council. By some it was suggested that as they were about to enter the Indian country the savages would be likely to harass and plunder them to a degree that would prevent their promised return.

It is probable that others were in favor of bringing them back and holding them as prisoners of war. What other suggestions, if any, were offered at the time is not known; but it is a fact that it was then and there resolved that the Indians should be held in check, and the emigrants permitted to pass in safety. A dispatch to that effect was sent shortly afterward by Lieutenant-Colonel Haight to the presiding official at Pinto [or Painter] Creek.

The messenger who delivered this order remembers that on his return he met the emigrants just breaking camp for the last time before entering the Mountain Meadows. He was accompanied on his errand of peace by Philip Klingensmith, then Bishop of Cedar; and they had scarcely set out from that place before they met John D. Lee, to whom they communicated the object of their journey. Lee was a major in the militia; never a bishop in the Church—as so

often asserted—but acting at this time as farmer among the Indians, and doubtless possessing much influence with them. His response indicated that he was displeased with the peaceful decision of the council. But though the Indians were gathered in force and under much excitement, near Pinto, the emigrants pursued their way in safety past that point and went into camp at the south end of Mountain Meadows, about forty miles from Cedar. These elevated pastures were almost on the water-shed, or “rim of the Basin;” and as they proved to be a pleasant, grassy spot, the emigrants planned to remain there and recuperate before venturing upon the desert. They had been unable to purchase wagon grease at the settlements—the settlers had none for themselves—and after reaching camp, which was probably about Thursday, September 3rd, they sent two men into the pines to make tar to be used as a substitute.*

In the meantime two men were despatched from Cedar under military orders to visit the camp at the Meadows and ascertain if possible what the real program and intentions of the party were. About the same time there was a general movement looking to a concentration of the Indians, though they do not seem to have massed at one point in any considerable number until Sunday, the 6th. The two messengers proceeded to Hamblin’s ranch, in the north end of the Meadows, from which place they twice visited the emigrants, on Saturday, the 5th, and Sunday, the 6th. They were civilly treated and informed that as soon as the two men who were making tar, and two others whom they intended sending back a few miles for some strayed cattle, returned, the company would vacate the Meadows. These latter men passed Hamblin’s Sunday morning, stopping there to water their horses.

The Sabbath passed in peace at the Meadows, but it was a day of excitement among the Indians congregated near Pinto, by whom it had been arranged that after the emigrants started and while they were journeying along the Santa Clara in straggling order, they

* These men escaped the general massacre that followed, but are understood to have been pursued by Indians to the Muddy country, and there slain.

should be attacked and plundered. Death was to be the portion of the men if they resisted, but the women and children were to be spared. The attack was precipitated, however, by the bloodthirsty haste of one of the chiefs, who, dozing while the corn and potatoes were roasting for the evening meal, dreamed that his double-hands were filled with blood. Regarding this as a favorable omen, and rousing his braves, whose sanguinary temper, long restrained, now needed no whet, the hot and furious march for the emigrant camp was forthwith begun, the untasted supper being left in the embers. John D. Lee appears to have been the only white man then with the savages.

It was just at dawn on Monday, the 7th, when from the heights and ravines surrounding their camp a volley carried pain and death into the ranks of the emigrants. Seven men were killed and sixteen wounded. Rudely aroused to the fate threatening them, the men rushed to the shelter of their wagons, and immediately began to entrench themselves by throwing up a slight bank of earth against their wagon wheels, and excavating a rifle pit in the center of their corral. Their defense was so stubborn and their movements so expeditious that the attacking party withdrew, and taking position on the adjacent hills, instituted a state of siege, meantime pouring in a deadly fire upon such of the hapless garrison as ventured outside the barricade for water. All told, the emigrants numbered about one hundred and thirty-seven; twenty-three were already killed or wounded, four were away at the pines and after the cattle, and at least seventeen were children under seven years of age,—this number being spared the massacre that ensued. Of the remaining ninety-two or ninety-three a goodly proportion were probably women and maidens. The fighting strength of the company, including young and old, could not, therefore, have been very great. But they were nerved by desperation. The besiegers had driven off their animals, so all thought of advance was idle. Equally futile was any hope of retreat. If they left their entrenchments it was to expose themselves to savage marksmanship, and they would have been

speedily cut down. No course was open save to remain and resist until possibly relief might come. During Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday they kept up the unequal conflict, their stock of ammunition running lower and lower, and their sufferings from thirst during the day being intense.

Only a few hours before this first attack was made, while the Indians were still believed to be under control at Pinto, the question of dealing with the emigrants on account of their continued ill behavior again came up for consideration at a council held in Cedar. There were present as usual—it being Sunday—the leading officers of the local militia and other prominent citizens. Up to that time there had been no demonstration against the emigrants, though it must have been known from the assembling and demeanor of the savages that they were planning a raid upon them. Again there were suggestions that the company be intercepted and brought back; having declared themselves as enemies, it was argued that they should be treated as such. Some there were, notably the fiery Klingensmith, who advocated an immediate attack upon the camp. Lee was not present, but is said to have sent word that the Indians were growing restless and vehement. From all reports the debate was animated, if not heated. But at length the suggestion prevailed that a courier be sent to Governor Young at Salt Lake City with dispatches detailing the provocation to hostilities that had been given, noting the Indian desire for revenge and asking his advice in regard to the situation. Isaac C. Haight, in command of the Cedar militia, was to write and forward the letter, and instructions were to be sent to Lee to pacify the Indians and keep them from attacking the emigrants. Both dispatches were written, and on Monday afternoon they were put into the hands of riders who knew their contents, for delivery at their respective destinations. Joseph Clewes carried the letter addressed by Colonel Haight to a resident of Pinto Creek, enclosing an order to Lee to keep the Indians off the emigrants and protect them from all harm until further orders. Before this letter reached Pinto Creek, Lee and the Indians had left for the Meadows; and

before it was received by him there, as he afterwards acknowledged it was received, the first attack had been made. The Indians had tasted of blood, some of their own had been spilt, the emigrants having killed several and mortally wounded others, and no human power could now check their fury.

The dispatch to Governor Young was carried by James H. Haslam, who, riding express and changing horses frequently, was able to reach Salt Lake City on the morning of Thursday, the 10th. Delivering his message, he was asked to come at 1 p. m. of the same day for a reply. On making his appearance at the hour named, and answering affirmatively the Governor's question whether he could stand the journey back, injunction was laid upon him not to spare horseflesh in returning with the reply, for "the Indians must be kept from the emigrants at all cost, if it took all of Iron County to protect them."* He reached Cedar City on Sunday, September 13th, and delivered the letter to Colonel Haight, who, as he read it, cried like a child, and exclaimed: "Too late, too late!" The massacre had already taken place.

The messengers to Governor Young and John D. Lee could have scarcely started upon their errands when word came to Cedar that the Indians had attacked the emigrants at the Meadows. From that time on, Indian and white runners came almost daily from the scene of strife. The first reports were that the Indians, several hundred in number, had attacked and slain some of the emigrants, and that men were needed to guard the remnant and bury the dead. It was upon this call to Colonel Haight that John M. Higbee, a major of one of the battalions of militia, on Tuesday the 8th, set out with a body of men and wagons for the Meadows. His force was not numerous and the men were not all supplied with arms. Some were teamsters and others took along picks and spades. They reached their destination early Wednesday morning, only to find that there had been no such bloodshed as that reported, and that the emigrants were making good their defense. But they found an angry host of

* Haslam's affidavit.

Indians bent on bloodshed, and outnumbering ten to one their own forces. An attempt by the militia to assist the emigrants would have transferred to themselves the Indian attack. During that day and the next, awaiting further orders they lay in camp, near to but out of sight of the entrenched emigrants, who were on the other side of a small hill. Thursday brought slight reinforcements, but by this time more Indians had arrived upon the scene. The whites, who were from the Santa Clara country, believed, as did Higbee's men, that they were summoned there on an errand of mercy, to bury the dead and protect the survivors. But the fury of the Indians was uncontrollable. Lee may have attempted, as he says, to restrain them. It is not improbable, however, that after some of the Indians had been wounded, and himself had had a narrow escape from the riflemen in the corral, he made no further attempt to check the assault. He exhibited bullet holes in his clothing and hat, where Arkansas marksmanship had given evidence of its accuracy. But the Indians for some reason were inclined to think that he and the white men were planning to cheat them of their prey. About the third day of the attack, two men from Hamblin's ranch approached the scene of battle, and came upon some wounded savages. Companions of the latter at once surrounded the two, upbraiding them with Lee's supposed desertion of the Indians' cause, and compelling them, probably in order to demonstrate whether a friendly understanding existed between the whites on both sides, to run the gauntlet of the emigrant fire. They were required to pass in full view and close range of the camp, down the hill, across the valley and up on the other side. To make the attempt seemed to court certain death, but to refuse the Indians was to invite the vengeance of a still more savage foe. They made the daring run and escaped unharmed, though bullets whistled past them thick and fast.*

* There is another statement to the effect that these two men, prior to making the run, were compelled to don Indian attire. This furnishes the only foundation for the story that the militia disguised themselves as Indians.

This was probably on Wednesday, the 9th, and in explaining how the emigrants came to fire upon the white men, we at once come upon the probable cause and explanation of the horrid massacre that ensued two days later. We have seen that among none of the men at the Meadows was there any other understanding than that the Indians had been engaged in bloody work, and were to be restrained from further operations of like character. This was the decision of every council that had been held. It was the substance of every dispatch sent and command issued. But it is said that after Monday's attack a couple of horsemen, coming upon the two emigrants who had been sent back after lost cattle, shot one of them, a young man named Aden, and pursued his companion with the same deadly intent. The latter, however, escaped the bullets sent after him and succeeded in making his way back to the corral. To his comrades his story must have conveyed the dreadful impression that white men were in league with the Indians. The slayers of Aden are supposed to have continued on to Cedar, where they probably urged upon some congenial spirits that since the emigrants now believed the settlers were accessory to the Indian attack, the killing of all who could tell the tale must be accomplished.

Prior to this tragic incident, two of the emigrants had endeavored, under cover of darkness, to break through the Indian lines and carry a call back to the settlement for assistance. These men were met in the cedars during the night time by a small party commanded by Klingensmith, who had left Cedar City the same evening. Both the emigrants were killed, one of them falling, it is said, by Klingensmith's own hand.

Meantime another council had been held, this time at Parowan, the regimental headquarters. At this council, over which William H. Dame as Colonel presided, the whole matter was once more discussed. The men present, of whom there were quite a number, listened to reports brought from Cedar to the effect that the emigrants had been attacked and were then surrounded. The decision of this council, like that of the preceding ones, was that the company should

be protected, and assisted to pass on in safety. Colonel Haight and his associates, after this conference, returned to Cedar, and he is understood to have sent a message to Lee that if it took all the property of the emigrants to appease the Indians, they were to have it; no more blood should be shed.

But Klingensmith, who was doubtless among those who had been informed of Aden's murder, and had divined its effect upon the emigrants, was already at work collecting men to go to the Meadows. He, and by this time some others, cannot have been guiltless of bloody intentions. His act, on meeting the two emigrant messengers in the cedars, is proof enough of his temper. There is no doubt that until he reached the Meadows the fatal order for the massacre had not been received. When he arrived he conferred with the leaders, and then for the first time was there talk as to a plan of attack. He brought encouragement and strength to those, if any there were, who were bent upon destroying the company—which had been his own plan in all the councils held at Cedar—and he undoubtedly gave the impression that the superior officers of the militia had given orders to that effect. Higbee, who as major of battalion was in command of militia on the ground, was of equal rank with Lee, though much younger in years. Lee was also major, but at this time devoted himself more especially to the Indian forces. It was Lee and Klingensmith, however, who seemed to have the direction of affairs, and it is not unlikely that Klingensmith by his ardor and representations—he was the latest arrival from Cedar—had more influence in the subsequent councils than any one else.

Finally, on Friday morning, the 11th, the details of the plan were adopted. Shortly after noon two wagons were ordered up near the emigrant corral; a flag of truce was sent forward, and the besieged party answered it with one of their own. Lee advanced to meet their representative; there was a long parley; and at length Lee and his wagons entered the corral. His proposition was that the company should give up their arms, loading them into these two wagons, and, leaving their outfits on the ground, accept the escort of

himself and associates back to places of safety. The terms were acceded to; the wagons were quickly loaded, some of the children, two or three women, and a couple of wounded men also finding places thereon. The march back toward Cedar City began, the women walking behind the wagons, and the men behind the women, the whole making a straggling procession, with the militiamen in single file on the right hand and well toward the rear.* The Indians were invisible, being in ambush ahead and to the right of the militia. The precision that had been arranged for the scheme did not prevent a hitch, and as the column kept moving on beyond the point where the signal was to be given, the savages, impatient at the delay and fearful that they were to be robbed of their revenge, advanced stealthily, some creeping on all fours up to the line.† At last a gunshot was heard in front, and immediately a volley of death blazed forth from the bushes, and from some parts of the militia line. At the first fire nearly all the adults were killed. Those who survived it were speedily dispatched. None but small children were spared.

The slaughter lasted but two or three minutes. It is not believed that indignities were put upon the corpses, and it is denied that any were scalped. The militia kept moving northward, and night soon threw its black mantle over the horrible scene. A few men were sent back to the emigrant corral to keep the Indians from plundering the wagons, but the redskins had made quick work of stripping the clothing off the bodies, and were already looting the camp. That night the air was full of the wild bellowings of the cattle and the triumphant shouts of the savages; and here and there along the

* It is said that one of the emigrants, after starting out with the rest, turned back, saying that treachery was intended. His comrades persuaded him to rejoin the party, which by this time was quite a distance in advance.

† The signal was to be the word "Halt!" spoken when part of the procession had crossed the slight ridge which should separate the men and militia at the rear from the wagons and women in front. But the officer who was to give it delayed in the hope that other orders might be received or other counsels prevail, until the point of attack had long been passed and the Indians were threatening to break in indiscriminately and begin the slaughter.

trail the cold, white face of a murdered man or woman looked up into the dark, dumb sky. It was an accursed, hated spot.

Scarcely had the dreadful work ended when two men from Cedar, riding as if for their lives, met the advancing column. They bore no dispatches, but had come on their own account to seek to check any attempt to overturn the decision of the Cedar and Parowan councils. They were fearful that danger was in store for the emigrants, and this suspicion was confirmed when they met a runaway from the Meadows, who told them of the crime that was on foot. Spurring their jaded horses to renewed speed, they reached the spot. But it was too late. The deed was done. Next morning, Saturday, the 12th, Colonel Dame, of Parowan, and Lieutenant-Colonel Haight, of Cedar, arrived on the scene. They were horror-struck, and it is said became involved in a heated quarrel.

In the meantime steps were taken to bury the bodies. The ground was dry and hard, but during the day all were interred where they lay, sometimes three or four in a grave.*

The orphaned children, seventeen in number, ranging in age from three months to seven years, were taken to Cedar and distributed among the families in the vicinity. They were well cared for, and during the following summer were surrendered to Indian Superintendent Forney who reported that "they were in better condition than children generally in the settlements in which they lived." In the year 1859 they were sent back to Arkansas, an appropriation for the purpose having been made by Congress.

* The graves were in most cases shallow, but there is no truth in the story that the first rains washed away the soil and left the bodies exposed. The bones that were afterwards collected had been dug from their resting place by wolves, and gnawed and scattered by the ferocious beasts.

In the spring of 1859 a detachment of troops from Camp Floyd, sent out for the purpose, gathered up the scattered bones and buried them in one spot, erecting over them a rude cairn, against which leaned a slab bearing the inscription: "Here 120 men, women and children were massacred in cold blood, early in September, 1857." Surmounting the cairn was a cross bearing the words: "Vengeance is mine: I will repay, saith the Lord." Nothing remains now to mark the place of sepulchre. Cairn and cross have yielded to the action of the elements, and have crumbled and disappeared.

Of the property of the murdered emigrants, the larger part, including nearly all the stock, was taken by the Indians. The remainder was conveyed to Cedar, arriving during the night of Sunday, the 13th.* Soon afterwards the property, consisting of some clothing, wagon covers, utensils, etc., was sold at auction at Cedar City, the ubiquitous Klingensmith acting as chief salesman. Not a dollar of it, and not a single hoof of stock belonging to the ill-fated company ever came into the hands of President Young or the Church, all assertions to the contrary notwithstanding.

Such are the facts relating to the most dreadful occurrence in Utah's history. John D. Lee, one of the chief actors, told a different story when on the 29th of September he brought to Governor Young a verbal report of the affair. He said that Indians surrounded, massacred and stripped the bodies of the adults of the party, and sold the children to the settlers; that no white men were concerned in the massacre and that when he heard of it he took some of his neighbors and went and buried the bodies.† Among all save the actual participants there was the completest acceptance of the story that the crime was committed solely by Indians. Scarcely had the bodies been buried when the leaders in the bloody work called their men together and under the most binding oaths pledged them to secrecy. For years the unholy promise was kept, and when at length the truth began to leak out, the names of men entirely innocent were mingled in fatal proximity with those of the guilty. Of the militia, ordered or lured to the scene of the massacre by Lee and Klingensmith, nearly all were young men who

* Next day the Missouri party of emigrants passed through Cedar. They had heard of the fate of their associates, but believed it to be the work of Indians.

† Wilford Woodruff's Diary.

Governor Young in his report as Superintendent of Indian Affairs to the Commissioner, January 6th, 1858, says: "I quote from a letter written to me by John D. Lee, farmer to the Indians in Iron and Washington counties: 'About the 22nd of September Captain Fancher & Co. fell victims to the Indians' wrath near Mountain Meadows. Their cattle and horses were shot down in every direction: their wagons and property mostly committed to the flames.'"

acted in innocence of evil under military orders. In most instances they took no part whatever in the actual killing. It was not until 1870 that Lee's complicity was established; when upon investigation and recommendation of Apostle Erastus Snow made to President Young, it was moved and unanimously carried in a council of the Apostles held at Salt Lake City that John D. Lee be expelled from the Church, with a solemn ban against re-admission under any circumstances, and that his superior officer, Isaac C. Haight, for failing to restrain him and take prompt action against him, be also excommunicated. Klingensmith, one of the most guilty throughout the whole affair, left the Church soon after the massacre, and was ever after burning with anxiety to turn states evidence.*

As said, it was this awful crime, the Mountain Meadows massacre, that Judge Cradlebaugh, of the Second District Court, sitting at Provo in March, 1859, sought to investigate. So interested was he in the matter that he had paid a personal visit to the scene of the massacre. Other criminal cases that came before him at the same session of court, were the Potter and Parrish murders, which occurred at Springville, six miles south of Provo, in March, 1857. William R. Parrish, his son Beason and G. G. Potter were the persons killed,—shot and stabbed to death on the night of the 14th of March. The verdict of the coroner's jury was "that they came to their deaths by the hands of an assassin or assassins to the jury unknown." Judge Cradlebaugh, however, was determined to make the Mormon Church responsible for the crime; and not only for this, but for the Mountain Meadows massacre, and in fact for nearly every other deed of blood or lesser depredation committed in his district. His zeal and that of his coadjutors in this direction caused Superintendent Forney to remark, in his report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in August, 1859: "I fear, and I regret to say it, that with certain parties here there is a greater anxiety to connect

* Though sometimes referred to as Bishop Smith, and his name appearing to an affidavit dated April 10th, 1871, as Philip Klingon Smith, he was usually known as Klingensmith.

Brigham Young and other church dignitaries with every criminal offense, than diligent endeavor to punish the actual perpetrators of crime." In charging the grand jury of his court on March 8th of that year, Judge Cradlebaugh used the following language:

I will say to you, Gentlemen of the Grand Jury, that from what I learn, it has been some time since a court, having judicial cognizance in your district, was held. No person has been brought to punishment for some two years; and from what I have learned I am satisfied that crime after crime has been committed.

* * * * *

In consequence of the Legislature not having provided proper means, there is not that aid given that is desired to enable the judiciary to prosecute its duties; but I will say that the Legislature, in my opinion, have legislated to prevent the judiciary from bringing such offenders to justice.

* * * * *

They have provided the Probate Courts with criminal jurisdiction, and it would seem that the whole machinery was made so that they should be brought before that court and tried, and the fact that there is no additional legislation to provide for bringing them before this court, proves that it was done to prevent.

The Judge then proceeded to find fault with the *Deseret News* for indulging in certain strictures on the Federal courts, and with ex-Governor Young for an alleged similar cause. Finally he came to the Mountain Meadows massacre and the Potter and Parrish affair, also mentioning the murder of one Henry Fobbs at Pondtown, and the killing of Henry Jones and his mother at Payson.* He then said:

To allow these things to pass over gives a color as if they were done by authority. The very fact of such a crime as that of the Mountain Meadows shows that there was some person high in the estimation of the people, and it was done by that authority; and this case of the Parrishes shows the same, and unless you do your duty, such will be the view that will be taken of it.

You can know no law but the laws of the United States and the laws you have here. No person can commit crimes and say they are authorized by higher authorities, and if they have any such notions they will have to dispel them.

I saw something said in that paper of some higher law. It is perhaps not proper to mention that, but such teachings will have their influence upon the public mind.

* Fobbs was said to have been killed by Indians while passing through the Territory. Jones and his mother were guilty of incest and were shot by an enraged mob of citizens, who pulled down the house in which they dwelt. Both events took place in 1857.



Rushen Miller



While Judge Cradlebaugh was delivering his charge to the grand jury, a detachment of infantry from Camp Floyd, numbering about a hundred men, commanded by Captain Heth, entered and encamped without permission upon the grounds adjoining the building—the Provo Seminary—which was being used temporarily as a court house. These grounds, with the Seminary, belonged to the city. While the soldiers invested the outside premises, the officers took up their quarters in the lower part of the building. Amazed and alarmed at this high-handed proceeding, which was looked upon as an attempt to intimidate jurors, witnesses and other persons attending court, the citizens of Provo at once filed indignant protests against the presence of the troops, and petitioned the Mayor and City Council to order their removal. Thereupon the Mayor, B. K. Bullock, in behalf of the council, addressed a memorial to Judge Cradlebaugh setting forth the facts stated and respectfully praying him to cause the military force to be removed beyond the limits of the municipality.

To this memorial the Judge replied that the temporary location of the troops in the city was a movement well considered before it was determined upon; that they were there at his request, having been “kindly furnished” by the commanding general at Camp Floyd, and that their presence was a matter of necessity, to secure prisoners who were to be tried before the court; there being no jail in which to confine them. His Honor stated in the course of his communication that the soldiers were as quiet and orderly a set of men as he ever saw. “As to your remark about intimidation,” said the Judge to the Mayor, “allow me to say that good American citizens have no cause to fear American troops.”

Mayor Bullock and the City Council immediately rejoined, informing Judge Cradlebaugh that he was mistaken in asserting that there was no jail in Provo; that they had a place prepared for such purposes, and were both willing and able, as were the authorities of the County, to provide abundantly for the security and necessities of all prisoners. They also informed him that

through the drunkenness and supercilious conduct of some of his "quiet and orderly soldiers" several unpleasant circumstances had already occurred between them and the citizens. Against the needless and degrading use of the army as "a walking calaboose" and the superseding of the civil by the military power, the city authorities again protested, and renewed their request for the removal of the troops. All Utah County was now aroused and petitions and protests of a similar character began pouring in from every side. Judge Cradlebaugh paid no attention to them whatever, but kept the court house surrounded by soldiers while he awaited the desired action of the grand jury, to wit: the indictment of the Mormon leaders for the crimes referred to in his extraordinary address. More troops soon appeared upon the scene. Eight companies of infantry, one of artillery and one of cavalry, under Major Paul, followed Heth's command from Camp Floyd, and were stationed within sight of the Provo court house.

Public excitement and indignation increased correspondingly, and the citizens of Provo, and not only they, but the people of the Territory at large, now appealed to Governor Cumming against this flagrant infringement of their liberties. That appeal was not in vain. The Governor, not being in sympathy with the course pursued by the Federal Judges, and recognizing the rightfulness of the people's cause, promptly requested General Johnston to order the troops removed. The General, however, who was not only in sympathy, but in collusion with the Judges, refused to comply, holding himself obligated by the instructions of the War Department to his predecessor, General Harney, to obey the summons, not only of the Governor but of the Judges, and even of the United States Marshal, for troops to aid them in the performance of their duties. In this view General Johnston was of course sustained by the Judges. Doubtless his antipathy to Governor Cumming had something to do with his refusal to honor the request. But the Governor, who was quite a positive character, and knew his own rights as well as those

of the people, did not propose to be trifled with. He forthwith issued the following proclamation:

Whereas, one company of the U. S. Infantry, under the command of Captain Heth, is now stationed around the Court House at Provo, where the Hon. John Cradlebaugh is now holding court, and eight additional companies of infantry, one of artillery, and one of cavalry, under the command of Major Paul, are stationed within sight of the Court House; and,

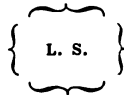
Whereas, the presence of soldiers has a tendency, not only to terrify the inhabitants and disturb the peace of the Territory, but also to subvert the ends of justice, by causing the intimidation of witnesses and jurors; and,

Whereas, this movement of troops has been made without consultation with me, and, as I believe, is in opposition to both the letter and spirit of my instructions; and,

Whereas, Gen'l. Johnston, commander of the military department of Utah, has refused my request that he would issue the necessary orders for the removal of the above mentioned troops:

Now, therefore, I ALFRED CUMMING, Governor of the Territory of Utah, do hereby publish this my solemn protest against this present military movement, and also against all movements of troops incompatible with the letter and spirit of the annexed extract from the instructions received by me from government for my guidance while Governor of the Territory of Utah.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the Territory to be affixed. Done at Great Salt Lake City, this twentieth-seventh day of March, A. D. eighteen hundred and fifty-nine, and of the Independence of the United States the Eighty-third.



JOHN HARTNETT,
Secretary of State.

By the Governor,
ALFRED CUMMING.

The following is the "extract" referred to in the foregoing proclamation:

It is your duty to take care that the laws are faithfully executed, and to maintain the peace and good order of the Territory, and also to support by your power and authority the civil officers in the performance of their duties. If these officers, when thus engaged, are forcibly opposed, or have just reason to expect opposition, they have a right to call such portions of the *posse comitatus* to their aid as they may deem necessary. If circumstances should lead you to believe that the ordinary force at the disposal of such officers will be insufficient to overcome any resistance that may be reasonably anticipated, then you are authorized to call for such number of the troops as the occasion may require, who will act as a *posse comitatus*, and while thus employed, they will be under the direction of the proper civil officer, and act in conformity with the instructions you may give as the *Chief Executive Magistrate of the Territory*.

About the same time Judges Sinclair and Cradlebaugh—Judge Eckels seems to have been absent from the scene—addressed a joint letter to the United States Attorney-General in relation to the matter at issue. To the answer of that high functionary, which fully sustained Governor Cumming, and figuratively cuffed the ears of his opponents, reference will be made a little later.

Judge Cradlebaugh, without waiting for the grand jury to present the indictments that he desired, and doubtless despairing of their intention so to do, began issuing bench warrants for the apprehension of certain persons suspected of complicity in the Springville murders. These warrants were served by the U. S. Marshal, accompanied by a squad of soldiers. Several men were arrested, among them some Mormon witnesses subpœnaed by the grand jury, and handed over to the keeping of the military. There were also a number of Indians and a few Gentiles in custody.

After waiting in vain two weeks for the grand jury to gratify him, Judge Cradlebaugh became angry, and summoning the members of that body before him, he discharged them, at the same time dismissing the prisoners then in custody and closing his court. He entered upon the docket these words: "The whole community presents a united and organized opposition to the administration of justice." In his final address to the grand jury, His Honor wrathfully said:

If it is expected that this court is to be used by this community as a means of protecting it against the peca-dillos of Gentiles and Indians; unless this community will punish its own murderers, such expectation will not be realized. It will be used for no such purpose.

When this people come to their reason and manifest a disposition to punish their own high offenders, it will then be time to enforce the law also for their protection. If this court cannot bring you to a proper sense of your duty, it can at least turn the savages in custody loose upon you.

In summing up the evidence in the Springville cases, the Judge had thus expressed himself:

Men are murdered here. Coolly, deliberately, premeditatedly murdered—their murder is deliberated and determined upon by Church council meetings and that, too, for

no other reason than that they had apostatized from your Church and were striving to leave the Territory. You are the tools, the dupes, the instruments of a tyrannical Church despotism. The heads of your Church order and direct you. You are taught to obey their orders and commit these horrid murders. Deprived of your liberty, you have lost your manhood, and become the willing instruments of bad men.

The grand jury framed a reply, remonstrating against these insults and protesting against their untimely and dishonorable discharge. They stated that they were surrounded during their deliberations by a detachment of the army, and that army officers were quartered within hearing of the evidence of witnesses who were being examined in the jury-room; that they presented indictments for offenses against the laws of the United States, which indictments had been treated with contempt and the prisoners indicted liberated without trial; that witnesses subpœnaed by the grand jury had been treacherously arrested and the jury deprived of their evidence; but that notwithstanding they were thus trammelled by the court, they had honored their oath and were endeavoring to faithfully discharge their duties when they were dismissed by His Honor with a slanderous and insulting harangue.*

Soon after the closing of the court, the troops investing Provo were withdrawn. And so ended Judge Cradlebaugh's vain attempt—could it be otherwise than vain?—to saddle upon the Mormon Church, upon an entire community, crimes committed by a few individuals, for whose conduct that Church, that community, could not justly or reasonably be held responsible.

But the game was not yet played out. Another act of the drama remained; an act that came very near provoking a serious conflict, with General Johnston and the troops at Camp Floyd on one side, and Governor Cumming and the Utah militia on the other.

*The members of the grand jury were: John Riggs (foreman), James Pace, William Meeks, Isaac Morley, Jr., Richard Sessions, D. D. McArthur, A. G. Conover, John Mercer, George W. Bean, Jesse McCauslin, John W. Turner, John Sessions, M. C. Kinsman, A. P. Dowdle, Martin H. Peck, James Smith, Lorenzo Johnson, William A. Follett, N. T. Guyman, John Harvey, Wilber J. Earl, Philander Colton and L. C. Zabriskie.

A conspiracy had been concocted by the Federal officials for the arrest of Brigham Young on a charge of counterfeiting,—the trumped-up case mentioned previously. This attempt was made about the time that the troops were withdrawn from Provo. A young artist, an engraver, residing at Salt Lake City, had been employed by certain parties from Camp Floyd to duplicate a plate used by the Quarter-master of that post for notes drawn upon the assistant treasurers of the United States at St. Louis and New York. The artist, who was very clever, did his work well, but it is believed was not aware that he was committing a criminal act. This, however, did not suffice to shield him. The fraud being discovered, the principal, one Brewer, who had employed the engraver to make the plate, was arrested at Camp Floyd. He immediately turned states evidence, shifting the onus from his own shoulders to those of the artist, and also endeavoring to implicate President Young in the affair. The charge against the latter was absolutely groundless, but it suited the purpose of the conspirators,

and was simply another attempt to make "some person high in authority" responsible for the misdeed of a comparatively obscure individual. A writ was issued for the arrest of the artist, and another for the apprehension of Brigham Young. The U. S. Marshal was to serve the writs, and if resisted, as it was fully expected he would be, General Johnston's artillery was to make a breach in the wall surrounding the residence of the ex-Governor, who would be taken by force and carried to Camp Floyd.

Such was the program which certain officers from camp, entrusted with the service of the writs, laid before Governor Cumming, soliciting his co-operation in the matter. To the artist's apprehension, His Excellency offered no objection; in fact he helped to secure it; but to the arrest of Brigham Young on such a baseless charge he would not listen. Said the Governor to the officers: "When you have a right to take Brigham Young, gentlemen, you shall have him without creeping through walls, you shall enter by his door with heads erect, as becomes representatives of

your government. But till that time, gentlemen, you can't touch Brigham Young while I live, by G—d."

Discomfited, the officers returned to Camp Floyd. It was now rumored that General Johnston would send two regiments and a battery of artillery to enforce the writ for the arrest of the Mormon leader. Governor Cumming promptly informed General Wells of this report, and directed him to hold the militia in readiness to repel the threatened assault. Five thousand men flew to arms in response to this order, and eagerly awaited the issue. But the regiments from Camp Floyd did not come. General Johnston had evidently changed his mind. Soon afterward the letter from the United States Attorney-General, in answer to Judges Sinclair and Cradlebaugh came to hand. That letter decided that the troops could be used as a posse to enforce the processes of the courts only upon the call of the Governor. The power of the judicial-military conspirators was thus broken. A few extracts from this letter of Judge Black's, which was dated May 17th, 1859, are here inserted. Said the great jurist to the Utah judges:

The condition of things in Utah made it extremely desirable that the judges appointed for that Territory should confine themselves strictly within their own official sphere. The Government had a district attorney, who was charged with the duties of a public accuser, and a marshal, who was responsible for the arrest and safe-keeping of criminals. For the judges there was nothing left except to hear patiently the cases brought before them, and to determine them impartially according to the evidence adduced on both sides. * * * * *

The Governor is the supreme Executive of the Territory. He is responsible for the public peace. From the general law of the land, the nature of his office, and the instructions he received from the State department, it ought to have been understood that he alone had power to issue a requisition for the movement of troops from one part of the Territory to another,—that he alone could put the military forces of the Union and the people of the Territory into relations of general hostility with one another. The instructions given to the Commanding-General by the War Department are to the same effect. In that paper a "*requisition*" is not spoken of as a thing which anybody except the Governor can make. It is true that in one clause the General is told that if the Governor, judges, or the marshal shall find it necessary to *summon directly* a part of the troops to aid either in the performance of his duty, he (the General) is to see the *summons* promptly obeyed. This was manifestly intended to furnish the means of repelling an opposition which might be too strong for civil posse, and too sudden to admit of a formal requisition of the

Governor upon the military commander. An officer finds himself resisted in the discharge of his duty, and he calls to his aid first the citizens, and, if they are not sufficient, the soldiers. This would be directly summoning a part of the troops. *A direct summons* and a *requisition* are not convertible terms. * * * *

In a Territory like Utah, the person who exercises this last mentioned power can make war and peace when he pleases, and holds in his hands the issues of life and death for thousands. Surely it was not intended to cloth each one of the judges, as well as the marshal and all his deputies, with this tremendous authority. Especially does this construction seem erroneous when we reflect that these different officers might make requisitions conflicting with one another, and all of them crossing the path of the Governor. * * * *

On the whole the President is very decidedly of opinion—

1. That the Governor of the Territory alone has power to issue a requisition upon the commanding-general for the whole or part of the army;
2. That there was no apparent occasion for the presence of the troops at Provo.
3. That if a rescue of the prisoners in custody had been attempted, it was the duty of the marshal, and not of the judge, to summon the force which might be necessary to prevent it;
4. That the troops ought not to have been sent to Provo, without the concurrence of the Governor, nor kept there against his remonstrance;
5. That the disregard of these principles and rules of action has been in many ways extremely unfortunate.

A strong effort was now made by the anti-Mormons to have Governor Cumming removed, and another executive, more in harmony with their views and policies, appointed in his stead. To this end a mass meeting of Gentiles convened at Camp Floyd in the latter part of July. Among those present were the Federal Judges and Dr. Garland Hurt. An address was issued, accusing the Mormons of numerous crimes, declaring that they were still disloyal, and that President Buchanan had been deceived and had done a great wrong in withdrawing from the courts the protecting power of the military.

That same month these “disloyal Mormons” had celebrated, in response to the following order, the natal day of American liberty:

SPECIAL ORDER NO. 2.

HEADQUARTERS NAUVOO LEGION,

Adjutant-General's Office, G. S. L. City, July 1st, 1859.

Monday, the 4th, will be the eighty-third anniversary of the birth of American freedom. It is the duty of every American citizen to commemorate the great event; not

in a boisterous revelry, but with hearts full of gratitude to Almighty God the Great Father of our rights.

The Lieutenant-General directs for the celebration in this city as follows :

1st.—At sunrise a salute of thirteen guns will be fired, commencing near the residence of His Excellency the Governor, to be answered from a point on South Temple Street, near the residence of President Brigham Young.

The national flag will be hoisted at the signal from the first gun, simultaneously at the residences of Governor Cumming and President Young, at the office of the Territorial Secretary, and the residence of the United States Attorney. Captain Pitt's band will be stationed at sunrise opposite the residence of Governor Cumming, and Captain Ballo's band opposite the residence of President Young.

At the hoisting of the flags the bands will play the "Star Spangled Banner."

2nd.—After the morning salute the guns will be parked at the Court House till noon, when a salute of thirty-three guns will be fired.

3rd.—At sunset a salute of five guns, in honor of the Territories, will be fired and the flags lowered.

4th.—For the above service Lieutenant Atwood and two platoons of artillery will be detailed. Two six-pounder iron guns will be used for the salutes. Also a first lieutenant and two platoons of the 1st Cavalry will be detailed as a guard, and continue on guard through the day. The whole detachment will be dismissed after the sunset salute.

5th.—Col. J. C. Little, of the General's staff, will perform the duties of marshal of the day, with permission to select such deputies as he may require to assist him. The Declaration of Independence will be read by him from the steps of the Court House at noon.

6th.—The bands and the services to be performed by them will be under the direction of Col. Duzette.

By order of

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL DANIEL H. WELLS,
ADJUTANT-GENERAL JAMES FERGUSON.

Almost simultaneously with the effort put forth by local Gentiles for the removal of Governor Cumming, the friends of General Johnston, at Washington, brought a strong pressure to bear upon President Buchanan for the same purpose. Johnston at that time was quite an influential personage. His great military ability was recognized, and he was regarded as a very likely successor to the aged veteran, Winfield Scott, General-in-Chief of the United States Army. In fact, his friends at the capital were working to that end. To the influence exerted against Governor Cumming, who was looked upon as a foe to General Johnston, and was indeed a very lion in his

path, President Buchanan would probably have yielded, had not that staunch friend of Utah, Colonel Thomas L. Kane, who also had great influence at the seat of government, and to whom the President felt particularly grateful for his recent services in the west, by a master-stroke of political strategy thwarted the scheme for the Governor's displacement.* Colonel Kane had been solicited by the Historical Society of New York City to deliver a lecture on Utah affairs, but had postponed the acceptance of the invitation. Hearing of the movement against Governor Cumming, and learning that President Buchanan had asked of a mutual friend how the proposed removal would be likely to affect Colonel Kane, the latter, being determined that Cumming, whom he regarded as a friend to the Territory, should be retained in office, saw that now was an opportune time to lecture in the metropolis on Utah affairs. Arrangements were forthwith concluded, and though suffering from an attack of pleurisy, the Colonel proceeded from Philadelphia to New York for that purpose. His effort was entirely successful. During the lecture he took particular pains to eulogize Governor

Cumming for his wise and able administration, and declared him to be admirably fitted for the duties of his difficult and trying position. Next morning condensed reports of the lecture appeared in all the metropolitan newspapers and were scattered broad-cast over the country by the associated press. The result was that public opinion was turned completely in Cumming's favor, and President Buchanan, politic as ever, refused to remove him, and he was continued in office till the close of his term.

The advent of Johnston's army proved both a benefit and a detriment to Utah. The founding of Camp Floyd furnished a market for the products of farm, ranch and dairy, and the opportunity to

* President Buchanan in his message to Congress, December, 1858, says: "I cannot refrain from mentioning the valuable services of Colonel Thomas L. Kane, who, from motives of pure benevolence, and without any official character or pecuniary compensation, visited Utah during the last inclement winter for the purpose of contributing to the pacification of the Territory."

profit by the presence of the troops was not lost sight of by the settlers in their vicinity. The merchants were naturally among the first to recognize and take advantage of the commercial chance thus afforded, and more than one contractor and middleman had good reason, from a worldly standpoint, to bless and not curse the coming of the army. In fact the community at large was greatly benefitted in a temporal way. Owing to the suspension of travel across the plains and the consequent breaking up of local business houses at the time of "the war," the people were destitute of many comforts which now, through trade with Camp Floyd, began to be re-supplied.* In exchange for flour, grain, beef, butter, eggs, poultry and dried fruits, the citizens obtained cash, clothing, tea, coffee, sugar and other necessities. When Camp Floyd was evacuated, the government property, such as was not destroyed, was sold out at great sacrifice. Several Utah merchants there "made their start," and in a few years became very wealthy. Thus was the advent of the army of great material benefit to the Territory.

On the other hand evils were introduced into the community which, until then, it had never known. These, however, were more traceable to the crowds of camp-followers—those usual hangers-on to the skirts of an invading army—that came with the troops, than to the soldiers themselves. They were truly the off-scourings of civilization; thieves, gamblers and desperadoes of the worst type. Contact with such characters could not but have a debasing effect upon the morals of the people, especially the youth, some of whom became in time almost as bad and reckless as those whose evil examples they unhappily followed. Hitherto it had been the boast that Utah was almost entirely free from the vices which prevailed elsewhere. There was little if any drunkenness, no gambling, no

* During the troubles of 1857 the Mormon forces were instructed not to interfere with trains of merchandise belonging to Gentile or other business men in Utah. General Johnston, however, would not permit them to pass his lines, and detained them east of the Wasatch Mountains all winter. The result was a general breaking up of local merchants and consequent privations among the people.

prostitution,—in short, none of the social evils which seem to be a concomitant of modern civilization, and are held by some sophists to be essential to the welfare of the communities they invariably corrupt and destroy. In those days it was said, and with perfect truth, that an unprotected woman might traverse the Territory from one end to another without being molested, without hearing an obscene word or witnessing an insulting gesture. But with the coming of the troops, or the camp-followers, this happy condition began to change, and before long it could with equal propriety be affirmed :

Where rose aloft the voice of reverent prayer,
The horrid oath now rent the midnight air ;
O'er streets deserted ere the darkening night,
The glare of sin sent forth its baleful light ;
The grog-shop, held aloft from arm of law,
Poured forth its poison with defiant maw ;
O'er walks where virtue long had wandered free,
Staggered the drunkard, lurked the debauchee ;
With watchful eye the gambler lay in wait
To lure his victim with a gilded bait,
While pimp and harlot ply their artful game
To drag our youth to dens of death and shame.*

Murders also became frequent. Now and then it was a peaceable and respectable citizen who fell a victim to the knife or bullet of the drunken desperado or midnight thief and assassin. Generally, however, it was the drunkards and desperadoes who slew each other, in which event "good riddance" was the common expression of public sentiment.

Among the homicides that occurred soon after the founding of Camp Floyd were the following: The shooting of Policeman William Cooke, in October, 1858, by a ruffian named McDonald, who succeeded in escaping; the killing of Sergeant Ralph Pike by Howard Spencer, in retaliation for an assault committed some time before. Pike had

* The Indians in the vicinity of Camp Floyd became very corrupt. Some of the tribes, notably the Goshutes and Sanpitches, through disease and drunkenness were almost destroyed.

cracked Spencer's skull with a musket, and brought him nigh to death's door. He barely recovered, but when he did, sought out his assailant and shot him dead. This tragedy occurred August 11th, 1859. Howard Spencer was a Mormon, and Sergeant Pike an officer from Camp Floyd. By many, Spencer, at the time of the shooting, was considered insane, made so by the terrible blow he had received from the Sergeant's musket. In fact this was the ground upon which he was acquitted when tried for murder many years later.* Another murder was that of Alexander Carpenter by Thomas H. Ferguson, which has already been mentioned. All three killings occurred at Salt Lake City. Another notable homicide that took place there about the same time was the shooting of Messrs. Brewer and Johnson. This twain were gamblers and desperadoes. They were shot, it is said, at the same instant, while walking home one night together. Who their slayer or slayers were was never known. Other murders occurred in various parts of Utah during this time of terror.

An interesting event of the summer of 1859 was the visit to our Territory of Horace Greeley, founder and editor of the *New York Tribune*. The great journalist was on his way to the Pacific coast, having taken his own advice and "come west," not to "grow up with the country," but to see what growth the western country had attained. He reached Salt Lake City on Sunday evening, July 10th, by overland mail stage from the frontier. On the evening of Saturday, the 16th, a reception and supper were given in his honor,—the former at the Council House, the latter at the Globe Restaurant,—by the Deseret Typographical and Press Association. Speeches were made by Mr. Greeley and by Messrs. Orson Hyde, John Taylor, Gilbert Clements and John Banks. Ballo's brass band and Foster

*The assault upon Spencer by Pike occurred in Rush Valley, March 22, 1859. It was both brutal and unprovoked. Pike, attended by a military escort, had come to Salt Lake City to answer before the District Court to an indictment for the assault, when Spencer, entirely alone, walked up to him on East Temple Street, inquired his name and shot him in the presence of three of his comrades. Spencer then fled, and though hotly pursued, escaped.

and Olsen's serenade band discoursed delightful music on the occasion, and a poem composed by John Lyon, entitled "Welcome to Greeley," was read by James McKnight. Mr. Greeley's address to the printers occupied about half an hour. In his plain and peculiar style he referred to the progress the world had made during his recollection; remarked how extraordinary had been the increase of facilities for the spread of knowledge through the press and by means of the electric telegraph, and stated that he looked forward to a day when still greater improvements would be made—when the daily newspaper, printed from continuous rolls, cut and folded by steam, would be thrown off ready for distribution at a rate far exceeding that of the rapid eight and ten cylinder presses then in use; and when the telegraph would connect, through one grand electric current, continent with continent and island with island, till every corner of the earth should be illumined with telegraphic communication. Of course Mr. Greeley, during his stay, did not omit calling on President Young, with whom he had several long and interesting interviews.

In addition to the *Deseret News*, the pioneer journal, Utah had at this time a paper called the *Valley Tan*. It was the first Gentile print published in the Territory, and lent vigorous influence to the Federal Judges and General Johnston in their antagonism to the Mormon leaders and to Governor Cumming. The first number of the *Valley Tan*—a four-page weekly—was published November 5th, 1858. It was edited by Kirk Anderson, at Salt Lake City, though it originated at Camp Floyd. The next paper established was *The Mountaineer*, which made its appearance on the 27th of August, 1859. Its editors and proprietors were James Ferguson, Seth M. Blair and Hosea Stout. It was an ably conducted journal and opposed the *Valley Tan*.

On August 1st of this year recurred the biennial election of delegate to Congress. Dr. John M. Bernhisel had represented Utah in that capacity since the organization of the Territory. He now retired and Hon. William H. Hooper was chosen delegate.

The "Pony Express," to carry dispatches between the Missouri River and the Pacific coast, was inaugurated in the spring of 1860. The first express from the west reached Salt Lake City on the 7th of April, having left Sacramento on the night of the 3rd. The first from the east, which left St. Joseph, Missouri, on the evening of April 3rd, arrived here on the evening of the 9th. This brought Utah within six days' communication with the frontier, and within seven days of the nation's capital; a result which our citizens, who were then accustomed to receiving news three months after date, duly appreciated. Said the *Deseret News*: "Although a telegraph is very desirable, we feel well satisfied with this achievement for the present."

The first dispatches dropped by the Pony Express at Salt Lake City contained the news of the intended introduction in the United States Senate of "a bill amendatory of the act organizing the Territory of Utah." This bill, it was said, proposed that the seat of government be removed from Salt Lake City to Carson Valley, and that the name of the Territory be changed from Utah to Nevada. According to the Washington correspondent of the *St. Louis Republican*, the Committee on Territories, who were expected to report the bill, hoped by this policy to pass the political power of the Territory from Salt Lake to Carson Valley—from the hands of the Mormons to those of the Gentiles. The removal of the seat of government to Carson Valley, in connection with the rich mines lately discovered there, it was thought would attract a large Gentile population to that locality. This, however, was the last that was heard of the bill for an act to obliterate Utah.

Other news of a still more stirring nature was brought by the Pony Express. The air was now filled with rumors of war. Events in the east had been hastening to a crisis; the plot for secession had ripened and borne fruit, and the great internecine struggle that was to temporarily split the nation and shake the whole earth with its thunder, was just about to begin. The direct result upon Utah of the opening of the conflict was the withdrawal of the Federal troops from the Territory.

As early as March, 1860, General Johnston had left Camp Floyd for Washington, D. C. He had never visited Salt Lake City since passing through it with the army in June, 1858. Consequently he and Brigham Young never met. After his departure, Colonel Philip St. George Cooke became the post commander. By his order, early in February, 1861, Camp Floyd changed its name to Fort Crittenden. Secretary Floyd, for whom the post was originally named, had fallen from his allegiance and was now considered a traitor to his country. In May, 1860, most of the troops at Camp Floyd had left, pursuant to orders, for Arizona and New Mexico, and in July, 1861, the residue took up their march for the east, to participate in the war for the Union.

Prior to the abandonment of Camp Floyd vast stores of provisions and army supplies of all kinds were offered for sale by the military authorities and purchased by local merchants and other citizens. The sacrifice in price was enormous, and many far-sighted buyers made their fortunes. It is estimated that four million dollars worth of goods were disposed of for \$100,000. This did not include arms and ammunition, great quantities of which, instead of being transported back to the States, were destroyed. Among the heaviest purchasers was President Brigham Young, whose agent and business manager, Colonel H. B. Clawson, visited the Fort for that purpose. Walker Brothers also bought extensively, as did other Utah merchants.

Some of the more prominent officers accepted an invitation from Colonel Clawson, who was President Young's son-in-law, to visit the ex-Governor prior to their departure from the Territory. Among those who paid their respects to the Mormon leader were Colonel Cooke, Colonel Alexander, Captain Marcy and Quartermaster Crossman. All were very pleasant, the animosities of the past evidently having evaporated. These officers presented to President Young the flag-staff from which the stars and stripes had floated over Camp Floyd. This interesting relic stood for many years on the brow of the hill near the White House, the President's early resi-

dence, where it continued to bear aloft the national banner. Whatever General Johnston had thought, it is evident that Colonel Cooke and his brother officers did not, at this time, deem the Mormons disloyal. The presentation of such a gift at such a time speaks volumes to the contrary. And what of General Johnston, who had denounced the Saints as "rebels?" Himself a rebel now, wearing the grey instead of the blue, commanding a Confederate in lieu of a Union army, his star of life, with the star of his glory, was soon to set in a sea of blood on the fatal field of Shiloh.



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